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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XXXI.

From the Year 1716 to the Year 1727.

30 GEORGE I.

CHAP. I.

The ſeptennial bill propoſed—Death of lord Sommers—Rebels tried—Scots officers hanged in effigy at Edinburgh—The limitation of the king's asking leave to go abroad repealed—Parliament prorogued—Riots—The prince of Wales made guardian of the realm whilſt the king goes abroad—Proceedings in the king's abſence—Progreſs of the prince—Lord Townſend removed—State of France and Spain—Treaty with France—Murmured againſt—Swediſh miniſter and baron Gortz

ſeized—Parliament meets—Scheme of an intended invaſion and rebellion—Debate at Oxford about an addreſs—Debates in parliament—Diviſion among the Whigs—Changes in the miniſtry—A fleet ſent to the Baltic—Inquiry about the Dutch forces—Meaſures for reducing the public debts—Reſolutions about it—The general fund—Act for the ſinking fund conſtituted.

1716. The ſeptennial bill propoſed.

THE rebellion was now quelled, and the ſtrength of the rebels intirely broken, but the diſaffection of the people was not yet conquered. The parliament was the bulwark of the crown; the vigour and unanimity of the king's friends, and their ſuperiority in the houſe, was the ſupport of the whole affair. But the parliament being only of three years continuance, by virtue of the Triennial Act, made in the 6th year of king William and queen Mary; all the hopes of the other party ſeemed to be centered in this, that the parliament would expire; and that they ſhould be able, by their influence in the country, to chuſe a majority of their party at the next election; or raiſe ſuch a ferment at that juncture, as might make way for a ſucceſsful invaſion from abroad. This the perſons at the helm obſerved with concern; and therefore reſolved to baffle theſe hopes of the enemies of the government, by prolonging the ſitting of the preſent parliament. It is ſaid, it was firſt propoſed only to ſuſpend the Triennial Act for once, whereby this parliament would have continued three years beyond the time, at which it was to determine; but it was afterwards thought, that a bill for inlarging the time of continuance of parliaments in general, would be leſs liable to exceptions. The next thing that fell under conſideration was, Whether this intended bill ſhould be ſet on foot in the houſe of lords, or in the houſe of commons? The firſt was judged the properer for ſeveral reaſons, particularly, becauſe the court being more ſure of a majority in the houſe of commons, if the bill miſcarried with the lords, the odium of this project, which carried a face of unpopularity, would not reſt upon the commons, nor conſequently prejudice future elections.

On the 9th of April in the evening, about thirty of the court lords met at the duke of Devonſhire's, where, after a ſhort conſultation, it was reſolved to begin this matter the very next day; and the duke was deſired to move it in the houſe of lords. The duke readily complied with the deſire

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of the aſſembly; and the next day, after the lords had diſ- Geo. I.
patched ſome private buſineſs, the duke ſtood up; and made 1716.
a ſpeech on the inconveniencies that attend triennial elec-
tions, ſuggeſting, in particular, that they keep up party di-
viſions; raiſe and foment feuds and animoſities in private fa-
milies; occaſion ruinous expences; and give occaſion to
the cabals and intrigues of foreign princes. It therefore be-
came the wiſdom of that auguſt aſſembly, to apply a proper
remedy to an evil, which might be attended with the moſt
dangerous conſequences, eſpecially in the preſent temper of
the nation. For, though the rebellion was happily ſuppreſ-
ſed, yet the ſpirit of it remained unconquered, and ſeemed
only to wait for an opportunity to ſhow itſelf with more
violence. That, the election of a new parliament, which
by the triennial act was not far off, being the moſt favour-
able juncture, which the diſaffected could expect, he thought
it abſolutely neceſſary to deprive them of it. For which pur-
poſe he had a bill to offer to this houſe, 'for inlarging the con-
'tinuance of parliaments;' and moved, that the ſame might be
read. The duke was ſeconded by the earl of Rockingham, and
ſupported by the duke of Argyle, the earl of Dorſet, the lord
Townſhend, and ſome other lords. The duke of Bucks,
the lord Trevor, the earls of Nottingham and Aylesford,
and ſome peers of the other ſide, did not directly oppoſe the
bill, but made long ſpeeches for putting off the reading of it
to another time. They owned, that every member has the
privilege of offering what bill he thinks fit, without aſking
leave; but that the houſe is likewiſe at liberty either to read
it or not, as they think convenient; and that the matter
now offered, was of ſo high a nature, that it well deſerved
to be maturely weighed and conſidered before the ſame was
debated: And therefore they moved, that the bill might lie
for ſome days on the table. To this it was anſwered, that
nothing was farther from their thoughts, than to carry any
thing by ſurprize: That, by the ordinary method of pro-
ceeding, every member has ſufficient time to weigh and
conſider what is offered in the houſe; and, to ſhew how
fairly they intended to act in this affair, the earl of Dorſet
propoſed, that, after the bill had been once read, the ſecond
reading of it ſhould be put off for ſome days, and that all
the members in and about London ſhould be ſummoned to
attend. The lords of the oppoſite ſide finding themſelves
the weaker, acquieſced in this motion; ſo the bill was read
the firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond on the 14th of
April.

Geo. I. 1716. On that day the bill was read (a), and a warm debate aroſe, which laſted five hours (b). The earl of Abingdon ſaid, 'The bill was of a very extraordinary nature, ſince it repealed the Triennial act, which the people juſtly looked upon as the great ſecurity of their rights and liberties; and that, if it paſſed this houſe, and the commons agreed to it, the ſame would be a breach of that truſt, which was repoſed in them by thoſe whom they repreſented.' The latter part of this aſſertion was denied by the duke of Kingſton, who urged, 'That the buſineſs of the legiſlature was to rectify old laws, as well as to make new ones.' Earl Powlet declared, 'That he would be for it, if he thought it for the king's ſervice and intereſt; but that, before they went any farther in ſo important an affair, ſome method ſhould be taken to know the ſentiments of the nation.' He urged,

Debate upon it. Fr. H. L.

(a) The ſubſtance of the bill was: It has been found by experience, that triennial parliaments are grievous, by occaſioning much greater and continual expence, and more violent and laſting heats, than were ever known before. And, if the triennial act continues, it may probably, at the preſent juncture, when a reſtleſs and Popiſh faction are deſigning to renew the rebellion at home, and an invaſion from abroad, be deſtructive to the peace and ſecurity of the government. Be it therefore enacted, that this preſent and all future parliaments ſhall have continuance for (ſeven) years, to be accounted from the date of the writ of ſummons, unleſs this or any ſuch parliament ſhall be ſooner diſſolved by his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors.

(b) The ſpeakers were as follows:

Againſt the bill.	For the Bill.
1. Earl of Abingdon,	2. Duke of Kingſton,
3. Earl Powlet,	4. Earl of Dorſet,
5. Lord Trevor,	6. Lord Carteret,
7. Duke of Bucks,	8. Earl of Cholmondley,
9. Lord Foley,	10. Duke of Newcaſtle,
11. Earl of Aylesford,	12. Earl of Ilay,
13. Earl of Peterborough,	15. 17. Duke of Argyle,
14. 16. Earl of Nottingham	19. Lord Parker,
18. Duke of Shrewſbury,	20. Lord Cowper.
21. Earl of Aylesford	
22. Biſhop of London,	
23. Earl of Angleſey,	
24. Duke of Bucks.	

'That

'That this bill ſhewed a diſtruſt of the affection of the people, without which no king can be either ſafe or eaſy. That king William gained the hearts of his ſubjects by the Triennial Act; and it would look ſomewhat ſtrange, that the moſt popular of our laws ſhould be repealed a year after the Proteſtant ſucceſſion took place.' After this, he endeavoured to anſwer what was ſuggeſted in ſupport of this bill, viz. '1. That frequent elections occaſion ruinous expences. 2. That they raiſe a great ferment, and foment animoſities, which are of the moſt dangerous conſequence after the late rebellion: And 3. That they obſtruct foreign alliances.' He ſaid, 'That no ſtreſs ought be laid on the firſt of thoſe objections, expences at elections being voluntary. That, as to the ſecond, he was ſorry there had been a rebellion; but that the ſame was now happily ſuppreſſed. And, as to the third ſuggeſtion, the ſame was of no weight with him, it being his opinion, that in a matter, which ſo nearly concerns our conſtitutions, we ought to have regard to ourſelves only, and not to foreigners.' Upon all which conſiderations, he was againſt the committing of this bill. The earl of Dorſet ſaid, among other things, 'That they who now ſpoke againſt this bill, would be for it, if it ſerved their turn. That the Triennial Act was a new law, and an alteration of the old conſtitution. That, the experience of twenty years having ſhewn a thouſand inconveniencies attending that law, they ought to apply a remedy to it. That it ſowed the ſeeds of corruption, it being notorious, that great numbers of perſons had no other livelihood, than by being employed in bribing corporations. That we had lately a ſad experience of it; ſince by thoſe methods a parliament was procured by the laſt miniſtry, which gave ſanction to moſt of their ill meaſures, and went near to give up the trade and liberties of the nation. That triennial elections deſtroy all family intereſt, and ſubject our excellent conſtitution to the caprice of the multitude: And, in ſhort, that by triennial elections we have but a triennial government, which is little better than no government at all.' For which reaſons he was for the bill. The lord Trevor ſaid, 'That the queſtion now lying before them was, Whether the law they were going to make, tended to the good or prejudice of the conſtitution? That, for his own part, he looked upon the Triennial Act as an eſſential part of our ancient conſtitution, according to which, frequent and even annual parliaments were to be held. That he might eaſily prove, that long parliaments were always pernicious. That, when

Geo. I. 1716.

Geo. I. 1716.

king Charles I. had given up his prerogative of diſſolving parliaments in 1640, he gave himſelf up into the hands of traytors, and had nothing but deſtruction to expect from them. That, after the reſtoration, king Charles II, that very good prince, found the inconvenience of a long parliament. That, as ſoon as the nation had opportunity, by the revolution, to aſſert their juſt rights and liberties, the Triennial Act was inſiſted on, and gained, at laſt, with a great deal of oppoſition. That there were very good and cogent reaſons for making a law to ſupport the conſtitution, and prevent incroachments, either of parliaments on the crown, or of the crown on the rights and liberties of the people; and to correct abuſes and exorbitances committed through the ambition and avarice of miniſters. That he would not be thought to reflect on the preſent adminiſtration; but that, in his opinion, frequent elections were a neceſſary right of the ſubject to remedy abuſes. That, for his own part, he had ever been againſt the bill for limitting the number of officers in the houſe of commons: But, if the Triennial Act were repealed, he thought that bill would become very neceſſary, becauſe the long ſitting of parliaments would give the crown both an opportunity and temptation to multiply the number of officers. That ſome reflections had been caſt on the laſt parliament: But that, in his opinion, that parliament was choſen by the ſame method as the preſent was, by great expences. That, he owned this to be a great abuſe; but that laws might be made to rectify the ſame. That, if this bill paſſed, how could any member of the other houſe expect to preſerve his intereſt with thoſe who choſe him, when this bill would certainly be interpreted both a violation of their right, and a breach of the truſt repoſed in him? That, if this houſe of commons continued themſelves beyond the time, for which they were choſen, they were no more the repreſentatives of the people, but a houſe of their own making. That he was ſorry there were diſcontents in the country; but he apprehended that this bill would rather increaſe than abate them. He owned, that the majority of this houſe of commons were honeſt gentlemen, who had the intereſt of their king and country at heart; but that, in his opinion, thoſe, who went before them, did not come ſhort of them in point of duty and affection to his majeſty; for it was they who eſtabliſhed the king on his throne, and ſettled his revenue with all chearfulneſs imaginable. That what he had ſuggeſted, flowed from the dread of the ill conſequences of this bill, which might riſe to ſuch an height, as to ren-

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der the crown uneaſy to his majeſty. That he owed ſo much to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, that, if he could believe this bill to be of any ſervice to the king and royal family, he would be intirely for it; but, as he was of a contrary opinion, he would not have a bill, obtained in the beſt of reigns, repealed in the firſt year of this Proteſtant reign. And therefore he was againſt the committing of this bill.' Lord Carteret, who ſpoke next, owned, 'That frequent parliaments are a great ſecurity of the people's rights and liberties; but he obſerved, that this bill was not againſt frequent ſeſſions, but only againſt frequent elections. That they ought maturely to weigh and conſider what was ſuggeſted in the preamble of the bill, That there is a 'reſtleſs Popiſh 'faction deſigning and endeavouring to renew the rebellion 'within this kingdom.' That, of all rebellions, this laſt was the moſt monſtrous and unnatural; for all other rebellions were carried on under pretences of liberty, whereas this laſt was a rebellion for ſlavery. That, as to our allies abroad, though he could not ſay, that they expected this bill, yet it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they would be glad to ſee it paſs into a law; for, having found, by ſad experience, that great changes may be made in the beſt concerted meaſures by different parliaments, inflamed by different miniſtries; ſo, if they had not ſome ſecurity for the treaties his majeſty was now entering into with them, a ſtrong tide might come upon a new election, that might overturn all. That, in ſhort, this bill would fix the king, and the preſent happy ſettlement, on a laſting foundation; and therefore he was for committing it.' The earl of Cholmondley ſaid, 'That he made no doubt, but the legiſlature is veſted with a ſupreme power to rectify any inconveniencies, to which any former law may, by experience, be found to be ſubject; and, this being the caſe of the Triennial Act, they ought to remedy the ſame. That what had been ſuggeſted, in relation to the long parliament in king Charles the ſecond's reign, was, in his opinion, rather an argument for, than againſt the bill. For though, in that parliament, the king had many penſioners, who, at firſt, complimented him with money, yet at laſt, when the intereſt of the nation came to be at ſtake, they voted for a war with France, and proſecuted the Popiſh plot with the utmoſt vigour. That they had lately ſeen what a corrupt parliament may do, and by what means ſuch a parliament may be got: And every one might gueſs how there came to be a debt of 500,000 l. upon the civil liſt. That he did not mention this to irritate

Geo. I. 1716.

againſt

Geo. I. 1716. againſt perſons, but againſt things. That, in his opinion, there was no better remedy againſt corruptions, than the ſuppreſſing frequent elections. That he thought this bill the more neceſſary, becauſe our allies will thereby have a ſecurity, that they ſhall not again be left in the lurch. And, in conſideration of the great benefits, that will accrue from it both at home and abroad, he was for the committing it.' Lord Foley made a long ſpeech, in which he enlarged upon the excellency of our conſtitution; took notice, that the different branches of the legiſlature are a check to one another, which prevents exorbitancies in the adminiſtration, and dragooning, as in Turkey and other arbitrary governments; ſuggeſted, that the penſionary parliament made king Charles II. uneaſy, by making him neglect the affections of his people; and concluded, that he was afraid, that the repealing the Triennial Act would have the ſame effect, and therefore he was againſt it.'

The duke of Newcaſtle anſwered, 'That it had already been rightly obſerved, that, though the long parliament of king Charles II. at firſt complimented that prince, yet they afterwards vigorouſly oppoſed deſtructive meaſures, and inſiſted on a war with France.' Then paſſing over leſs material objections, which had been fully refuted, he urged, 'That the preſent happy ſettlement could not be maintained without taking away the ſeeds of corruption. That no cauſe ever miſcarried in ſo many inſtances as that of the rebels. But, notwithſtanding their defeat at Preſton and Dumblain, their being driven out of Scotland, with their king at their head, their diſappointments in other parts, and the execution of ſome of their leaders, the Jacobites were as inſolent as ever. That this was the reaſon why, in a late debate in this houſe, he was againſt lenity; and the rather, becauſe no prince was ever more naturally inclined to mercy than his preſent majeſty; for no prince ever had ſo many rebels in his power, and never were ſo few puniſhed. 'My lords (added he) you muſt now ſtrengthen yourſelves, and diſarm your enemies. It is not to be doubted, but the late unnatural and monſtrous rebellion was raiſed and fomented by large contributions of a reſtleſs Popiſh faction. The ſame means, my lords, will be uſed to renew the rebellion as ſoon as a proper opportunity offers. Their emiſſaries are buſy every where to keep up the ſpirits of the people for a year longer, and then they hope to retrieve all by a new election.' He concluded, 'That, though the allies would not make any thing done among us an article of their treaties, yet, having

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the ſad experience of being left in the lurch, they would certainly enter into alliances with us with more confidence, if they [illegible] our government was not precarious.' Upon all which conſiderations he was for the bill (c). Geo. I. 1716.

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(c) After ſeveral other ſpeeches, the earl of Nottingham, having made large profeſſions of duty and affection to the king, ſaid, 'That he was againſt this bill, becauſe he thought it would rather exaſperate than quiet the minds of the people. That this bill ſhewed a diſtruſt of the affections of the people, and an intention of governing by fear, which, in his opinion, was the worſt way of government: And God forbid his majeſty ſhould have no proſpect of gaining the affections of his ſubjects. That the king came in univerſally beloved, and was received with general acclamations of his people; and, though he could not aſſign the true cauſe of the preſent diſſatisfaction, yet ſome ſecret cauſe muſt have been given for it. That he hoped, the people's diſſatisfaction was not ſo great, as it was repreſented. That the rebellion was intirely ſuppreſſed, and at end; but, if any ferment yet remained, this bill was a very improper way to allay it, and would rather rivet the diſaffected in their prejudices againſt the government, than make them change their opinion. That one of the arguments urged for this bill was, that it would encourage foreign princes and ſtates to enter into alliances with us; but that, in his opinion, the ſame might have a contrary effect. For foreign potentates may be deterred from entering into meaſures with us, when they ſhall be informed, by the preamble to this bill, that the Popiſh faction is ſo dangerous, as that it may be deſtructive to the peace and ſecurity of the government; and may apprehend, from this bill, that the government is ſo weak as to want ſo extraordinary a proviſion for its ſafety; which ſeems to imply, that the gentlemen of Great Britain are not to be truſted in a new election, and that the good affections of the people are reſtrained to ſo ſmall a number as that, of which the preſent houſe of commons conſiſts. That frequent and new parliaments are required by the fundamental conſtitution of the kingdom; and that the practice thereof, for many ages, was ſufficient evidence of this conſtitution. That this bill was ſo far from preventing corruptions, that it would rather increaſe them; for, the longer a parliament is to laſt, the more valuable to be purchaſed is a ſtation in it, and the greater alſo is the danger of corrupting the members of it. That, whatever reaſons there may be to continue this parliament for ſeven years, they will be at leaſt as ſtrong, and, by the conduct of the miniſtry, may be made much ſtronger, before the end of ſeven years, continuing it ſtill longer, and even to perpetuate it, which would be an abſolute ſubverſion

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Geo. I. 1716. The duke of Shrewſbury ſpoke with ſome vehemence againſt the bill; after which the lord Parker inlarged on the conſtitution, with relation to the calling, election, ſitting, and prolonging of parliaments. He was followed by the

of the third eſtate of this realm.' But, what was moſt taken notice of in his lordſhip's ſpeech, was, that, in order to ſhew the danger of inlarging the prerogative, he inſtanced, in the precedent of king Henry VIII, who perſuaded his parliament to give him the abbey-lands, under pretence, that they would bear part of his expences, which would eaſe them of taxes, and improve trade; but that, ſoon after, he demanded and obtained great ſubſidies, and made uſe of thoſe lands to inſlave the nation.

The duke of Argyle anſwered, among other particulars: 'That he could by no means agree with the noble lord that ſpoke laſt, either as to the beginning or end of the rebellion. That it had been ſuggeſted, that the king had been received with the general acclamations of his people; but that it was certain, and has ſince manifeſtly appeared, that, whatever arts were uſed by the laſt miniſtry to blind and deceive the people, deſigns had been laid to bring in the pretender, long before the king's happy acceſſion to the throne. That the diſappointment of theſe deſigns was intirely owing to providence; for, had the conſpirators thrown off the maſk ſooner, and improved the ferment their emiſſaries had raiſed in the nation, at the election of the laſt parliament, it is very probable their wicked ſchemes for ſetting aſide the Proteſtant ſucceſſion had taken place. That he wondered therefore, that his lordſhip could be puzzled to find out the cauſe of the preſent diſaffection, for, it was plain, it proceeded from the falſe repreſentations of things and perſons, that were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, both before and ſince his majeſty's coming in.' As to what has been ſuggeſted, that the rebellion was at an end, his grace obſerved, 'That the rebels had only ſhifted their head-quarters from Perth to Paris, or St. Germain's; but that their emiſſaries were ſtill as buſy and inſolent as ever in Great Britain, and wanted only an opportunity to renew the rebellion, and favour an invaſion.' As to what had been hinted, that this bill would rivet the Jacobites in their opinion, he ſaid, 'That was no good argument againſt it, for he had ſeen ſome perſons ſhift ſides often, and change their opinions, and be very zealous for both.'

The earl of Nottingham, taking this reflection to himſelf, readily owned, 'That he was for ſome time againſt the Abjuration Oath, becauſe he thought a multiplicity of oaths would make the nation unſafe; but that, as ſoon as he was convinced of the neceſſity of that oath, he readily came into it.' The duke of Argyle thereupon ſtood up, and ſaid, 'He was ſorry that noble lord took to himſelf what he ſaid only in general.'

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lord chancellor Cowper, who reſumed all the arguments, that had been urged in the debate; rectified ſome miſtakes as to the conſtitution and nature of the parliaments; gave a clear account of the triennial act; and vindicated the king and the government, as to the preſent diſaffection; appealing to the lords and commons, 'Whether the leaſt provocation had been given either by his majeſty or his miniſters?' and aſſerting, That, if there was any fault on the king's ſide, it was too much lenity; and that the only crime, that could be charged on his miniſters, was their zeal and vigilance in defence of his majeſty's perſon and government.' The earl of Aylesford having anſwered part of the lord chancellor's ſpeech, the biſhop of London ſaid, 'That, when he came to the houſe, he knew not which way he ſhould give his vote, and hoped to be guided and determined by what ſhould be offered on both ſides on this important ſubject: But, now he owned he was confounded between dangers and inconveniencies on one ſide, and deſtruction on the other.' Geo. I. 1716.

The earl of Angleſea ſpoke next with great vehemence againſt the bill; and the duke of Bucks cloſed the debate with ſaying, 'That he was for the bill, but did not think it ſeaſonable.' At laſt, the queſtion, 'That the bill be committed,' being put, it was carried in the affirmative by ninety-ſix voices againſt ſixty-one. But thirty lords entered their proteſts (d).

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(d) They were as follows:

Diſſentient.

I. Becauſe, we conceive, that frequent and new parliaments are required by the fundamental conſtitution of the kingdom, and the practice thereof, for many ages (which manifeſtly appears by our records) is a ſufficient evidence and proof of this conſtitution.

II. Becauſe it is agreed, that the houſe of commons muſt be choſen by the people; and, when ſo choſen, they are truly the repreſentatives of the people, which they cannot be ſo properly ſaid to be, when continued for a longer time than that, for which they were choſen; for, after that time, they are choſen by the parliament, and not by the people, who are thereby deprived of the only remedy, which they have againſt thoſe, who either do not underſtand, or, through corruption, do wilfully betray the truſt repoſed in them; which remedy is to chuſe better men in their places.

III. Becauſe the reaſons given for this bill, we conceive, were not ſufficient to induce us to paſs it, in ſubverſion of ſo eſſential a part of our conſtitution.

1. For, as to the argument, that this will encourage the princes and ſtates of Europe to enter

Geo. I. 1716. Two days after the lords conſidered of the bill in a grand committee, and moſt of the former ſpeakers exerted themſelves

enter into alliances with us, we have not heard any one miniſter aſſert, that any one prince or ſtate has aſked, or ſo much as inſinuated, that they wiſhed ſuch an alteration.

Nor is it reaſonable to imagine it; for it cannot be expected, that any prince or ſtate can rely upon a people to defend their liberties and intereſts, who ſhall be thought to have given up ſo great a part of their own; nor can it be prudent for them to wiſh ſuch an experiment, after the experience that Europe has had of the great things this nation has done for them, under the conſtitution, which is to be altered by this bill.

But, on the other hand, they may be deterred from entering into meaſures with us, when they ſhall be informed by the preamble of this bill, that the Popiſh faction is ſo dangerous, as that it may be deſtructive to the peace and ſecurity of the government; and may apprehend, from this bill, that the government is ſo weak, as to want ſo extraordinary a proviſion for its ſafety; which ſeems to imply, that the gentlemen of Britain are not to be truſted or relied upon; and that the good affections of the people are reſtrained to ſo ſmall a number, as that, of which the preſent houſe of commons conſiſts.

2. We conceive, this bill is ſo far from preventing expences and corruptions, that it will rather increaſe them, for, the longer a parliament is to laſt, the more valuable to be purchaſed is a ſtation in it, and the greater alſo is the danger of corrupting the members of it. For, if there ſhould be a miniſtry, who ſhall want a parliament to ſcreen them from the juſt reſentment of the people, or from a diſcovery of their ill practices to the king, who cannot otherwiſe, or ſo truly, be informed of them, as by a free parliament, it is ſo much the intereſt of ſuch a miniſtry to influence the elections, (which, by their authority, and the diſpoſal of the public money, they, of all others, have the beſt means of doing) that, it is to be feared, they will be tempted, and not fail to make uſe of them; and, even when the members are choſen, they have a greater opportunity of inducing very many to comply with them, than they could have, if not only the ſeſſions of parliament, but the parliament itſelf, were reduced to the ancient and primitive conſtitution and practice of frequent and new parliaments; for, as a good miniſtry will neither practiſe, nor need corruption, ſo it cannot be any lord's intent to provide for the ſecurity of a bad one.

3. We conceive, that whatever reaſons may induce the lords to paſs this bill, to continue this parliament for ſeven years, will be, at leaſt, as ſtrong, and may, by the conduct of the miniſtry, be made much ſtronger before the end of ſeven years,

for

ſelves for and againſt it; and, among others, a biſhop, who had not yet ſpoken on the ſubject, ſaid, 'If this bill was never ſo good in itſelf, it was very unſeaſonable, becauſe very unpopular, and altogether uſeleſs, the rebellion being cruſhed, and the power of France not to be feared; now eſpecially, when we have a glorious ſtanding army, and a miniſtry, that knows how effectually to engage the affections of the people.' The committee having gone through the bill, and ordered the blank before the word Years to be filled up with the word Seven, the queſtion was put, Whether the ſame ſhould be reported, in order to be engroſſed, which was carried by ſeventy-four voices againſt thirty-nine. The next day the bill was reported, and, without dividing, ordered to be engroſſed; and, being read the third time, on the 18th of April, there aroſe a debate, which laſted about two hours. Near half of that time was taken up by the earl of Nottingham, who, among other things, by a long hiſtorical detail, endeavoured to ſhew, 'That counſels for inlarging the prerogative were ever pernicious to the crown.' To this the duke of Argyle anſwered, 'That, not being ſo well read in hiſtory as that noble lord, he would confine himſelf to what had happened in his own time; and, that he had obſerved, that his lordſhip had, by turns, oppoſed all that had been offered, either for the intereſt of the crown, or the liberties of the people; of which he might eaſily produce ſeveral inſtances:' adding, 'That he did not much wonder there appeared already ſo much joy among a certain party over a repenting ſinner.'

Geo. I. 1716.

for continuing it yet ſtill longer, and even to perpetuate it; which would be an expreſs and abſolute ſubverſion of the third eſtate of the realm.

Somerſet,
Shrewſbury,
Angleſey,
Oſborne,
Compton,
Briſtol,
Tadcaſter,
Nottingham,
Abingdon,
Guilford,
Aylesford,
Foley,
Aſhburnham,
Manſel,
Gower,
Bathurſt,
Weſton,
Bruce,
Willoughby de Broke,
Poulet,
Dartmouth,
Bingley,
Strafford,
Trevor,
Montjoy,
Northampton,
Fr. Roffenſ.
P. Hereford,
Fr. Ceſtrienſ.
Saliſbury.

Upon

Geo. I. 1716. Upon the whole matter, the queſtion being put, 'Whether this bill ſhall paſs?' It was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſixty-nine voices againſt thirty-ſix; but twenty-four lords proteſted againſt it.

Debates of the commons on the ſeptennial bill. Pr. H. C.

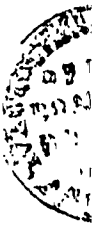
The bill being ſent down to the commons, the lord Guernſey moved for the rejecting of it without being read; but his motion was declared to be unprecedented, and the bill read. Upon the queſtion for a ſecond reading, there aroſe a debate, of which the moſt remarkable paſſage was, that an eminent member, who had been, in the moſt difficult times, very zealous for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, ſpoke againſt the bill, and, among other things, ſuggeſted, 'That it was an impoſition of the lords to take upon them to direct the commons in a matter, which ſolely concerns them, as guardians of the rights and liberties of the people.' He was ſeconded by Mr. Shippen; but the lord Coningſby made them ſenſible, 'That their objection was altogether groundleſs, and the reſult of their want, either of experience or memory; for, had they, like himſelf, been members of that houſe, when the triennial act was made, they might have remembered, that the ſame was begun in the houſe of lords, who, as part of the legiſlature, are no leſs guardians of the liberties of the ſubject, than the commons themſelves.' Mr. Fuller and the lord Guernſey ſpoke afterwards againſt the bill, but were anſwered by the lord Stanhope, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Cheſterfield; and a ſecond reading was at laſt carried by a majority of two hundred and ſeventy-ſix againſt a hundred and fifty-ſix.

In the mean time, ſeveral petitions were prepared in the country, and preſented to the houſe againſt the bill, particularly from Haſtings, Marlborough, Cambridge, and Abingdon. Then, the bill being read the ſecond time, there aroſe a warm debate, which laſted from about two in the afternoon till near eleven at night.

Mr. Lyddal ſpoke a long ſpeech for the bill, and, among other things, ſaid, 'If this opportunity be loſt, you may poſſibly never have another, or at leaſt ſo good a one, not only to conquer, but even to eradicate that ſpirit of Jacobitiſm, which has dwelt long amongſt us, and has more than once brought this nation to the very brink of ruin and deſtruction. Since therefore, with much danger and difficulty, we have at laſt ſecured our religion, laws, and liberties, when all was at ſtake from the treachery of the late miniſtry, and the unaccountable proceedings of the laſt triennial parliament, why ſhould you run the riſk of having a new one ſo ſoon,

firſt

first chose by French money, and then voting by French directions, since the king and his parliament exert their united power for the good of the public, and to retrieve the honour of the [illegible]? Why should they not continue longer together, that they may finish what they have so unanimously and happily begun? Upon the whole, the electors and people of all the boroughs in England having, for several years past, been bribed and preached into the pretender's interest, and a dislike of the Protestant succession, it becomes rather necessity than choice, to apply an extraordinary remedy to an extraordinary disease.' Geo. I. 1716.



After this and several other speeches, it was carried for committing the bill (a); and, the next day, a petition from the borough of Horsham was presented to the house, setting forth, 'That they looked upon the bill as an overturning the constitution, and an infringement of their liberties;' at which expressions the house being offended, it was resolved, that the petition should be rejected. Then Mr. Lechmere moved, 'That the committee have leave to receive a clause, to disable persons from being chose members of either house of parliament, who have pensions during pleasure, or any number of years.' But Mr. secretary Stanhope having represented, that such a clause would but clog the bill, and endanger its miscarriage, part of it being derogatory to the privileges of the house of lords; and that, if any jealousy were entertained of the members of the house of commons having pensions from the crown, a bill might be brought in, to ex-

(a) Mr. Haddon, a Scotch member, having spoken for the bill, Mr. Snell, one of the representatives for the city of Gloucester, said, 'It was no wonder, that they, who had betrayed the liberties of their own country, should be so ready to give up theirs.' Mr. Smith animadverted upon this injurious reflection, and said, 'That the member, who made that speech, would not be so bold as to utter those words any where else.' He was seconded by lord Coningsby; and, the dispute being like to grow warm, the speaker interposed, and said, That, all the members of the house having the privilege of explaining themselves, Mr. Snell ought to enjoy the same. Hereupon Mr. Snell said, 'That he meant no personal reflection on Mr. Haddon, and that he only spoke of the Scots nation in general:' By which pretended excuse Sir David Dalrymple being provoked, said, 'That this explanation, instead of extenuating, did but aggravate the offence;' for which he demanded satisfaction. Some other members calling 'to the bar,' Mr. Snell prevented any further proceeding, by begging pardon for any unguarded expression he might have let fall.'

Geo. I. 1716. clude them; the motion for the clauſe was rejected, and a ſeparate bill againſt penſioners ſitting in the houſe was ordered to be brought in, which, having paſſed both houſes, received the royal aſſent. When the ſeptennial bill had gone through the committee of the whole houſe, it was read the third time, and, the queſtion for paſſing it being put, a debate of two hours enſued. Thoſe, who ſpoke againſt the bill, were Mr. Freeman, Mr. Hungerford, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Wykes, the lord Finch, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Nottingham, and ſome others. They were ſeverally anſwered by Sir Richard Steele, Mr. comptroller, Sir William Thompſon, captain Erle, Mr. Tufnel, Mr. Morris, and Sir John Brownlow (b). After which, the bill paſſed by a majority

(b) Mr. Hampden ſpoke for the bill, part of whoſe ſpeech was as follows:

'A principal argument for continuing the triennial bill, is, that it is agreeable to the ancient laws of this nation, that there ſhould be frequent parliaments. I find, by the laws I have looked over, that parliaments ought to be frequently held: But I found it no where laid down as a fundamental poſition of the nature of this conſtitution, that there ſhould be frequent elections. If gentlemen will look to the beginning of parliaments, they will find, in the 4th, 5th, and 36th of Edward III, that, 'for redreſs of 'divers miſchiefs and grievances which daily happen, a par'liament ſhall be holden every 'year, or oftener, if need be.' Let it then be conſidered, in what manner thoſe parliaments were held: When a king met his parliament, they uſed to ſit ten or twenty days, and then were prorogued, or diſſolved; and there were frequent intermiſſions of parliaments, none being called for ſeveral years. By looking over the journals, we find the prorogations and diſſolutions of parliaments.

To come down to the time of Henry VIII, few of his parliaments ſat more than twenty days, though there was not a parliament met every year; and, from the 7th to the 25th of Henry VIII, there are no journals, and conſequently we cannot tell in what manner parliaments were held. Afterwards, there were ſeveral parliaments, but not every year, to the end of his reign.

A parliament was called the firſt year of Edward VI, and, in five years, ſat but four months. In Philip and Mary there were four parliaments, but the ſeſſions extremely ſhort. From the 2d to the 5th, and from the 7th to the 13th of queen Elizabeth, no parliament met, and, from the 14th to the 25th of queen Elizabeth, the parliament ſat only from the 8th of May to the 30th of June; and, four years after, from the 8th of February to the 8th of March following; and, in eight years after, never ſat to do buſineſs,

majority of two hundred and ſixty-four, againſt one hundred and twenty-one; and being ſent back to the lords, received, ſoon after, the royal aſſent. Geo. I. 1716.

On

ſineſs, but were then diſſolved. There were ſix other parliaments called in queen Elizabeth's time; but never ſat long, unleſs that in the 39th of her reign, which ſat four months.

The parliament, the firſt of James I, ſat about four months, and, in three years after, ſat about eight days. That parliament was not diſſolved till the 9th of James, but ſat twice or thrice only. There were three other parliaments in his reign, but they met very ſeldom.

The ſeſſions in king Charles I. were much ſhorter than of late days, and very frequent prorogations; and, in the 16th of his reign, an act was paſſed 'for preventing inconveniencies by long intermiſſion of parliaments;' by which it was provided, that a parliament ſhould meet every three years; which law we find repealed in the 16th of Charles II, by reaſon that 'the proviſions in the former law were looked upon 'as a derogation to his majeſty's juſt and undoubted prerogative for calling and aſſembling parliaments, and 'might be an occaſion of manifold miſchiefs, and might 'endanger the peace of his 'people.' This ſaid act is repealed, and a proviſion made therein, that 'becauſe, by the 'ancient laws of this realm, in 'the reign of Edward III. parliaments are to be held very 'often,' the ſitting and holding 'of parliaments ſhall not be intermitted above three years.' In this king's reign, the long parliament was held; and, whatever corruptions they were tainted with, they could never be accuſed of favouring the cauſe of France, or attempting to enſlave their own country.

In king James II, that unfortunate prince, a parliament was held in May, 1685, and ſat about two months, and was, at ſeveral times, prorogued to November 1687. Then the happy revolution took place; and, in the Bill of Rights, 1 Gul. & Mar. it is declared and enacted, that 'all the rights and liberties, aſſerted and claimed 'in the ſaid declaration, are 'the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of 'the people of this kingdom, 'and ought to be firmly and 'ſtrictly holden and obſerved.' And, in the ſame bill, among this long catalogue of grievances, which precedes the ſaid declaration, there is not the leaſt mention made of want of frequent elections, but only 'that parliaments ought to be free.' In the ſixth of king William, this now-favoured bill for triennial parliaments was paſſed; and upon this occaſion, I cannot help obſerving, that it is ſome ſatisfaction, that the people abroad, who look upon the reign of that prince as a uſurpation, ſhould be fond of any one act that was paſſed in that time; and, I hope from hence, they may, in time, be more reconciled to

Geo. I. 1716. On the 26th of April died that great man, and great patriot, the lord Sommers, whoſe character is drawn with great

Death of lord Sommers,

the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, which is in conſequence of that happy revolution.

If gentlemen will look over the writs of ſummons, and the returns to thoſe writs, they will find no mention how long any parliament is to laſt; but the return makes mention of the perſons who are to ſerve in the parliament that is to meet and be held at ſuch a time at Weſtminſter. But it muſt be allowed, that the parliament is ſubject to the triennial act while it ſubſiſts; and therefore the advantages or inconveniencies of that law ought chiefly to be conſidered in the matter now before us: And, in caſe an act be found prejudicial, if ſuch a veneration is to be paid to a law, as not to alter it, from any conviction of its being inſufficient, or attended with ill conſequences, I think the legiſlature will become, in a manner, uſeleſs. I take the principal matter to be, to examine what benefit has accrued to the nation by virtue of this bill, and if the inconveniencies do not outweigh all the advantages?

It is pretended, that by triennial elections the people have an opportunity of laying aſide thoſe perſons with whoſe behaviour, in parliament, they are diſſatisfied, or ſuch, whom they apprehend to be under court-influences: I deſire it may be conſidered, how very few examples there are of perſons, who having accepted places, have not been re-elected. The reaſon is very obvious; becauſe the people who love expences, judge, that a man who has a place of profit, is much more capable of making an expence, than he that has none. But, ſuppoſing any gentleman ſo wickedly diſpoſed, as to ſacrifice his opinion to the lucre of a place, does not ſuch a perſon, who has ſpent five or ſix hundred pounds at his election, and his circumſtances not very able to bear it, come more prepared for a court-temptation, than if he had enjoyed his ſeat in parliament, and been free from the trouble and expence of frequent elections? I appeal to gentlemen, if expences are not increaſed? And, if any inſtance can be produced, where they are abated, many more may be where they are increaſed; ſo that the end of the bill, in this reſpect, is no way anſwered.

It is ſaid, that expences being voluntary, it is the fault only of thoſe who make them; but, when we obſerve the contagion of expences to be univerſally ſpread in the kingdom at the time of elections, and a diſſolution of manners, occaſioned by ſuch expences, it is time for the legiſlature to interpoſe, and prevent the dangerous conſequences of ſuch an evil. Do, gentlemen, conſider the diſtractions occaſioned by elections, and the impoſſibility, conſidering the ſmall interval of elections, to heal up thoſe wounds, which the animoſities of parties have occaſioned; ſo that it is little

great force and elegance by Mr. Addiſon, in his Freeholder. Geo. I. 1716.

The

little better than living in a continual ſtate of warfare. This is a no leſs fatal, than undeniable conſequence of this bill, which was calculated for the eaſe of the ſubject.

It is ſaid, the reaſon of this expedient, as it is called, is, becauſe the majority of this parliament are Whigs: And, tho' it is allowed, that this parliament has acted for the ſervice of his majeſty and the nation, the proceedings of the laſt parliament are ſaid to be as meritorious of the king's good opinion and the nation's, as what this parliament has done.

It is much inſiſted on, That the Tories gave the civil liſt: That is true; but, had they not given it, I believe, the king would not long have been deprived of it. It is ſaid, that the king was received here with the univerſal joy of his people: Why did that ſatisfaction ceaſe ſo ſoon? Has the king done any thing to loſe the affection of ſo many of his people? or have his miniſters? If his miniſters, Why has the ſpirit of patriotiſm been ſo much wanting in gentlemen, as not to repreſent to the king, or in this houſe, the crimes of thoſe he employs in his ſervice? But, if no real handle for theſe diſcontents has been given, by king or miniſters, then, thoſe who pretended ſuch a zeal for the king and his ſervice, at his arrival here, acted a hypocritical part, and meant nothing leſs than what they now make profeſſions of. Let us conſider the preſent ſituation of the minds of the people, how exaſperated one ſet of them are at the neceſſary proſecutions of thoſe, who ſo fatally concerted the ruin of their country; and to what degree that reſtleſs ſpirit influenced the people in the late rebellion; and how induſtriouſly a falſe and miſtaken cauſe of the Church has been of late propagated in this nation.

From theſe, and many other circumſtances of affairs, and ſymptoms of the ill temper of the nation, I think the diſpoſition of the people's minds far from being ſuitable to the buſineſs of an election, but rather for a reſtoration of that perſon, who, the deluded people have been taught, has alone a right to the crown, and came to free you from the oppreſſions you now lie under.

He concludes with ſaying, 'The reaſons why I am now for the bill are, To diſpoſe the people to follow their callings, and to be induſtrious, by taking from them, for a time, the opportunity of diſtracting one another by elections. To prevent ſuch who have the will, from the power of giving any new diſturbance to the government. To prevent another rebellion; there being juſt as much reaſon to expect one this year, as there was the laſt. To check that evil ſpirit in thoſe who have ſworn to the king, and roſe in arms againſt him, or abetted ſuch who have. To diſcountenance that ſpirit, which lately

Geo. I. 1716. The eſcape of the earl of Nithiſdale, and of Mr. Forſter, had given ſufficient warning to the government, and ought to have doubled the vigilance of the jaylors; yet brigadier Mackintoſh, John Mackintoſh, his ſon, Charles Wogan, James Talbot, Robert Hepburne, William Dalmahoy, Alexander Dalmahoy, and John Taſker, ſervant to Mr. Butler, having knocked down the keeper and turnkey, and diſarmed the centinel, broke out of Newgate between eleven and twelve at night. Six more of the rebels went out of the priſon with them; but being unacquainted with the ſtreets, and turning into Warwick-Court, where they found no paſſage, they were forced to return into Warwick-Lane, and ſo fell into the hands of their purſuers. Mackintoſh and ſome others were to have been tried the day after. The judges met in Weſtminſter-Hall for that purpoſe, but, receiving a meſſage, that the keepers of Newgate were employed in ſearching after the rebels, who had made their eſcapes, the court and juries adjourned. James Talbot, one of the fugitives, was retaken at an houſe in Windmill-Street, in Piccadilly, and ſent back to Newgate.

Mackintoſh and others eſcape out of Newgate. May 4.

When the court ſat the next time, thirteen of the rebels (b) were arraigned, and pleaded not guilty; but upon application for time, ſome of them ſetting forth that they had evidence upon the road, they had three weeks allowed to prepare for their trial.

Rebels tried. Mr. Richard Gaſcoigne was ſet to the bar, but by the indulgence of the court, had ten days allowed him for bringing witneſs to town. His trial came on the 17th of May; and beſides the evidence of Mr. Patten. Mr.

did ſo far prevail in this nation, as to approve of a moſt ignominious concluſion of a ſucceſsful war, by a ruinous peace. To render fruitleſs any concerted project of the regent, or any other foreign princes, to diſturb this nation, at a time, when elections, or the approach of them, have raiſed a ferment in the minds of the people: and to procure to the clergy an interval from being politicians, that they may be the better able to take care of their flocks, in the manner the Scripture has preſcribed.

(b) Charles Radcliffe,
Charles Widdrington,
Peregrine Widdrington,
Eſquires;
John Thornton,
Robert Shaw,
Thomas Errington,
Philip Hodgeſon,
Donald Robertſon,
James Swinburne,
William Mackintoſh,
Angus Mackintoſh,
James Mackintoſh,
Alexander Macrudder.

Forſter's

Forſter's chaplain, who depoſed, that he ſaw Mr. Gaſcoigne in Mr. Forſter's company at Preſton, Mr. Wye made oath, 'That, coming once to the ducheſs of Ormond's, he ſaw the priſoner, Gaſcoigne, in her grace's cloſet: That, being introduced, he told her grace, he was juſt come from France, and had ſeen the duke but ſix days before, who was well, and would be here quickly from Bayonne, and the pretender from ſome other place. Upon which her grace called for a map, to find whereabouts St. Sebaſtian lay. That he was asked by her grace, what people ſaid at Paris, eſpecially in relation to Sir William Wyndham; and aſked Mr. Gaſcoigne, whether it was true which was ſaid in the public news, that he had letters found in his pocket of dangerous conſequence? Mr. Gaſcoigne ſaid, 'He could not tell; but, if it were ſo, a ſchool-boy 'would deſerve to be whipped for carrying ſuch papers in 'his pocket.' It being at that time generally diſcourſed about town, that Sir William Wyndham had ſurrendered himſelf, Mr. Gaſcoigne ſaid, 'He had ſent or carried him one of the proclamations (but the evidence could not be poſitive which) and added, if he was taken, their deſign was ruined, for there were an hundred gentlemen, who waited only for a ſignal, and Sir William would be at the head of eight or nine thouſand men.' That the lady Rocheſter having aſked him (Mr. Gaſcoigne) where Sir William was? The priſoner replied, 'Whether, if he ſhould tell her lady-'ſhip, ſhe would not make uſe of it to perſuade him to ſur-'render? But, if it were only to give Sir William notice 'of the proclamation, he told her, that he had already ſent 'him one.' Mr. Wye further declared, 'That, when he was in the ducheſs's cloſet, he ſaw a gentleman dreſſed in laced ſcarlet cloathes, whom he underſtood to be one of the Cotton's; and, having ſince ſeen Mr. Cotton, knew it to be the ſame perſon.' There were ſome other circumſtances, which Mr. Wye ſaid Mr. Gaſcoigne told him, particularly, that the priſoner ſaid, 'He came to London to learn whether Sir William Wyndham made any diſcovery.' The jury, after a conſiderable ſtay, brought in Mr. Gaſcoigne guilty of high-treaſon. Geo. I. 1716.

Henry Oxburgh was tried May the 7th, and made a very weak defence. His council, ſerjeant Darnel and Mr. Kettleby, endeavoured to ſerve him by inſiſting on a miſnomer in the indictment, wherein he was called Oxborough, whereas his true name was Oxburgh: But, that being overruled, the jury brought him in guilty of high-treaſon.

Geo. I. 1716. On the 26th of May, Mr. John Hall, of Otterburne in Northumberland, was brought to the bar. This gentleman had been a juſtice of the peace in his country, and had taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration. He was found guilty by the jury, and gloried in his guilt at his execution. Oxburgh was the firſt of thoſe, who ſuffered at Tyburn. Gaſcoigne had been a common ſharper, and, having been bubbled by gameſters out of the money he had raiſed by the ſale of a ſmall eſtate in Ireland, ſupported himſelf afterwards by defrauding others. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn on the 25th of May, and died a Papiſt.

John Hume, brother of the earl of Hume, was tried and found guilty, May the 8th; John Farquharſon not guilty; and Alexander Menzies guilty. On the 12th, Thomas Farquharſon and John Ennis were brought to their trials. There was a great uproar in the court upon the jury's bringing in Farquharſon not guilty, though the evidence was poſitive, 'That he was in arms with the rebels at Kelſo, and at Lancaſter, where the pretender was proclaimed, and alſo at Preſton.' Two perſons, who clapped and ſhouted, were apprehended; one of them, who was ſummoned as a juryman, was fined 100l. the other 50l. and a year's impriſonment. The ſame jury, contrary to as full evidence as that againſt Farquharſon, acquitted Ennis likewiſe. The ſame day five rebel priſoners pleaded guilty; the two Mr. Douglas's, captain Macquean, Mr. Scrimſhaw, and Mr. Skean, who received ſentence of death. Three days after came on the trials of Richard Townley and Edward Tildeſley. It was ſworn againſt Mr. Townley, that he was not only among the rebels at Preſton, 'but that there was a troop, called Mr. Townley's troop, in which rode his coachman, his butler, and poſtillion.' It was ſwore againſt Mr. Tildeſley, 'That a troop of the rebels went by his name alſo; and that he rode at the head of them with his ſword drawn.' Theſe two gentlemen had nothing to ſay for themſelves, but that they were forced to do what they did; and, upon this ſlight defence, the jury acquitted them both.

Two days after, Mr. baron Montague came to the Marſhalſea-court, and diſcharged the Surry jury, after having reprimanded them for their behaviour in the late trials, eſpecially in the caſe of Mr. Townley and Mr. Tildeſley. The ſame day Mr. Wogan was tried, and found guilty; and major Blair, retracting his former plea, pleaded guilty. Captain Lancelot Mackintoſh and Charles Radcliffe, brother to the

the late earl of Derwentwater, were likewiſe found guilty, and received ſentence of death. Geo. I. 1716.

Alexander Menzies petitioned the king for mercy, and was reprieved, as were the reſt of the perſons hitherto condemned, on the like ſubmiſſion, or the interceſſion of their friends, excepting thoſe who are already mentioned to have been executed.

On the 30th of May came on the trial of Mr. John Dalton. The evidence againſt him being poſitive, the jury found him guilty; upon which he deſired the court to intercede with the king for mercy.

Mr. William Tunſtal pleaded guilty as to the being taken in arms, but not, as in the indictment, of any deſign of murdering the king, which (he ſaid) never entered into his heart. But the court told him, 'That he, being a man of ſenſe, could not but know, had the rebellion ſucceeded, it could not have ended otherwiſe, ſince it was certain, that his majeſty would not have run away, as the maſter they had declared for had already done.' The lord chief juſtice Parker adviſed him to draw up the ſtate of what he had to ſay, in a petition, and he would recommend it to the king.

The next day Philip Hodgeſon, uncle to the lord Widdrington, Charles Widdrington, Peregrine Widdrington, Donald Robertſon, Alexander Macrudder, Thomas Errington, John Nairne, ſon to the lord Nairne; George Seaton, who, before the battle of Dumblain, went by the name of the earl of Dumferling; John Stewart, Dr. Patrick Blair, James Robertſon, William Grierſon, ſon of Sir Robert Grierſon, of Lagg; and John Carnegy, pleaded guilty to their indictments. But Francis Anderton, Baſil Hamilton, Archibald Rutter, William Shaftoe, and William Paul, clerk, pleaded not guilty; which plea ſome of them afterwards retracted, and pleaded guilty, while others were tried and found guilty. The condemned rebels were reprieved from time to time; but, on the 13th of July, John Hall, and William Paul, the clergyman, were executed at Tyburn.

Hall, in his dying ſpeech, declared, 'that he died a true and ſincere member of the Church of England, but not of the revolution ſchiſmatical church, whoſe biſhops had ſo rebelliouſly abandoned the king, and ſo ſhamefully given up the rights of the Church, by ſubmitting to the unlawful, invalid lay-deprivations of the prince of Orange, but of the true catholic nonjuring Church of England.' Mr. Paul likewiſe profeſſed himſelf a ſon of the Church of England, but not

Geo. 1. 1716. not of the ſchiſmatical church, whoſe biſhops ſet themſelves up in oppoſition to thoſe orthodox fathers, who were unlawfully and invalidly deprived by the prince of Orange. 'I declare, ſays he, 'that I renounce that communion, and that I die a dutiful and faithful member of the nonjuring church, which has kept itſelf free from rebellion and ſchiſm, and has preſerved and maintained true orthodox principles, both as to Church and ſtate.' Yet this ſame man, in a petition to the lord chief-juſtice King, after ſentence, had declared, 'That thro' the grace of God, he had a deep inſight into, and a lively ſenſe of his crimes; which he did now at laſt deteſt and abhor, from the bottom of his ſoul, and begged pardon of God, and king George, and his native country, againſt all which he had highly offended, and did now ſincerely repent, and declare his unfeigned ſorrow, in having been inſtrumental towards encouraging and promoting the ſame.'

And, in a petition to the king, 'He humbly begged leave, in all ſorrow of heart, to acknowledge his great and heinous offence, and did, from the bottom of his heart, aſk pardon of God, his moſt ſacred majeſty, and the Church and nation.

Cadogan returns from Scotland.

General Cadogan, whom the duke of Argyle had left in Scotland, had now, extinguiſhed all remains of the rebellion, both by ſecuring the chiefs, and diſarming their dependants. About the middle of April, the marquis of Huntley, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Gordon, the lord Rollo, Sir Thomas Calder, and the laird of Tannaelue, were brought from the north of Scotland to Edinburgh, and committed to the caſtle. Glengary, a famous leader of the rebels, ſurrendered himſelf to the duke of Athol, which inclined many of the Highlanders to ſubmit, as did the greateſt part of the earl of Seaforth's vaſſals; and all the clans, except thoſe of the weſtern iſles, being reduced, two detachments, one of ſix hundred, the other of three hundred men, were ſent to thoſe iſles, under the command of colonel Clayton, and lieutenant-colonel Cholmondley, upon which all the rebels in the iſle of Skie ſubmitted to mercy. The rebels in the other iſlands following their example, general Cadogan, returned to Edinburgh, and from thence to London, where he arrived the 18th of May, having left the command of the forces in Scotland with general Sabine, and ordered the Dutch troops to march back into England, where they embarked for Holland, after having received, both officers and ſoldiers, marks of the king's bounty for their good ſervices.

A

A court-martial ſitting at Edinburgh, made an order for the following Scots officers, who had deſerted from the Dutch ſervice to the pretender, to be hanged in effigy at the market-croſs, in the Cannon-Gate, Edinburgh, and their names to be inſcribed round the gallows (c). Geo. I. 1716. Scots officers hanged in effigy.

Congratulatory addreſſes were preſented to the king from the city of London, and moſt of the communities in the kingdom, upon the intire ſuppreſſion of the rebellion; and the 7th of June was appointed to be kept as a day of thankſgiving.

On the 3d of May, Mr. Harvey, of Combe, who had been in the meſſenger's hands ſince he ſtabbed himſelf, was examined before a committee of the council, and ſent to Newgate. About a week after, Mr. Thomas Harley, who had been formerly committed to the Gatehouſe, by order of the houſe of commons, for his prevaricating anſwers, to queſtions that were put to him concerning his negotiations abroad, and was ſuppoſed to have been ſtill a priſoner, was found in a houſe in St. Martin's-lane, by meſſengers who were ſearching for ſome of the rebels, that had lately eſcaped out of Newgate. Mr. Harley had a great parcel of papers before him, which were ſeized, and himſelf committed to the Gatehouſe.

The king, ſtrengthened by his late treaty with Spain, and by that which he was now certain of concluding with the duke of Orleans, and ſecure of having ſo faithful a parliament for five years more, thought he ſhould run no riſk in viſiting his German dominions this ſummer, where affairs of ſecrecy and importance required his preſence. But it being provided, by the act for the further limitation of the crown, &c. that no perſon, who ſhould thereafter come to the poſſeſſion of the crown, ſhould go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without conſent of parliament: The court was ſome time in ſuſpence, which way to get over that reſtriction. The aſking the parliament's conſent by a meſſage, or otherwiſe, being thought too derogatory to the royal prerogative, and ſome leading members of the houſe The king reſolves to go abroad.

(c) Theſe were: Captain John Hepburne, enſign Patrick Smith, enſign Williams, Calderwood, of Douglaſs's regiment; lieutenant Fleming, enſign Chalmers, and enſign Carſe, of Lauder's; enſign William Creighton, of Murray's; lieutenant Murray, enſign Dallas, enſign Boſwal, and enſign Robertſon, of Collier's, and enſign Owen, of Wood's regiment.

of

Geo. I. 1716. of commons being made ſenſible of it, Sir John Cope moved for repealing this reſtriction; which being agreed to, a bill paſſed both houſes for that purpoſe (d).

The parliament is prorogued, June 26. Pr. H. C.

When the king came to the houſe of peers to paſs this, and many other bills, and to put an end to the ſeſſion, the following ſpeech was by his order delivered to both houſes by the lord chancellor.

" My lords and gentlemen,

The king's ſpeech.

" I Cannot put an end to this ſeſſion, without expreſſing " to you my ſatisfaction in the proceedings of this par- " liament. The wholeſome and neceſſary laws, which " have been paſſed with ſo much ſteadineſs, reſolution, and " unanimity, will, I truſt in God, anſwer thoſe good ends, " which, it is evident, you have had in view, by defeating " the deſigns, and reducing the ſpirit of our enemies, by en- " couraging our friends, and raiſing the credit and reputa- " tion of the nation abroad to ſuch a degree, as that I may " reaſonably expect the fruits of a ſettled government; eſpe- " cially being ſupported by a parliament, zealous for the " proſperity of their country, and the Proteſtant intereſt of " Europe.

" I am confident, my conduct hitherto in ſuppreſſing the " rebellion, and puniſhing thoſe concerned in it, has been " ſuch, as demonſtrates, that I deſire rather to leſſen their " numbers by reclaiming them, than by making examples; " but I am ſorry to find, that the numerous inſtances of " mercy, which I have ſhewn, have had no other effect, than " to encourage the faction of the pretender to renew their inſults

(d) Before the king went abroad, he made the following creations and promotions: Thomas, ld Coningſby, of the kingdom of Ireland, baron Coningſby, of Coningſby, in the county of Lincoln; Sir Rd Onſlow, baron Onſlow, of Onſlow, in the county of Salop; Thomas Newport, baron of Torrington, in the county of Devon; William Cadogan, baron of Reading, in the county of Berks; and Sir Robert Marſham, baron of Romney, in the county of Kent; viſcount Caſtleton in Ireland, viſcount Caſtleton in England; Sir Henry St. John, viſcount St. John; George, lord Newburg, of Ireland, lord Newburg, of Angleſey, in Wales; Mr. Edgecombe was made one of the lords of the treaſury; Mr. Methuen, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate; and Mr. Hampden, one of the tellers of the exchequer. Mr. baron Bury was declared lord chief-baron of the exchequer, in the room of Sir Samuel Dodd.

" upon

" upon my authority, and the laws of the kingdom, and Geo. I.
" even to affect, with the greateſt inſolence, to diſtinguiſh 1716.
" themſelves from my good and faithful ſubjects, acting
" with ſuch folly and madneſs, as if they intended to con-
" vince the world, that they are not to be reduced to quiet
" and ſubmiſſion to my government, by ſuch gentle methods,
" as are moſt agreeable to my own inclinations.

" Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I return you in particular my thanks for the ſupplies
" you have given; which, although they fall ſhort of the
" ſums you found neceſſary, and have voted for the ſervice
" of the whole year; yet, by the encouragement you have
" given to make them effectual, may, I hope, be ſo mana-
" ged, as to carry on the current ſervice till another ſeſſion
" of parliament.

" My Lords and gentlemen,

" I am very ſenſible, there are matters of great conſe-
" quence ſtill depending before you; but, as they have hi-
" therto been poſtponed out of abſolute neceſſity, by inter-
" vening affairs of a more preſſing nature, and of the moſt
" immediate concern to the peace and ſafety of the nation,
" I thought the ſeaſon of the year required, I ſhould defer
" your further proceedings till the next ſeſſion, rather than
" you ſhould be detained out of your reſpective counties
" longer than could be conſiſtent with your private con-
" cerns.

" I cannot doubt but that, during this receſs, you will uſe
" all your beſt endeavours to preſerve the peace of the king-
" dom, and to diſcourage and ſuppreſs all manner of diſor-
" ders, ſince, as the firſt ſcene of the late rebellion was
" opened and uſhered in by tumults and riots, ſo you may
" be aſſured, upon what pretence ſoever they are raiſed, they
" can have no other tendency, but to ſupport a ſpirit of
" faction, reſtleſs and unwearied in their endeavours to re-
" new the rebellion, and to ſubvert the religion, laws, and
" liberties of their country.

" I deſign to make uſe of the approaching receſs, to viſit
" my dominions in Germany, and to provide for the peace
" and ſecurity of the kingdom during my abſence, by con-
" ſtituting my beloved ſon, the prince of Wales, guardian
" of the realm, and my lieutenant within the ſame."

After

Geo. I. 1716. After this ſpeech, the parliament was prorogued to the 7th of Auguſt.

Thus ended this long ſeſſion of the firſt Britiſh parliament called by king George. This parliament *, by the excellency and ſeaſonableneſs of the laws, made by them, recovered their country, in a great meaſure, out of its confuſions, and provided for its future peace and happineſs, under the preſent eſtabliſhment. Their unanimous and regular proceedings; the abſolute neceſſity of ſome acts, which were paſſed, and their diſinclination to extend them any longer than that neceſſity required; their manifeſt averſion to enter upon ſchemes, which the enemies of the nation had inſinuated to have been their deſign; together with that temper ſo ſuitable to the dignity of ſuch an aſſembly, at a juncture, when it might have been expected, that very unuſual heats would have ariſen in an houſe of commons ſo zealous for their king and country, were ſufficient to quiet thoſe groundleſs jealouſies and ſuſpicions, which had been induſtriouſly propagated by the ill-wiſhers to our conſtitution.

* Addiſon's freeholders.

Riots. The king had but too juſt cauſe to complain of the freſh inſults of the diſaffected, notwithſtanding the many inſtances of his clemency. For on the 29th of May (king Charles's reſtoration) the Jacobite and Tory factions had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by wearing oaken boughs, and on the 10th of June, the pretender's birth-day, by wearing white roſes. But the ſpirit of diſaffection ſhewed itſelf no where more openly than at Oxford. On the 28th of May, the king's birth-day, all the windows that were illuminated there, were broken to pieces, as were all the windows that were not illuminated the next day, being the anniverſary of the reſtoration (e). To prevent the ill effects of this diſaffection, ſoldiers were quartered there, who, as they were chearfully and peaceably celebrating the prince of Wales's birth-day, were inſulted by both the ſcholars and townſmen. Stones were thrown into the windows of the Star-Inn, where the officers

(e) At the next aſſizes, among others, Wood, manciple of Baliol, and Mr. Stirling of the ſame college, were tried for curſing the king: But Stirling was acquitted. Mr. Frank Nicholls, a commoner of Exeter college, about fifteen years of age, was tried for crying out, 'Ormond for ever;' and fined and impriſoned for the ſame. The Political State for July 1716, ſays, that he was tried for curſing the king and government: But it is a miſtake, for he was tried only for the fact above-mentioned, as appears by the record.

and

and ſome loyal gentlemen were met, who were attacked by the diſaffected party when they came out to drink the king's and the royal family's health at the bonfire. Provoked by theſe affronts, the ſoldiers broke the windows of the diſaffected, and committed ſome other diſorders. When the vice-chancellor and the mayor ſent up their depoſitions to court, they took no notice of the inſults the officers and ſoldiers had met with, but only of what the ſoldiers had done by way of repriſals. As this affair came before the parliament, it will be mentioned more largely hereafter. Geo. I. 1716.

Maccartney tried and reſtored.

On the 13th of June, general Maccartney, who had returned to England ſome time before, took his trial for the pretended murder of the duke of Hamilton. Colonel Hamilton, who, in the queen's time, had given ſuch a poſitive evidence, that he ſaw general Maccartney give the duke his mortal wound, now deviated from it, and only averred, that he ſaw his ſword over the duke's ſhoulder. The falſhood of which appeared by the evidence of the two park-keepers, who ſtood firm to their former depoſitions, 'That they had taken the ſwords from general Maccartney and colonel Hamilton, when they went to the relief of the duke and lord Mohun.' And one of them depoſed, that he had been offered two handfuls of gold, and a place of 100l. a year, by the lord Bolingbroke, if he would ſwear, that Mr. Maccartney killed the duke. The jury acquitted Mr. Maccartney of the murder, and he was diſcharged of the manſlaughter by the formality of a cold iron immediately made uſe of to prevent appeal. He was ſoon after reſtored to his rank in the army, and had the earl of Orrery's regiment given him.

The prince of Wales made guardian of the realm.

The king, before his departure, appointed the prince of Wales guardian of the realm, and his lieutenant, during his abſence. The titles of duke of York, and Albany, and earl of Ulſter, were given to prince Erneſt, biſhop of Oſnaburg, the king's brother, who with prince Frederick, was alſo made knight of the garter. The duke of Devonſhire was made preſident of the council, and his place of lord ſteward of the houſhold was given to the duke of Kent. The earl of Portland was made marquis of Titchfield, and duke of Portland. Theſe promotions were attended with unexpected diſgraces. The duke of Argyle, and his brother the earl of Ilay, were removed from all their employments (f). They had both diſtin-

(f) A liſt of the duke's poſts and employments was made public, to this effect: Governor and commander, in

Geo. I. 1716. diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal and ſervices for the government; and the king had in ſome meaſure put his crown into their hands, by placing them at the head of his armies in Scotland. They had all along voted in the houſe of lords on the court-ſide; and therefore their removal was the more ſtrange. Whatever might be the cauſe, their poſts were diſpoſed of, to ſhew there was no room to expect being reſtored. General Carpenter was made commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, and governor of Minorca and Port-Mahon, and the duke of Montroſe was appointed lord clerk-regiſter of Scotland, in the room of the earl of Ilay.

The king goes abroad. On the 7th of July, the king ſet out from St. James's, took water at the Tower, and arrived, about two in the afternoon, at Graveſend, where he went on board the Carolina yacht (g). He was attended by Mr. ſecretary Stanhope, Mr. Boſcawen, comptroller of the houſhold, the officers of the green cloth, and moſt of his German miniſters, who imbarked in other yachts. In Margate Road they met a ſquadron of men of war, commanded by admiral Aylmer; and they all made the coaſt of Holland the 9th of July in the morning. About four in the afternoon, the king went aſhore, and paſſed through Holland incognito; lay at Voorts, the earl of Albemarle's ſeat, and arrived at Hanover the 15th of July; and, on the 20th, ſet out for Pyrmont to drink the waters.

in chief, of all his majeſty's forces in Scotland; general of the king's armies; lord-lieutenant of the ſhire of Dumbarton; lord-lieutenant of the county of Surrey; privy-counſellor; colonel of the royal blue regiment of horſe; governor of the iſland of Minorca; governor of Port-Mahon, in the ſaid iſland; firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber, and groom of the ſtole to the prince of Wales; and knight of the garter. Whether he was governor of Edinburgh caſtle at the time of his being thus diſmiſſed, is a doubt; but to all theſe is to be added a penſion of 2000 l. per annum, granted him by the king. His brother was likewiſe chief lord of the juſticiary, and lord clerk-regiſter in Scotland. The hereditary governments, ſheriffdoms, &c. which the duke and earl poſſeſſed in Scotland, they could not be deprived of; neither could the earl be removed from his place in the juſticiary, which was, as thoſe of the judges are in England, 'quam diu ſe bene geſſerint,' or rather, for life. Of theſe preferments, poſts, and truſts, the duke was diſpoſſeſſed at once.

(g) The duke of Argyle, it was obſerved, waited that morning on the king, and was for a few minutes in private conference with him. Pol. Stat.

The

Geo. I. 1716.

The king was abſent ſix months, during which, the ſituation of affairs in Great Britain remained much the ſame, and all was at laſt as quiet, as if he had himſelf been preſent. The prince (doubtleſs by his orders) ſet ſeveral priſoners at liberty, and reprieved others (a). The paſſage from Dover to Calais was opened, and paſſports no longer required to go from England to France. The king's enemies affected to believe and give out, that theſe proceedings were all owing to the prince's good diſpoſition, of which he would have ſhewn many more proofs, had it been in his power. This was carried ſo far, that addreſſes were preparing at Oxford and Glouceſter, and other places, to be preſented to the prince, to extol his wiſdom in the adminiſtration of affairs, and, in particular, his affability and graciouſneſs to 'all perſons without diſtinction of parties.' It was ſoon perceived,

Proceedings in the king's abſence.

(a) On the 4th of Auguſt the earl of Wintoun made his eſcape out of the Tower. On the 15th Mr. Farquharſon of Invercald was ſet at liberty out of the Marſhalſea, as was likewiſe the ſame day the laird of Mackintoſh, out of the Fleet Priſon. Mr. John Mackintoſh, a lawyer, under ſentence of death, was alſo releaſed from Newgate; and Mr. James Drummond, who was taken priſoner at Dumblain, from the cuſtody of a meſſenger. About the ſame time pardons paſſed the ſeals for ſome other priſoners, and in particular for Charles Radcliffe, brother to the late earl of Derwentwater, and for Mr. Wogan; as likewiſe a further reprieve of three months was granted to the other rebel priſoners under ſentence of death. But Mr. Radcliffe, making ſome difficulty of accepting the pardon, was detained in Newgate till he made his eſcape from thence on the 11th of December following; as Mr. Bruce, another of the rebel priſoners, had done on the 20th of Auguſt. The lord Duffus, who, as captain of a man of war, muſt have abjured the pretender, and afterwards entered into his ſervice, by joining with the rebels in Scotland, was from Hamburgh brought priſoner to London, examined by Mr. ſecretary Methuen, and committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower. Some time after fourteen of the rebel priſoners were diſcharged out of Newgate, George Seton, Charles Maxwell, Edmund Maxwell, William Dalmahoy, Alexander Forſter, Alexander Milne, Francis Congleton, Alexander Congleton, Thomas Anderſon, David Hall, George Skinner, William Dundaſs, merchants; and Mr. Lyon. The ſame day the following perſons were releaſed from the Marſhalſea; Mr. Winram, ſenior, Mr. Crow, Mr. Cunningham of Wall, Mr. William Scot, Mr. Carruthers, Mr. Murray, Mr. Grierſon, and Mr. William Maxwell. Butler and Samburne, two of the rebel priſoners, died in Newgate; and another, Samburne made his eſcape out of it.

Geo. I. 1716. that this inſinuated a reflection upon the king and his miniſtry, and therefore it was declared, the prince would receive no addreſſes that were not directly made to the throne.

Seditious papers and riots.

The papers and ſpeeches of ſome of the rebels that were executed, particularly of Mr. Hall and Mr. Paul, made great impreſſion on many people. Their execution, inſtead of leſſening, rather increaſed the number of the Jacobites; nor were they deterred from declaring themſelves. Seditious ſermons were preached, and libels againſt the government were publiſhed (b) By theſe means a ſpirit of mutiny and rebel-

(b) The moſt noted pamphlet was publiſhed by Lawrence Howel, (a nonjuring clergyman) intitled, 'The Caſe of 'Schiſm in the Church of Eng'land truly ſtated;' wherein are the following paſſages:

'The authority of the Church of England, and conſequently the Church of England itſelf, was with the deprived biſhops and clergy, and remains ſtill with their ſucceſſors, who alone have immediately adhered to her true conſtitutions and principles. That all, who depart from them, are, at leaſt, in a ſtate of ſchiſm.

That the canonical metropolitan, archbiſhop Sancroft, was not only diſplaced, but a ſubject-preſbyter of his (Dr. Tillotſon) was hoiſted into his room; and, when God had removed him, another (Dr. Teniſon) was ſet up in his place, as head of the ſchiſm. And under the biſhops, who actually did this, or thoſe who approved what they had done, by joining in communion with them, in oppoſition to the true canonical biſhops, have all the parochial clergy acted, and joined with them, againſt the canonical biſhops; and, being thus joined with them, they become ſchiſmatics; and thoſe who have, or ſtill do continue to join with theſe parochial clergy, do join in the ſchiſm, and thereby become guilty of ſchiſm. Let them therefore have been never ſo canonically ordained, and placed over a flock, yet, by cloſing with ſchiſmatics, they have forfeited all, and cannot diſpenſe the ordinances of God with any benefit, God's grace and influence, then and now, forſaking them. And to join communion with them, is not only to loſe the benefit of the ordinance, but to join in the ſchiſm; is, to join with thoſe, whom they ought to oppoſe with all their might, as violators and grand enemies of the unity and peace of God's Church.'

In the concluſion, the author cites the ſecond canon of the Church of England, and then proceeds to affirm:

That by king, mentioned in this canon, is to be underſtood (according to the undoubted principles of the Church of England) that perſon, who is poſſeſſed of the throne, according to the civil inſtitution of the Engliſh hereditary monarchy. Whoſoever diſowns his authority,

rebellion was kept up among the diſorderly rabble. So great was the diſaffection to the government at Oxford, that ſoldiers Geo. I. 1716.

rity, &c. by the canon, incurs the ſentence of excommunication, ipſo facto.

If king James II. had a right, the revolutioniſts and compliers were excommunicated by this canon; for, in depriving their rightful king, they diſowned his authority, &c. That he had a right, and continued claiming to his death, none can deny: Witneſs his perſonal aſſertion of his right in Ireland, his public manifeſto at the treaty of Ryſwick, (wherein he declares to the world, that that peace was founded upon the uſurpation of his kingdoms) and other declarations to the ſame purpoſe; and his ſon (whoſe right, as a ſon, is as inconteſtable as his father's) hath often repeated the ſame. Now, the violation of this ſecond canon, by the revolutioniſts transferring their allegiance from their lawful king to an uſurper (which is diſowning the lawful and rightful king's authority) renders them, ipſo facto, excommunicates; and the nonjurors, who have faithfully adhered to the doctrine and principles, are the only true Church of England.

The ſtate of the caſe plainly appearing, it is no difficulty to find out the guilty perſons, who muſt be no other than thoſe, that violated the canon, by breaking through their allegiance, and conſequently are in an immediate ſtate of excommunication; and, as ſuch, they ought to be deemed, and treated by all, though no declaratory ſentence be pronounced by the proper judges.

The words of the canon being poſitive, there is no farther occaſion to inlarge on it. The only queſtion then is, Whether there is ſuch a notoriety in our caſe? And, truly, I think, there ſcarce ever appeared in the world a more notorious and manifeſt caſe. The matter of fact is evident to all; for, who is ignorant of the unnatural treatment of king James II, from his children and ſubjects? How his authority was trampled on, deſpiſed, and denied; and, after ſeveral attempts to recover his undoubted right, how he was forced to live and die an exile? Nor is the caſe in the leaſt altered now; for they, that pertinaciouſly continued and gloried in their ſin then, do the ſame now; which makes the caſe ſo notorious, that theſe offenders ought to be treated as excommunicates, ipſo facto, upon the authority of the canon, without waiting for the declaratory ſentence of a judge.

Let us now conſider the ſtate and condition of an excommunicated perſon, which is dreadful to any man; but, when it falls to be a clergyman's lot, it makes fatal work; for, 1ſt, it diveſts him of the power of exerciſing any eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; which, if he ſhould preſume to do, it renders his acts invalid and null. 2. Excommunication renders a clergyman, ſo long as he continues in that ſtate, incapable of any

Geo. I. 1716. diers were quartered there, to keep the ſcholars and townſmen within bounds. Nor were theſe riotous proceedings confined to England; for the pretender's friends at Edinburgh had like to have freed a great number of lords and gentlemen impriſoned there, on account of the rebellion (c).

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eccleſiaſtical benefit, or promotion; and if he aſſume any, his inſtitution is void. It makes the whole adminiſtration of his miniſterial office ineffectual. You can expect no return of prayers with him, with whom you ought not to communicate. He cannot, authoritatively, bleſs the people of God, who is, himſelf, under a curſe, and excluded from being a part of them. And here, I think, all thoſe, who have joined with ſuch clergymen, ought to conſider what they have done, in communicating with them hitherto, and, whether they think they can, with ſafety, continue therein; for, in communicating with them, as ſchiſmatics, they make themſelves ſchiſmatics; and, in communicating with them, as excommunicates, not only all their labour is loſt, but, inſtead of a bleſſing, they get a curſe.'

Mr. Howel was apprehended in Bull-Head-Court, Jewin-Street, and, with him, was ſeized a large impreſſion of his pamphlet. Among his papers, was found an original inſtrument, of his being ordained a prieſt, by Dr. Hicks, who ſtiles himſelf ſuffragan biſhop of Thetford; and alſo, the form of abſolution and reception of converts to Jacobitiſm. He was committed to Newgate for high-treaſon. Upon the publication of this charge of ſchiſm, on the Church of England, a controverſy aroſe between the members of that Church and the Nonjurors. Howel being brought to his trial, and the pamphlet proved to be his, he was fined 500l. and three years impriſonment, and ſentenced to be twice whipped. Upon which, he aſked if they would whip a clergyman? And was anſwered by the court, 'They paid no deference to his cloth, becauſe he was a diſgrace to it, and had no right to wear it; and they did not look upon him as a clergyman, in that he had produced no proof of his ordination, but from Dr. Hicks, under the denomination of the biſhop of Thetford; which was illegal, and not according to the conſtitution of this kingdom, which knows no ſuch biſhop.' As he received his ſentence with an air of haughtineſs, and behaved himſelf contemptuouſly to the court, he was ordered to be degraded, and ſtripped of the gown, he had no title to wear; which was done, in the court, by the executioner. But, a few days after, upon his petition to the king, the corporal puniſhment was remitted.

(c) The moſt remarkable riot was that in London in the month of July. Some time before the breaking out of the rebellion, many of the well affected to the government, in order to be ready on any proper occaſion to quell the outragious mob

Few occurrences happened during the king's abſence worth noting. The prince of Wales, in September, took a pro-

Geo. I. 1716.

Progreſs of the prince.

mob, that diſturbed the peace of the city of London, met in ſeveral public houſes, which, from the veſſel in which the drink was ſold, were called Mug-houſes. The two moſt noted of theſe ſocieties were the Mug-houſe in Long-Acre, and the Roe-buck in Cheapſide, being ſet up before the king's acceſſion. Their example produced ſeveral others of the like houſes, in Saliſbury-Court, Taviſtock Street, Southwark-Park, Covent-Garden, and other places. As theſe ſocieties were a terror and mortification to the diſaffected, ſo were they the object of their fury, of which they gave many inſtances. The day before Mr. Paul, the clergyman, was hanged, they fell upon the Mug-houſe in Southwark-Park, with their uſual cry of High-Church and Ormond; but the ſociety ſallying out upon them, after the windows of the houſe had been all broke, the mob retired. The execution of Mr. Paul, who declared himſelf at the gallows to be their martyr, exaſperated them yet more, and the ſociety at Mr. Read's, in Saliſbury-Court, having diſtinguiſhed themſelves by demonſtrations of duty and reſpect to the prince and princeſs of Wales, at their return from Greenwich; the Jacobites took ſo much offence at it, that on the 20th of July they attacked Mr. Read's houſe, and would have demoliſhed it, had not the company within ſent for a reinforcement from Taviſtock-Street, with which being joined, the mob fled with great precipitation. But they continued hovering about the houſe the following days; and hearing, that Mr. Archibald Butler, a young Scots gentleman, who had been in the rebellion, but had received the king's pardon, was in the Temple-Walks, they ran thither crying out, High-Church and Ormond. Mr. Butler got away from them as faſt as he could; and preſently one Vaughan, a ſmall-coal-man, propoſed to them to go and revenge the affront they had received three days before at the Mug-Houſe in Saliſbury-Court. The mob, aſſenting to this propoſal, followed him to Mr. Read's houſe, on which they fell furiouſly; but, meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance, they gathered recruits from the multitudes, that crowded thither. Upon this alarm, and hearing they were determined to demoliſh the houſe, Mr. Read appeared, and bid them keep off, otherwiſe he would ſhoot amongſt them. The Bridewell-boys, of whom Vaughan had been one, and the reſt of the mob, regardleſs of this fair warning, preſſing forwards with great clubs and ſticks, Mr. Read diſcharged a muſket, and ſhot Vaughan, their leader, who died on the ſpot. The riot continuing, the ſheriffs of London repaired to the place, who cauſed the proclamation appointed by act of parliament, againſt riots, to be read; but, this not avail-

Geo. I. 1716. progreſs into the country. He ſet out the 24th, from Hampton-Court, and arrived at Knowle in Kent, the ſeat of the earl

availing, and the rioters being become rebels, a party of the horſe-guards was ordered by the privy-council to march to Saliſbury-Court to ſuppreſs them; and, upon their appearance, the mob diſperſed and fled from the purſuit of juſtice; which, however, overtook ſome of them; for John Love, Thomas Bean, a ſervant to Caſſills and Carnegie, two condemned rebels, then in Newgate, George Purchaſe, Richard Price, and William Price, five of the moſt active of the rioters, were ſeized, impriſoned, and tried upon the ſtatute, which makes it felony to demoliſh, or begin to demoliſh, any houſe. The evidence againſt them proved their breaking the windows with ſtones and ſticks, pulling down the ſign, entering the houſe, fetching out the goods, treading upon them, and breaking them. It was ſworn at their trial, that one of the mob brought three bottles out of Mr. Read's houſe, kneeled down by the Swan ale-houſe door, and drank the pretender's health, by the name of king James the Third. The evidence againſt theſe five rioters being very ſtrong, they were all found guilty, and received ſentence of death. The prince was very much inclined to ſhew mercy to one or two of the youngeſt of them; but, the dangerous conſequences of riots and tumults, in the heart of the metropolis, and the neceſſity of preventing the ſame, by exemplary puniſhment, being repreſented to the prince, he acquieſced in the courſe of juſtice; which had the good effect, that was foreſeen and intended, the putting a ſtop to the deſperate outrages of an enthuſiaſtical multitude. The five rioters were executed on a gibbet, erected, on the 21ſt of September, at the end of Saliſbury-Court, near the place where the crimes, for which they died, were committed. George Purchaſe acknowledged himſelf 'greatly guilty, and his ſentence juſt; praying God to forgive him this and all other his ſins. This, he ſaid, he raſhly committed, not conſidering, then, the unlawfulneſs and diſmal conſequences of ſuch a rebellious ſedition, as that was, which ſo much tended, not only to the ruin of private perſons, but to the great diſturbance of, and diſhonour to, the whole government.'

However, ſome party-zealots proſecuted Mr. Read for the death of Vaughan, who had led on the mob to deſtroy his houſe. The witneſſes againſt him, at his trial, ſwore very ſtrongly againſt him. John Bill depoſed, That he believed, Vaughan did not belong to the mob in Saliſbury-Court, and had no ſtick in his hand. Charles Tuckey ſwore, That Vaughan had no ſtick. The ſame was ſworn by Catharine Bennet. Joſeph Harris depoſed, That Vaughan told him, 'He would not be concerned, but go to work.' This being ſo directly contrary to the fact, known to ſo many hundreds

earl of Dorſet, before noon, and at Tunbridge-Wells about five in the evening. From thence he went to Haland, in Suſſex, the ſeat of the duke of Newcaſtle, where he lay, and came to Lewes about ten the next morning; and, about nine in the evening, to Stanſted, the earl of Scarborough's ſeat. The next morning, he proceeded to Portſmouth, and, having viewed the fortifications, docks, yards, and magazines, reviewed the regiments there, and went on board the guard-ſhip and bomb-ſhip; dined at lieutenant-general Erle's, and returned in the evening to Stanſted, where archdeacon Boucher, one of the canons reſidentiary of Chicheſter, accompanied by the prebendaries and vicars of that cathedral, with many of the neighbouring clergy, were preſented to him by the lord Lumley. On the 27th, about nine in the morning, the prince left Stanſted, and, on a common near Rake, reviewed Wynn's dragroons. He came to Farnham about one, and near that place reviewed Evan's dragoons. In the evening, he arrived at Guilford; and, about eleven at night, returned to Hampton-Court. Two days after, the Venetian ambaſſador had a private audience, to notify the ſucceſs of the arms of that republic againſt the Turks, and the raiſing the ſiege of Corfu, owing chiefly to the conduct of general Schuylenberg, commander of their army, though a Proteſtant, and brother to the duchess of Kendal. Geo. I. 1716.

In the beginning of November, the princeſs of Wales was in extreme danger, having been ſeveral days in labour, but at laſt was delivered of a dead prince, who was privately depoſited in a vault in Henry VIII's chapel.

About the ſame time, the duke of Marlborough was taken ill at Blenheim houſe. His diſtemper being apoplectic, the fit ſo far impaired his health, that he never after could be ſaid to be perfectly recovered. The duke of Marlborough taken ill.

The ſtate priſoners that were in Edinburgh caſtle being removed to Carliſle, a commiſſion was iſſued to try them at that place. The priſoners gave the court little trouble, al- Rebels tried, and ſome executed.

dreds of ſpectators, and fully proved by ſeveral of them, the jury acquitted Mr. Read, who had 400 l. paid him at the treaſury, to make good his loſſes and charges: And Mr. Gill, at the Roebuck in Cheapſide, had 200 l. allowed him on the ſame account, his houſe having been ſeveral times attacked by the mob, of whom, one, the apprentice of Mr. Heptinſtal, a printer, was ſhot, preſſing on as Vaughan did, notwithſtanding repeated warnings to keep off.

Geo. I. 1716. moſt all of them pleading guilty. Some were condemned, and the reſt diſcharged; but, however, not one was executed. In December, brigadier Colin Campbell, the moſt obnoxious of all the priſoners, made his eſcape in diſguiſe. The laſt of the rebels, who were executed at Lancaſter and Preſton, were captain John Bruce, gentleman of the horſe to the duke of Hamilton, Thomas Shuttleworth, John Minkley, George Hodgſon, and William Charnley; theſe were hanged in October.

Accident at the play-houſe. On the 6th of December, an accident happened, which gave occaſion to various conjectures. The prince of Wales being in one of the ſtage-boxes at the Theatre in Drury-Lane, to ſee the tragedy of Tamerlane, Mr. Freeman, a gentleman of Surrey, who had for ſome years paſt been troubled with fits of lunacy, came booted and ſpurred, and would have preſſed into the ſtage-box, near the place where the prince was. Being in a mean riding habit, he was ſtopped by the box-keepers and a grenadier who was upon duty; whereupon he drew out a piſtol, and ſhot the centinel in the ſhoulder. With great difficulty he was ſecured; and, being ſearched, two or three loaded piſtols were found about him; which, together with his man's waiting for him with two horſes, at the end of the play-houſe paſſage, did not a little increaſe the ſuſpicion of a treaſonable deſign againſt the prince. The report of the piſtol, and the diſturbance that followed it, occaſioned a great alarm within the houſe, particularly among the ladies; and, none rightly knowing the cauſe of the confuſion, the gentlemen and officers about the prince, and almoſt throughout the houſe, drew their ſwords; ſo that the players were a conſiderable time at a ſtand. But Mr. Freeman being ſent priſoner to the guard at St. James's, all was quiet again; the prince having all this while preſerved a great preſence of mind, and appeared to be under no apprehenſion. The ſoldier's wound did not prove mortal; but, Mr. Freeman's attempt of forcing the prince of Wales's guard coming within the ſtatute of treaſon, after he had been examined before the council, he was committed to Newgate; the rather, becauſe he was ſaid to have either killed, or mortally wounded a man two days before, in the country.

Some changes in the miniſtry. A conſiderable change began now to be made in the miniſtry. The earl of Sunderland, who had gone beyond ſea, under pretence of travelling for his health, had taken the opportunity of waiting upon the king at Hanover, and by his intrigues with the German miniſters there, particularly the barons Bothmar and Bernodorff, and monſieur de Robethon,

bethon, infuſed a jealouſy into him of the lord Townſhend and Mr. Walpole; ſo that, on the 11th of December, an expreſs arrived in England from Hanover, and the next day it was publickly known, that lord Townſhend was removed from his place of ſecretary of ſtate. This was however ſoftened with an account, that his lordſhip was to be advanced to the poſt of lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the duke of Grafton, firſt lord-juſtice of that kingdom, being appointed colonel of the royal regiment of horſe-guards, lately commanded by the duke of Argyle; and the earl of Galway, the other lord-juſtice of Ireland, being to enjoy an honourable penſion during life. Two days after, the duke of Roxburgh was made ſecretary of ſtate, and keeper of the king's ſignet in Scotland. The lord Polewarth was appointed lord clerk-regiſter, in the room of the duke of Montroſe, who was made keeper of the great ſeal of Scotland. The duke of Kingſton was appointed keeper of the privy-ſeal, and the earl of Sunderland ſole treaſurer of Ireland for life. Geo. I. 1716.

In this diſpoſition things remained till the king's return; and the lord Townſhend's removal affected no more for the preſent than himſelf; though the diviſions in the miniſtry ſeemed irreconcileable (d).

Du-

(d) The following particulars happened during the king's abſence. Thomas D'Aeth and Matthew Decker were created baronets. The penſion of 2500l. a year was taken from the earl of Nottingham.

Edward Southwell, James Vernon, and Andrew Carlton, were appointed commiſſioners of the privy-ſeal, in the abſence of the earl of Sunderland.

Mr. Bruce, a Scotch priſoner, changing cloaths with his ſiſter, made his eſcape out of Newgate.

In Auguſt there blew ſo ſtrong a weſterly wind (which forced back the tide, and drove forward the ebbing water) that the Thames lay perfectly dry above and below bridge, except a narrow channel about four feet deep, and twelve feet over.

Several of the ſchool-maſters of the charity-ſchools in London, were removed for diſaffection to the government; Dr. Welton, rector of White-Chapel, was deprived alſo for diſaffection to the government, and was ſucceeded by Dr. Shippen, of Brazen-noſe-College in Oxford.

Margaret, eldeſt daughter of the lord Coningſby, was created baroneſs and viſcounteſs of Coningſby, of Hampton-Court, in Herefordſhire, with limitation to her heirs male.

January the 4th, the triple league between Great-Britain, France, and Holland, was ſigned at the Hague.

Three days after the king's return

Geo. I. 1716. During theſe tranſactions at home, the king was not idle abroad. One of the principal ends of the king's journey to Hanover, was to provide againſt any future attempts of the Jacobite party, by endeavouring to make alliances with all thoſe powers from whence the pretender might expect any ſupport. But this was an impoſſible undertaking, in the then ſituation of the affairs of Europe. The king of Spain pretending to have numberleſs complaints againſt the emperor. The evacuation of Catalonia had given great offence, as to the manner of doing it. A tribunal had been erected at Vienna for the affairs of Spain, and the eſtates of the Flemiſh, who had ſerved king Philip, were confiſcated. But theſe were ſlight grievances in compariſon of what was now in agitation. Sicily had been granted to the duke of Savoy, by the Utrecht treaty, on condition of returning to Spain, in caſe of failure of heirs. The emperor had looked upon this grant with the utmoſt concern. He had almoſt perſuaded the duke of Savoy to accept Sardinia in exchange, without the participation of the court of Madrid, and without any regard to the clauſe of reverſion. To all theſe occaſions of rupture were added the pretenſions of the two courts to the ſucceſſion of the Tuſcan dominions.

Complaints of Spain againſt the emperor.

State of France and Spain.

As to France, with reſpect to Spain, the two nations were united, but their governors were not ſo. King Philip and the duke of Orleans were ready to contend for the crown of Lewis XV. in caſe death ſhould remove him out of the world. Philip had renounced that crown, and upon that alone was founded the duke of Orlean's title. But, beſides that, the renunciation was generally conſidered in France as of no force; the emperor's conſtant refuſal to ceaſe ſtyling himſelf king of Spain, ſeemed entirely to annul it, as it was not reaſonable that one contracting party ſhould be obliged to ſtand to mutual engagements, to which the other refuſes to ſubmit. King George therefore could not be attached to France, without offending Spain, nor could he be united to Spain, without giving offence to both the others.

return, January the 22d, came on the famous trial of Francia the Jew, for correſponding with the king's enemies. He was acquitted.

Thirty of the Preſton rebels having been put on board a ſhip to be tranſported, affidavits were made before the mayor of Liverpool, that they had maſtered the ſhip's crew, and carried the ſhip to France. One hundred of the ſame priſoners, who had been confined in the Savoy, were ſhipped off for the Weſt-Indies.

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The caſe was much the ſame with the northern powers, and it was ſtill more difficult for king George to manage them, ſo as to draw none of them upon himſelf. Denmark and Sweden were at war: The czar had entered into a confederacy, which had taken from the Swede his German dominions: The princes of the empire beheld with regret the Ruſſians in their country. It was the buſineſs of thoſe who called them in, and made uſe of them, to ſend them away. The acquiſition of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which king George had gained as elector of Hanover, had enraged king Charles of Sweden. He durſt not, as king of Great-Britain, declare war againſt him (though he had done it as elector of Hanover) nor could he be reconciled with him, unleſs he reſtored the two duchies. The only way therefore was to compel that warlike prince to make peace. In this ſituation, it was neceſſary for king George to make alliances, and unite with thoſe who could moſt annoy him, in caſe they became his enemies. Being ſure of the good diſpoſition of the regent of France, he truſted to his miniſters the negotiation with that prince, and undertook himſelf the affairs of the north, where, it is plain, he knew ſome enterprize was contriving in favour of the pretender.

Geo. I. 1716.

Negotiation with the northern princes.

The negotiation with France ſucceeded to his wiſh. The duke of Orleans, who had ſtill more need of a ſupport to mount the throne, in caſe of a vacancy, than the king had to maintain himſelf on that of Great-Britain, granted all that was deſired. The States-general, who aimed only at peace and ſecurity, readily came into a treaty, which embroiled them with no power they were concerned to manage, and which laid upon them ſcarce any freſh obligation. General Cadogan, the abbot du Bois, and penſionary Heinſius negotiated this affair with ſo much ſecrecy, that the treaty was finiſhed almoſt before it was known to be in hand.

With France and the States.

By this treaty, the pretender, that his near abode might not encourage commotions in Great-Britain, was to depart immediately from Avignon, and go beyond the Alps; nor was he to be ſuffered at any time to come to return thither, or to paſs through the French Territories, under pretence of going to Lorrain, or even to ſet his foot in any place within the dominions of France, much leſs to ſtay there on any pretence whatſoever. This was accompanied with the renewing of the promiſes made at Utrecht, of abſolutely refuſing protection to the chevalier de St. George, and of aſſiſting him in any manner directly or indirectly. No refuge was to be given to the ſubjects of either party, who ſhould be declared

The treaty with France.

Geo. I. 1716. clared rebels. All that had been formerly agreed, concerning Dunkirk, was to be fully executed, and nothing was to be omitted that the king of Great-Britain ſhould think neceſſary for the intire demolition of the harbour, and for the removing all ſuſpicion that a new harbour was intended to be made on the canal of Mardyke. This treaty referred to a memorial ſigned at London, in September, by monſieur Iberville, reſident of France, and the lord Townſhend and Mr. Methuen, ſecretaries of ſtate, containing the particulars required by king George to make him eaſy and cure his ſuſpicions.

After theſe preliminaries (which might be conſidered as the purchaſe given by France for this alliance) it was added, that, the true deſign of this treaty being to ſtrengthen the friendſhip eſtabliſhed by the late treaties at Utrecht, the articles of thoſe treaties, as far as they concerned the contracting parties, were confirmed and ratified, particularly, that the ſucceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain in the Proteſtant line, and to the crown of France in the family of Orleans, excluſive of the houſe of Anjou, ſhould remain in full force. A mutual guarantee was alſo given for the performance of theſe, and all the other articles, and for the defence of the dominions poſſeſſed by the three powers at the time of ſigning the treaty. Then was ſettled the ſuccours each ſhould give the party attacked, after fair means had been uſed to induce the aggreſſor to deſiſt from his enterpriſe. France and England were to furniſh each eight thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe; and the States half that number. It was free to demand ſhips or money inſtead of troops; and, to prevent all occaſion of diſpute, it was agreed, that a thouſand foot ſhould be valued at 10,000 Dutch florins a month, and a thouſand horſe at 30,000. The ſuccours at ſea were to be valued in the ſame proportion.

The chief end of this treaty being to ſupport the ſucceſſions to the two crowns, that article was very largely explained. It was agreed, that, if the kingdoms, countries, or provinces of any of the allies were diſturbed with inteſtine diviſions, or by rebellions, on account of theſe ſucceſſions, or any other pretence, the ally ſo diſturbed ſhould have a right to demand aid, as in caſe of being attacked by a foreign power; that this aid ſhould be ſent within two months after demand, and the neceſſary expences advanced by thoſe of whom it was demanded, and no repayment to be required till a year after the troubles ſhould ceaſe. In caſe this aid ſhould not be ſufficient, it was added, the whole forces of

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the other parties ſhould be employed, and if occaſion required, war ſhould be declared againſt the aggreſſors. Geo. I. 1716.

As ſoon as this treaty was made public, it raiſed great murmurings, eſpecially in France, where it was openly ſaid, the regent ſacrificed to his ambitious views the honour and advantage of the nation: The condeſcenſion hitherto ſhewn for England on account of the chevalier de St. George, had been too great, but the preſent proceedings were ſhameful and mean: The demolition of Mardyke would be an eternal monument of the ſubjection of France to England: Lewis XIV. would never have conſented to it, and the unſettled ſtate of Great-Britain did not put her in a condition to impoſe laws: A prince, who had no other intereſt but that of his people, would have taken the opportunity to finiſh a work ſo important and neceſſary: The expreſſions in the treaty, of doing 'whatever the king of Great-Britain ſhall 'judge neceſſary to remove his ſuſpicions,' were of a very high ſtrain, and derogatory to the ſovereignty of the crown of France. Murmurings againſt the treaty.

The king of Spain was highly offended at this alliance, and complained of it bitterly, affirming, it belonged to the ſtates of the realm, not to foreigners, eſpecially the Engliſh, perpetual enemies of France, to decide pretenſions to the throne, in caſe God ſhould, in his anger, call the young king to himſelf: And from that time he took meaſures to diſconcert this alliance.

This ſtrict alliance with France was found fault with even in England, where it was pretended, that the ſucceſſion was ſufficiently ſecured by the treaty of Utrecht, and there was no occaſion for ſo many foreign troops, which might be called in on pretence of an invaſion, and perhaps be uſed for different purpoſes. The king and regent diſregarded theſe murmurs, being ſatisfied that their mutual intereſt would oblige them to an inviolable performance of their engagements. The character of theſe two princes had a great reſemblance in many particulars. They had both great talents for government, and may be ſaid to have equally had an occaſion for them in their reſpective circumſtances, which were much the ſame. Alike diſſatisfied with the late adminiſtration of affairs, they obſerved the ſame conduct. None of the friends and creatures of Lewis XIV. were in favour with the duke of Orleans; as none of the friends and creatures of queen Anne were in favour with king George. The difference, in their manner of treating them, entirely flowed from the different uſages of the nations they governed.

King

Geo. I. 1716. King George delivered himſelf up to the Whigs, who had been perſecuted in the late reign: The duke of Orleans ſeemed to give himſelf up to the Janſeniſts, whom Lewis XIV. had conſtantly ill uſed: They changed miniſters almoſt as often one as the other: Their competitors inſpired them with the ſame views, and almoſt the ſame precautions; They were alike even in their death, for both died ſuddenly. The duke of Orleans is ſaid to have had a more prompt and ready genius: The multitude and difficulty of his affairs never hindered him from purſuing his pleaſures; whereas king George was always attentive, always ſerious, and ſeemed an enemy to all amuſements: and therefore he was, beyond compariſon, more regular in his manners and conduct; beſides, he was more conſtantly attached to the party he had eſpouſed, and was never ſeen to waver between the Whigs and Tories, as did the duke of Orleans between the Janſeniſts and Moliniſts.

Negotiations in the north almoſt fruitleſs.

General Cadogan had much better ſucceſs in his negotiations with France, than the king had in his with the northern powers. Notwithſtanding all his endeavours, he could engage them neither to be reconciled, nor even to ſuſpend their reſentments. He ſeemed, however, to have ſucceeded in ſpite of the king of Denmark's deſire to preſerve his advantages, and the king of Sweden's eagerneſs to revenge and repair his loſſes. His Swediſh majeſty had preſented to the emperor and the diet pacific memorials, and even ſent plenipotentiaries to aſſiſt at the congreſs of Brunſwick; but all theſe hopes quickly vaniſhed. King George had, however, made that prince all the advances imaginable: Had ſtrongly preſſed the emperor, the kings of Denmark and Pruſſia, and even the czar himſelf, that the Ruſſians might march out of the empire: Nay, it is ſaid, he had proceeded ſo far towards a ſeparate peace with the king of Sweden, as to offer to join with him againſt the Muſcovite, on condition only that he would renounce all pretenſions to the dutchies of Bremen and Verden. King Charles XII. was intractable; incenſed at the war made againſt him, when he could not defend himſelf; and ſtill more at the peace, which they would compel him to make, on conditions, as he thought, both diſhonourable and hard, he breathed nothing but revenge, and was as much offended with the king of Great-Britain, as with the czar and the king of Demark.

As king George could not obtain the ceſſion he deſired, he took the beſt meaſures to ſecure his new acquiſitions, and compel the king of Sweden to remain quiet. It was given

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out, that the confederacy he had entered into, was formed purely for the ſake of of peace. It was agreed by the confederates, that each ſhould furniſh a certain number of forces and ſhips, not to make new conqueſts upon Sweden, but to oblige his Swediſh majeſty to ſit eaſy under his loſſes, and not endeavour to recover them. This rupture with Sweden was not only detrimental to the trade of Great-Britain, but had like to have proved fatal to the king; for, whilſt he was labouring for a peace in the north, in order to ſecure his German poſſeſſions, a ſcheme was contriving to deprive him of his Britiſh dominions. Geo. I. 1716.

The diſaffected in England, ſtill purſuing their deſigns in favour of the pretender, turned their eyes on the king of Sweden to accompliſh it. They knew how exaſperated he was againſt king George, and how glad he would be of a revenge: Count Gyllenburg was the Swediſh reſident at London. The count was applied to, or perhaps made the firſt overtures. The affair was carried on not only at London, but by baron Gortz, the Swediſh ambaſſador at the Hague, and by baron Sparre at Paris, with the Engliſh Jacobites there, and other friends of the pretender. Baron Gortz, who was the projector of this plot, went to France, in order to bring things to the point he deſired, and becauſe the ſecret could be kept better at Paris than at the Hague. The czar was alſo treated with, who was known to be offended with king George.

Theſe Negotiations could not be ſo privately managed, but that they were ſuſpected by the court of England. In April, when the ſeptennial bill was in hand, intimations had been given that a ſecond invaſion was to be feared, and this apprehenſion was made one of the motives for continuing a houſe of commons, in which the king had ſo much reaſon to confide. Theſe ſuſpicions were indeed not very clear, but, in the ſituation of Europe at that time, it was not difficult to gueſs from what quarter the danger was to come. The good diſpoſition of the duke of Orleans had removed all uneaſineſs with reſpect to France. The king of Spain, wholly intent on his projects againſt the emperor, could not be ſuſpected of quarrelling with England. The north therefore was the only place from whence the ſtorm could be thought to proceed: This conjecture, the only reaſonable one that could be formed, determined king George to repair to Hanover, where he could beſt diſcover the intentions of his enemies. He ſucceeded in his deſign; at leaſt the public was, in a few days after

Geo. I. 1716. after his arrival at London, informed of the plot, by the ſeizing of count Gyllenburg.

1716-17. The king's return to England.

The king, having finiſhed all his affairs abroad, ſet out from Hanover the 19th of January, N. S. and in ten days landed at Margate, from whence he proceeded to London.

The Swediſh reſident ſeized.

It was expected, the parliament would have immediately met, but their meeting was put off for ſome time, on account of a ſurprizing event. On the 29th of January, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope communicated to the privy-council, the informations the king had received of a conſpiracy, which had for ſome time been carried on to excite a new rebellion, and to favour a foreign invaſion. The ſame night, major Smith, an Iriſh officer, who was no longer in the ſervice, and who, that very evening, had been playing at baſſet at the apartments in St. James's, was ſeized at his lodgings; and, about twelve o'clock, lieutenant colonel Blakeney, with a detachment of the foot-guards, ſecured the houſe of count Gyllenburg, the Swediſh reſident. Not long after, major-general Wade, attended by the colonel, went and knocked at the door of the Swediſh miniſter, and being admitted, found him making up ſome diſpatches. Having, in a few words, made him a compliment, and acquainted him with his commiſſion to put a guard upon his perſon, and to ſecure his papers, he laid hold on ſuch as were on the table, and demanded thoſe that were in his ſcruture. Count Gyllenburg's ſurprize raiſed in him an extraordinary emotion, which made him expoſtulate with ſome warmth about the law of nations being violated in his perſon; but, having ſomewhat recovered his temper, he deſired leave to ſend for the marquis de Monteleone, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, that he might conſult with him, how to act on ſuch an occaſion. But general Wade, having poſitive orders not to let him ſpeak with any perſon, could not grant his requeſt. On the other hand, the count's lady having refuſed the keys of the ſcrutore, upon pretence, that there was nothing in it but linen and plate, the general cauſed it to be broke open; and, having found in it a great many papers, he ſealed them all up, and left a ſtrong guard upon the reſident. The ſame morning. Charles Cæſar, formerly treaſurer of the navy, and member of parliament for the borough of Hertford; and Sir Jacob Bancks, formerly member of parliament for Minehead, were apprehended, upon ſuſpicion of being in confederacy with count Gyllenburg.

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There were ſeveral conjectures as to the means of this important diſcovery. Some affirmed, the king had long before notice of the deſign from France; others, that the diſcovery was owing to an intercepted letter from count Gyllenburg to the lord Duffus, priſoner in the Tower: And others aſſerted, the lord Duffus accidentally revealed the conſpiracy to an Engliſh lord, his fellow priſoner, who diſcovered it to the government, and thereby merited his pardon. Be this as it will, it is certain, that the king and his miniſters had long before entertained ſuſpicions of the count's clandeſtine practices; which were not a little increaſed upon the publication of a libel about September 1716, intitled, 'An Engliſh Merchant's Remarks upon a ſcandalous Jacobite Paper publiſhed in the Poſt-Boy, under the name of, A Memorial preſented to the Chancery of Sweden, by the Reſident of Great Britain.' Of which libel count Gyllenburg was ſuſpected to be the author, as afterwards appeared by his letters. Geo. I. 1716-17.

The ſecuring the perſon and papers of a public miniſter being an affair of an extraordinary nature, and ſome foreign miniſters having expreſſed their reſentments of it at court, they were given to underſtand, that in a day or two they ſhould be acquainted with the reaſons for proceeding againſt the Swediſh miniſter in ſuch a manner. Accordingly, the ſecretaries of ſtate, Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Methuen, wrote a circular letter to the foreign miniſters of their reſpective diſtricts, who were pretty well reconciled to the proceedings of the court; only the marquis de Monteleone, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, ſaid, in his anſwer to Mr. Stanhope: 'That he was ſorry no other way could be found out, for preſerving the peace of his majeſty's dominions, without arreſting the perſon of a public miniſter, and ſeizing all his papers, which are the ſacred repoſitories of the ſecrets of his maſter; and, in whatever manner theſe two facts may ſeem to be underſtood, they ſeem very ſenſibly to wound the law of nations.'

Not many days after the ſeizing of count Gyllenburg, baron Gortz, miniſter and favourite of the king of Sweden, was likewiſe ſecured in Guelderland, in the following manner: Mr. Leathes, the Britiſh reſident at the Hague, received the king's orders to deſire the regents of that ſtate to conſent to the ſeizing of baron Gortz, with his two ſecretaries, M. Stambke and M. Guſtavus Gyllenburg, the baron having for ſome time been concerned in carrying on a correſpondence, and concerting meaſures with the Britiſh rebels in France, and with ſeveral perſons in England, by means of Baron Gortz ſecured.

Geo. I. 1716-17. count Gyllenburg, for raiſing a rebellion in England, to be ſupported by a foreign force. Mr. Leathes went immediately to Amſterdam, and diſpoſed the magiſtrates of that place to conſent to the ſecuring of baron Gortz, in caſe he ſhould come thither from France; and returned back to the Hague. The ſame night baron Gortz arrived there, having heard at Calais of count Gyllenburg's being put under arreſt, which prevented his going over to England, as he intended. He had, on the 18th of February, a conference with the imperial miniſter, wherein he extolled the inclination of the king of Sweden to peace, and inſiſted on a reſolution about his laſt propoſitions; but, the next day, he ſet out, a little before noon, in a poſt chaiſe, accompanied by general Poniatowcſki, having, as it is believed, had ſome notice, that orders were given to ſecure him, which indeed he narrowly eſcaped. For, upon Mr. Leathes's application, the council of the States of Holland met, and paſſed a reſolution for ſeizing the baron and his ſecretaries; but, before it could be executed, the baron and M. Stambke were gone that morning for Amſterdam; ſo that only Mr. Gyllenburg was then taken. A party of horſe was immediately ſent after the other two, and Mr. Leathes followed them to Amſterdam, and, learning where baron Gortz was lodged, he went, accompanied with the proper officers, to the houſe of M. Teitſen, a Swediſh merchant, and ſearched it; but the baron had left it ſome hours before. However, a box was found, in which were twelve large packets of letters; and, informations being given which way the baron had taken, ſome perſons were diſpatched after him, who ſeized him and Mr. Stambke at Arnheim, by leave of the magiſtrates of that place, as they were taking coach to go on from thence. Mr. Leathes, being returned to the Hague, waited on the deputies of the province of Guelderland, who thought fit to write a letter to the magiſtrates of Arnheim, ordering them to cauſe the baron and M. Stambke to be kept in ſafe cuſtody. On this occaſion, all thoſe of the regency, who were applied to, entered readily into the reaſonableneſs of the king's demands, and gave all the aſſiſtance and diſpatch, that was conſiſtent with the known forms of proceeding in that country. It is obſervable, that, when baron Gortz was ſeized, he owned himſelf to have been the projector of the intended invaſion of great Britain by the king of Sweden, and that he had actually provided ten thouſand arms, and other neceſſaries for this ſervice, valuing himſelf very much upon what he had done in this affair, as thinking it extremely for the

intereſt of his maſter, and a noble and glorious enterprize (a). Geo. I. 1716-17.

The parliament of Great Britain met on the 20th of February, according to their laſt prorogation; and the king being come to the houſe of peers with the uſual ſolemnity, and delivering a ſpeech into the lord chancellor's hands, it was by him read to both houſes. The ſecond ſeſſion of the fifth parliament of Great Britain.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I Was in hopes, that the ſucceſs which it pleaſed God " to give us, in defeating the late rebellion, might have " ſecured to the nation peace, plenty, and tranquillity. The king's ſpeech. Pr. H. C.

" My endeavours have not been wanting, during your " receſs, to improve the happy proſpect, which was in view, " by entering into ſuch negotiations, as I judged moſt con- " ducive to thoſe good ends: And it is with pleaſure I can " acquaint you, that many defects in the treaties of Utrecht, " which very nearly affected the trade, and even the ſecurity " of theſe kingdoms, have been remedied by ſubſequent con- " ventions, the happy conſequences of which have already " very ſenſibly appeared, by the flouriſhing condition of our " trade and credit.

" By the alliance lately concluded with France and the " States-general, we are ſoon to be eaſed of all future ap- " prehenſions from Dunkirk and Mardyke. The pretender " is actually removed beyond the Alps: His adherents are " deprived of all hopes of ſupport and countenance from " France; and even the aſſiſtance of that crown is ſtipulated " to us in caſe of exigency.

" It ſeemed reaſonable to expect, that ſuch a ſituation of " affairs at home and abroad ſhould have recovered from " their deluſion all ſuch of our ſubjects, as had unhappily " been ſeduced by the craft and wickedneſs of deſperate and " ill-deſigning men, and thereby have afforded me the op- " portunity, which I deſired, of following the natural bent

(a) To juſtify this invaſion, it was urged, that king George, as elector of Hanover, had aſſiſted the princes in confederacy againſt the king of Sweden, proclaimed war againſt him, aided the king of Denmark to take Bremen and Verden, and afterwards purchaſed theſe two duchies of him. And this year had given inſtructions to Sir John Norris to join the Daniſh and Ruſſian fleets in the Baltick; which the admiral did accordingly.

Geo. 1. 1716-17. " of my own inclinations to lenity, by opening this ſeſſion " with an act of grace. But ſuch is the obſtinate and inve- " terate rancour of a faction amongſt us, that it hath again " prompted them to animate and ſtir up foreign powers to " diſturb the peace of their native country: They will " chooſe rather to make Britain a ſcene of blood and confu- " ſion, and to venture even the putting this kingdom under " a foreign yoke, than give over their darling deſign of im- " poſing a Popiſh pretender.

" I have ordered to be laid before you copies of letters, " which have paſſed between the Swediſh miniſters on this " occaſion, which contain a certain account of the projected " invaſion: And I promiſe myſelf from your experienced zeal " and affection to my perſon and government, that you will " come to ſuch reſolutions, as will enable me, by the bleſ- " ſing of God, to defeat all the deſigns of our enemies againſt " us.

" Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I did hope, the putting an end to the late rebellion " would have ſo far ſecured the peace and tranquillity of the " nation, that I might, conſiſtently with the ſafety of my " people, have made a conſiderable reduction of the forces. " But the preparations, which are making from abroad to " invade us, oblige me to aſk ſuch ſupplies, as you ſhall find " abſolutely neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom.

" You are all ſenſible of the inſupportable weight of the " national debts, which the public became engaged for, " from the neceſſity of the times, the preſſures of a long and " expenſive war, and the languiſhing ſtate of public credit. " But, the ſcene being now ſo happily changed, if no new " diſturbances ſhall plunge us again into ſtreights and diffi- " culties, the general expectation ſeems to require of you, " that you ſhould turn your thoughts towards ſome method " of extricating yourſelves, by reducing, by degrees, the " debts of the nation.

" My Lords and gentlemen,

" I have an intire confidence in you, and have therefore " nothing to aſk, but, that you would take ſuch meaſures, " as will beſt ſecure your religion and liberties. While you " preſerve thoſe ineſtimable bleſſings, I ſhall ſit eaſy and ſafe

" on

"on my throne, having no other view but the happineſs and "proſperity of my people" (b). Geo. I. 1716-17.

The king being withdrawn, and the commons returned to their houſe, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope laid before them copies of the letters which paſſed between count Gyllenburg, the barons Gortz and Sparre, and others, relating to a deſign of raiſing a rebellion in Great Britain, to be ſupported by an invaſion from Sweden. By theſe letters it appeared, that a deſign was formed to dethrone king George, and conducted in ſuch a manner, as almoſt to warrant ſucceſs. Artful papers were publiſhed to foment and increaſe diſcontent and diviſion; the apparent tranquility, enjoyed in Great Britain, was to be an occaſion of requiring and obtaining the reduction of the national, and diſmiſſion of the foreign forces; ſhips, bought at different places, were to aſſemble at Gottenburg by the end of March, when the eaſt winds uſually blow, on board of which eight thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, were to imbark, with artillery, ammunition, and arms for fifteen thouſand men. The great number of the diſaffected had been ſo far relied on, that the ſecret of the negotiation had been truſted in England but to very few perſons; nothing was tranſacted in writing; no treaty was made; the mutual concern for the ſucceſs of the undertaking

Scheme of an intended invaſion and rebellion.

(b) Beſides the treaty of commerce with Spain (by which the three articles tacked to the treaty of Utrecht were revoked, and all other grievances in trade removed) and the triple alliance between Great Britain, France, and the States, the king had concluded another treaty with the emperor, May 16, 1716, which he did not think fit to mention to the parliament. By this treaty, there was to be perfect unity between them, and each was to reckon the advantages and loſſes of the other as his own. They were to defend one another in the poſſeſſion of all their preſent kingdoms, provinces, and rights, and, in caſe either of them was attacked, the other was to aſſiſt with eight thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, or with ſhips in proportion. No prince was to be admitted without common conſent; but the States were to be admitted, and even invited without delay, to accede to it. By a ſeparate article this treaty was not to extend to the emperor's wars with the Turks.

The deſign of this alliance was to rouze the jealouſy of France, and incline the regent to haſten a treaty with England. Accordingly, when he heard of this treaty, he reſolved to enter into an alliance with Great-Britain and Holland, and the treaty (as hath been ſaid) was concluded at Hanover the beginning of the next year.

Geo. 1. 1716-17. was, as it were, the warrant for the promiſes that were given.

This method of treating prolonged the negotiation, but withal was a ſecurity againſt the ill conſequences of a diſcovery. Both ſides were equally deſirous of being concealed. The king of Sweden abſolutely refuſed to appear in the affair, till the time of execution; and the pretender's friends, with whom count Gyllenburg treated at London, would not engage for any thing till they had his maſter's word. They did not care to labour in vain; but, as ſoon as they ſhould have the aſſurance of his aſſiſtance, money ſhould not be wanting, nor means to ſupport the affair. Upon this, baron Gortz ſpoke out more plainly. He ſent word, he had done nothing but upon the knowledge of his maſter's intentions, and had lately been impowered in form to proſecute the enterprize. He ſent a copy of his full powers, which were unlimited, and it was viſible they were ſo extenſive, only becauſe there might be no occaſion to mention the affair, which was to be concealed from the miniſters at Stockholm.

This aſſurance removed all uneaſineſs and irreſolution; money was given; views were explained; means of ſubſiſting the foreign troops were particulariſed; a perſon was procured, who was perfectly acquainted with the coaſts where it was reſolved they ſhould land; ſhips of war were provided, from ſixty to ſeventy guns; merchant-men, that were to carry corn to Gottenburg, were to ſerve for tranſports. The ſcheme was well laid, and the execution ſeemed infallible; eſpecially, if the army had been reduced, and the Dutch forces ſent home. Twelve thouſand choſen Swedes, in a condition to receive thoſe that were ready to join them, would have quickly formed a powerful army: Encouraged by ſuch an army, the people would have riſen on all ſides: The Highlanders would have all been in arms: The torrent would have increaſed without ceaſing, and a battle would have decided the affair. Thus much is certain, the project was infinitely better concerted than the laſt year's: The continual motions of the Swediſh forces would have ſerved to cover the true deſign, till it would have been too late to oppoſe it; a few days ſufficed to convey them into Scotland or England. But a timely diſcovery confounded all theſe meaſures, and eſtabliſhed king George on the throne (c).

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(c) The reader may ſee all theſe particulars, at large, in the following abſtracts of the letters.

The

The letters, being read in both houſes, raiſed the utmoſt indignation in all the well-affected to the government, and addreſſes were preſented, full of the moſt lively expreſſions of loyalty and zeal, and of reſentment againſt the proceedings of the late miniſtry. The lords, in their addreſs, ſaid, 'We are Geo. I. 1716-17.

The firſt letter is from baron Sparre, to count Gyllenburg, dated at Paris, September 25, 1716; in which the baron acquaints the count, 'That three days before, he was informed, that he [count Gyllenburg] had entered upon buſineſs with ſome lords of the chief of the pretender's party: That, they took it for granted, he was authoriſed to do ſo, by the king of Sweden; and, in a word, that he was inclined to believe, that his Swediſh majeſty would eſpouſe the intereſts of that prince. In the firſt place, adds the baron, I will tell you, that I ſhall be charmed with it; and then, that it is not from a motive of curioſity, that I aſk, whether what I have heard be true; but, that I may co-operate with you, though indirectly, till I have powers like yours, with which, you know, we are obliged to proceed very cautiouſly. Do me the friendſhip to let me know, what there is in this matter, as ſoon as poſſible. I flatter myſelf you will find your account in it.

The next is a letter from count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz, dated London, Sept. 29, O. S. Octob. 9, N. S. 1716; which, being very material, deſerves to be inſerted at length. 'In anſwer to your excellency's letter (ſays the count) of the 22d paſt, I now do myſelf the honour to acquaint you, that every body here is of opinion, that either France is extremely weak, or elſe, that the regent aims at the throne, and is deſirous to purchaſe it of king George, at any rate; for, otherwiſe, it is thought impoſſible, that France could condeſcend to make ſo ignominious a ſacrifice, as ſhe does, of a work [Mardyke] which coſt her ſo much, and for which the late king would have undergone a ten years war. People go ſo far here, as to lay wagers, that the young king of France will be diſpatched, before a certain time, to make room for his uncle. But, if the report, which is current at preſent, proves true, that the young king is fallen ill of the ſmall pox, it is very poſſible, that providence may confound his vaſt projects, which, among other things, tend to ſet up the court of Hanover to ſerve France, in our ſtead, as a balance againſt the power of the emperor: And it was with this view, that France already offered, laſt ſpring, to conſent to guaranty to the Hanoverians the poſſeſſion of the duchy of Bremen. If the emperor conſiders well the time, at which France takes theſe ſteps, and England is ſo forward to anſwer them, he will find, that his laſt advantage over the Turks has begot a jealouſy in

Geo. I. 1716-17. are ſenſible, that the groſs defects and pernicious conſequences of the late treaty of Utrecht could not have been remedied, but by your majeſty's unwearied application for the good

thoſe two powers, and has made them bethink themſelves, in good time, of ſecuring one another, mutually, againſt his power. I know not with what deſign it is done; but the miniſtry, at preſent, give out, that the peace of the north is actually in agitation, and that it will be concluded to the ſatisfaction of the king of Sweden. My friends would perſuade me, that this is done, in order to quiet a little the minds of thoſe, whoſe eyes my paper (Remarks of an Engliſh Merchant, &c.) has opened. Be that as it will, I can aſſure your excellency, that never any paper met with a more general approbation; and, if I might venture to give my opinion, I ſhould think it would not be improper to cauſe it to be printed in French, in Dutch, and even in Engliſh, at the Hague. Your excellency may be aſſured, that, if theſe gentlemen here make any anſwer to it, I ſhall be ready to baffle them intirely, and that there is nothing in the world I ſhould ſo much wiſh for.

Whether they do this, or not, I intend to have ſeveral pieces ready againſt the meeting of the parliament, and to publiſh them by a little at a time, the impatience of the people here, not ſuffering them to read long deductions: And, if I had wherewithal to defray the expence, I would cauſe ſome of them to be printed immediately, and the papers to be conveyed into ſuch places, that it ſhould not be in the power of this court to hinder the impreſſion. The intimations, which have been made me, terminate in bringing in the pretender; but, as I cannot enter upon that affair, without an expreſs order from the king, my maſter, I have avoided coming to particulars.

Ten thouſand men, tranſported hither from Sweden, would do the buſineſs; and, I believe, we ſhall not be at a loſs for money.

I ſend you, incloſed, the tranſlation of the paper, which has been publiſhed here.'

Baron Gortz, in his anſwer, dated at the Hague, Octob. $\frac{5}{16}$, 1716, is of opinion, 'That, hitherto, they need not be much diſturbed about the treaty between France and Great Britain;' and adds, 'That the count's printed piece deſerves the approbation it meets with: That he has ſent it to the king, and will take care to get tranſlations of it into other languages printed. He deſires to know the expence of printing the other pieces of the count's compoſing: Cautions him, not to make any mention, in his letters to the king, nor to his correſpondents in Sweden, of what has been inſinuated to him about the pretender: But that, in the mean time, he will run no riſque, in acquainting him with all the particulars on that head; and that, above all, it will be neceſſary to make him clearly underſtand,

good of your ſubjects, and by that juſt regard, which is paid by foreign potentates to your known wiſdom and integrity. Geo. I. 1716-17.

It

derſtand, how ten thouſand men might do the buſineſs; that is to ſay, what ſcheme has been contrived, and what motive they propoſe to offer, to induce the king of Sweden to enter into this affair.'

Count Gyllenburg, in his anſwer, dated at London, October $\frac{12}{23}$, 1716, tells baron Gortz, 'I ſay nothing to the alliance lately made by France. Laſt ſpring, France offered the Hanoverians their guaranty of the poſſeſſion of Bremen, and I doubt not, but they have now done it. How do we know, but this may produce good diſpoſitions at Vienna towards us? It was in jeſt only, that count Volkra told M. Petkum, that his maſter would enter into that alliance.

I am very glad, that my pamphlet meets with your excellency's approbation. I aſſure you, that to print the pieces, that will be neceſſary, will coſt me, at leaſt, ſixty pounds. Printers muſt be bribed to it, for they run great riſques, in printing any thing, that diſpleaſes the government: But I will keep an exact account of every penny.

I would begin with our treaty, and make ſhort remarks upon it *. Afterwards, I will print extracts from the cuſtom-houſe, to ſhew the little neceſſity there is of the trade to Peterſburg and Riga, eſpecially this year. Then I will come to the Hanover declaration of war, and will examine it, if it be neceſſary. After that, I will proceed to every one of our enemies, and I doubt not, but to undeceive the nation.'

To this letter count Gyllenburg ſubjoins this remarkable poſtſcript:

'Your excellency will have ſeen, by my laſt to M. de Mullern, what I have written upon the ſubject in queſtion. You will be pleaſed to ſend, or keep back, that letter, juſt as you ſhall judge convenient. However, I beg you would be pleaſed to inform me which you do.

There is no medium; either Bremen, or the Hanoverians, muſt be ſacrificed. The latter is not ſo difficult, conſidering the general diſcontent. Ten thouſand men would be ſufficient. The malecontents require but a body of regular troops, to which they may join themſelves. That body, being tranſported in the month of March, when the eaſterly winds reign, and when it will not in the leaſt be dreamt on, will cauſe a general revolt. We muſt alſo have arms for between fifteen and twenty thouſand men, and as many accoutrements as can be got; for, as to horſes, we ſhall have them here. Your excellency may eaſily judge of what advantage this will be to the king; and, in my poor opinion, we have no other courſe to take, unleſs we are willing to give up every thing. My friends are not in town, but I ſhall ſpeak with them

* This was done and ſold privately.

Geo. I. 1716-17. It is with unſpeakable ſatisfaction, that we ſee your majeſty's endeavours ſucceſsful in ſuch conventions, as have already given

them ſome day the next week; and then your excellency may expect their ſcheme: In the mean time, I ſhould be of opinion, that, if the buſineſs could be done, without making uſe of a great many Engliſh, there would be the leſs riſque run; for I do not know, whether I ought to touch upon what the king muſt have further; for, although they will endeavour to do every thing that I aſk, yet, as it muſt be by a contribution raiſed among a great many, it may happen, that there may be a falſe brother. Our men once landed, I anſwer for the reſt. In the mean time, I beg you would remember what I had the honour to write to you, laſt ſummer, concerning one N———. No body knows the ſea and the coaſts better than he, and he is a brave and honeſt man. In ſhort it will be a glorious enterprize, which will put an end to all our misfortunes, by ruining thoſe who are the authors of them. As to what I have to ſay of the time, the ſooner the better, after the trade to Gottenburg is ended, or before it begins.'

The next letter is from count Gyllenburg, to his brother Guſtavus Gyllenburg, ſecretary to baron de Gortz, dated at London, October $\frac{16}{27}$, 1716; in which the poſtſcript to baron Gortz, is only material, which is as follows:

'I have ſince ſpoken with two of the principals, who have aſſured me, that there ſhall be ſixty thouſand pounds, ſterling, ready, as ſoon as I ſhall ſhew them a line from the king, with aſſurances under his own hand, that he will aſſiſt them. As for the ſcheme, I ſhall have it within a few days. One of them, who is the chief promoter of this affair, aſſured me, that we had nothing to apprehend from the regent on this occaſion.'

By a letter dated at the Hague, November 3, 1716. M. Guſtavus Gyllenburg acquaints his brother, the count, that he has given baron Gortz his letter of the $\frac{16}{27}$ of October, to read, as well as the note therein incloſed; to which he made him the following anſwer: 'It is my repeated advice, to forbear ſpeaking any thing at all of money; but to hear people only, ſo as to learn clearly what they are able and diſpoſed to do, and to acquaint me with it, without opening your ſelf to them.'

The next letter is from count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz, dated at London, November 4, 1716, as follows: 'In anſwer to what your excellency has done me the honour to write to me in the poſtſcript to your letter of the $\frac{16}{27}$th paſt, I grant there will be no harm in hearing the inſinuations of this court, if they were made not only without my promiſing to make report of them to his majeſty, but alſo my giving them hopes of his majeſty's being reſolved to be reconciled to the Hanoverians, and to ſacrifice Bremen to them for ſome equivalent on the

given new life to our trade and credit; and particularly in the treaty lately concluded with France and the States-general. Geo. I. 1716-17.

the part of the czar. But as, without that, they will make no overtures, for fear we ſhould make uſe of them to increaſe ſtill more the diſtruſt, which is between the northern allies, and ſo make an advantage of them; it is not in my power to get any thing particular out of them; nor am I able to ſay of what ſervice to us their aſſiſtance againſt the czar would be; but if I were to gueſs by their diſcourſe, who have been talking with me about it, as from themſelves, though I eaſily perceived it was by order of the miniſters. I ſhould believe, that, if the preliminary concerning Bremen was ſettled, the Engliſh miniſters would be very well pleaſed to retrieve the falſe ſtep they have made, by talking loudly of the defenſive treaty between us, and by perſuading the nation to give us the ſuccours therein ſtipulated, either in money or ſhips. I ſhould fancy alſo, that we might come to an agreement in relation to what they ought to help us to take from the czar, by way of reprizal for our loſſes in Germany. On the other hand, and if we do not ſubmit to them, your excellency may be aſſured, that, as well to juſtify their paſt actions, as to force us to a compliance, they will prevail upon the mercenary parliament, which they have at preſent, to take vigorous reſolutions, and even to declare war againſt us. This is what we muſt expect. The Engliſh miniſters do not mince the matter; and they have already made it appear, that they will ſtick at nothing. They are all furious perſons. Sunderland, who is, in a manner, at the head of affairs, and who has got all the intereſt he has with the king of England, by having conſented to what has been done againſt us (being beſides our enemy) is at preſent at Hanover, to take his inſtructions from the Germans, and your excellency may depend upon it, he will execute them with all the boldneſs [Effronterie] imaginable. Your excellency will therefore find, we ought to make uſe of this opportunity to enter into meaſures againſt people, who certainly will not do things by halves. We muſt either ruin them, or be undone ourſelves, that is, if it be in their power to bring it to paſs.

Poſtſcript. My friends are now in town. An expreſs, which came to them yeſterday from the pretender, will put them in a better condition for forming a plan. To-day they are going about it. There are only five or ſix of the moſt conſiderable perſons conſulted. They would know, in caſe we agree, whether the money muſt be paid here or elſewhere, or if it muſt be ſent over to Sweden. They have alſo aſked me, if we had any occaſion for ſea-officers, for then they could furniſh us with good one's.'

In another letter at London, November 13, 1716, count Gyllenburg made good his promiſe

Geo. I. general. 'As your majeſty has, by this treaty, recovered to
1716-17. us, in ſo great a meaſure, thoſe advantages, which might have

miſe to baron Gortz, about giving him his ſentiments about the buſineſs contained in the baron's loſt poſtſcript. 'The ſum thereof (ſays the count) is what I have already hinted, that we muſt determine one way or other, and that very ſpeedily. We have not, in my humble opinion, any time to loſe in conſultations. If we do not take advantage of their preſent animoſity, it will cool; for the court, that is to ſay, the prince's party, does all that is poſſible to gain them. With the moſt conſiderable, it would perhaps be neceſſary to go on roundly. They run the hazard of their lives and fortunes in declaring themſelves, ſo that they will not ſpeak but upon good ſecurity. And as to the people of the ſecond rank, beſides that it would perhaps be dangerous ſo much as to hearken to their propoſals, theſe propoſals of theirs are of ſo little conſequence, and ſo confuſed, that we ſhould not be able from them to form any idea of the affair. I ſhould likewiſe be of opinion, that, till I receive freſh orders from your excellency, the ſafeſt way will be to avoid all converſations of that kind.'

The next letter is from M. Guſtavus Gyllenburg to the count his brother, dated at the Hague, Novemb. 17, 1716, the ſubſtance of which is as follows: 'On Tueſday laſt arrived here a letter from baron Sparre, importing, That he had hopes of ſucceeding in his ſollicitation, to have Mr. Lench ſent to the king. In his letter was incloſed one from the duke of Ormond to baron Gortz, in which the duke ſays, That the king his maſter had ordered him to let him [Gortz] know, that he expects ſhortly a ſupply of money; that he will then remit ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling to his Swediſh majeſty, leaving the diſpoſal of it to him; and that he begs him to look upon this as an earneſt of his good will to him. The bearer of this letter added, that the remittances might be made, either to —, or to —. M. Sparre has ſince told the baron, in confidence, of the men of war that we have bought in France, which will be ready and delivered. And that we are ſolliciting the court of France to ſend a perſon to the czar, to make advantage of the pacific diſpoſition he is now in. But as this ſollicitation meets with many obſtacles, and that, beſides, France does not appear over forward to do any thing for us, unleſs it be in concert with England. M. Sparre takes notice, that my lord Mar has a couſin-german, named Erſkine, with the czar, who is phyſician and privy-counſellor to that prince; which favourite has wrote letters to my lord Mar, giving a very particular account of the czar, viz. That the czar will not attempt any thing more againſt the king of Sweden; that he has fallen out with his allies; that he can never be friends with king George; that he

have been expected from a glorious and ſucceſsful war, and were given up by a treacherous and diſhonourable peace; we

Geo. I. 1716-17.

he hates him mortally; that he is ſenſible of the juſt cauſe of the pretender; that he wiſhes for nothing more than a conjuncture, in which he may be able to reſtore him to his dominions; that the czar, having the advantage wholly on his ſide, cannot make the firſt ſtep; but, if the king would make the leaſt advance, there would be very ſoon an accommodation between them. The pretender has ſent to deſire baron Sparre to procure him leave to retire to Stockholm. M. Sparre has returned anſwer, that, as this would be the ſame thing as declaring war by ſound of trumpet, it would abſolutely ſpoil the buſineſs in hand.'

In this letter, M. Guſtavus Gyllenburg incloſed the copy of another letter from baron Gortz to baron Sparre, dated Novemb. 12, 1716, as follows: 'I ſtill look upon the ſending M. Lench as very uncertain, becauſe, I am perſuaded, that France will not take any ſtep, that may give the leaſt ſuſpicion, or by which they may diſguſt England, before they have finiſhed the treaty of alliance, that is now depending. Yet methinks they might venture to intimate to the court of England, that they have a mind to ſend a perſon to the king, to ſound his majeſty's intentions more thoroughly touching a reconciliation, and in order to qualify themſelves the better to do good offices.

As to the affair of England, and the duke of Ormond's letter to me, of which you have ſent me a copy, I cannot forbear telling you frankly, Sir, that, if my ſcheme upon it be not approved and complied with, I cannot enter at all into that affair. It is upon the foundation of my ſcheme, that I have actually opened the matter to the king; and it would be directly to ſpoil all to make me depart from it. Any reaſonable man will eaſily comprehend the impoſſibility, in this caſe, of ſettling a treaty in form. Doubtleſs it would be running too great a hazard on both ſides, to depend upon its being kept ſecret. The beſt way is, to prepare on each ſide the materials neceſſary for the work before us. When all is ready for execution, it will then be time enough to make treaties, if it be judged requiſite.

I do not know, even whether it would be right to do what is deſired under the name of lending aſſiſtance; and I am very much inclined to think, that it would be better to avow openly our own intereſt, and the concern we have for maintaining the Engliſh liberties.

Your friends muſt place ſo much confidence in us, as to furniſh us with what we want, to put ourſelves into a condition of becoming uſeful to them. The ſum required is not exorbitant: Three hundred thouſand crowns may ſatisfy us at preſent, for we want nothing but, to augment our naval force at Gottenburg.

I do not ſee what hazards your

Geo. I. 1716-17. we beg leave to congratulate your majeſty upon an alliance, which opens to us ſo fair a proſpect of an undiſturbed ſucceſſion,

your friends can run in this. I will give them ſufficient ſecurity; and, from the humour all the world knows the king to be of, they may very ſafely conclude, that if his majeſty ſhould not be able to ſatisfy this loan by a real aſſiſtance, he would do all he poſſibly could to reimburſe our friends, the rather, becauſe his majeſty would not have it known, that he had touched any money for ſuch a purpoſe as this is lent.

Theſe gentlemen might, however, the more to engage the king's affection, give their offer the turn expreſſed in my ſcheme; though, for my part, I will not accept it, on any conditions, that may diſtinguiſh it from a common loan. But all depends upon their determining ſpeedily, and beginning forthwith, by furniſhing the three hundred thouſand crowns for the men of war, without which they muſt not flatter themſelves, that any thing can be done. I am upon the ſcent of getting a fourth hundred thouſand even in England.

France cannot reproach us with this agreement, while no treaty or convention can be produced to prove it. What I ſaid above, of the cautious behaviour of the court of France towards England, is no doubt applicable likewiſe to the negotiating of an accommodation with the czar. It is probable, the court of France would not proceed in a negotiation of that kind, but by concert with England; and you will grant me, that this would not by any means ſuit our intereſt. This reflection leads me into an opinion, that the canal of France is not at preſent the moſt commodious for us. It may ſuffice therefore to have offered to make uſe of that canal without preſſing the matter further. Nor can M. Lench be the manager of this negotiation. For going to, and coming from Sweden at the ſeaſon of the year we are now in, requires time; and, if we come to any agreement with the czar, we ought to conclude it within three months at the very fartheſt. The canal of my lord Mar ſeems to be alike inconvenient and impracticable, becauſe of the length of time, which that circulation of correſpondence would unavoidably take up. Yet I cannot but think, that, by the canal of the favourite phyſician, the good diſpoſitions of the czar might be improved, if they are indeed ſuch as have been repreſented. If the czar comes hither, and one can get a private converſation with the favourite, we might certainly carry things on far, ſuppoſing, as I ſaid, that what the favourite has written be well founded. In the mean while I am contriving ſome other way.

If we fix upon a project, that is in any tolerable degree promiſing, I ſhall not be withheld by the difficulties and hardſhips of the voyage from being the bearer of it myſelf.

If in the mean time your friends

ceſſion, an equal balance of power, and a flouriſhing commerce. Geo. I. 1716-17.

We

friends would enter into my ſcheme, I ſhould be the more ſure of bringing the king to a thoro' good liking of their buſineſs. But I will not venture to convey any thing of this to his majeſty, otherwiſe than by word of mouth. It is ſatisfaction enough to me to know originally, that I am in no danger of giving offence to Sweden by the part I take upon me to act in this affair. The fancy of the pretender's retiring to Stockholm ſurprizes me: It would be blazing abroad our ſecret intelligence by ſound of trumpet.'

On the $\frac{12}{23}$ of November, 1716, baron Gortz wrote from the Hague the following letter to count Gyllenburg: 'I told you in my letter of Friday, that I deferred anſwering yours of the 13th, which I am now going to do. You ſay, Sir, that as to the affair you are preſſed about, it would be neceſſary to go roundly to work with the principals. I am intirely of the ſame opinion. The buſineſs then is to ſpeak plainly. I believe, Sir, it will be thought a ſufficient proof of our frankneſs, to declare, as you may do, that nothing is more natural, nor more ſweet, than to revenge an affront one has received; but that, in point of prudence, it ought to be maturely conſidered, whether the paſſion of revenge can produce the deſired effect. If your people do but make the leaſt reflection upon this rule, they will undoubtedly perceive, that it is intirely their buſineſs to make the ſucceſs of the enterprize, which they deſire, appear probable to us. After that it will be likewiſe proper, that they ſhould help us in ſettling the neceſſary points, that is, that they ſhould aſſiſt us with money. As I run no riſque with you, Sir, I make no ſcruple of telling you in confidence, that the buſineſs in hand has for ſome time been part of my correſpondence with ambaſſador Sparre.

The principal members of the preſent court of Avignon, offer on part of their maſter 60,000 l. ſterling, to engage the king's affection. I remonſtrated thereupon, that the delicacy of the conjuncture ought to caution us againſt cloſing too haſtily with this offer; but that I propoſed to treat upon the foot of a common loan; and that in that caſe, being furniſhed with the king's full power to negotiate money for his majeſty's ſervice, I might accept it, giving them aſſurances on the king's part for repayment, that, if at the ſame time they would communicate to me a plan of the principal affair, I would not fail to ſend it to the king; and that, in caſe his majeſty ſhould be unwilling to enter into the deſign in queſtion, he would at leaſt pique himſelf upon taking care, that the ſum, which I ſhould have borrowed in his name, ſhould be punctually diſcharged; ſo that the lenders would run no riſque of their money, but that, on the contrary, they would have put it out to a good advantage, and that,

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Geo. I. 1716-17. We return your majeſty our moſt humble thanks, for your majeſty's moſt gracious condeſcenſion, in having laid be-

in ſhort, the offer being made upon the foot beforementioned, without ſtipulating any other conditions than being reimburſed, the king might be more effectually wrought upon by that mark of their good will, than by directly ſolliciting the ſuccours they deſire. I added to all theſe intimations, that, in caſe the king reliſhed the project of a revolution to be brought about in England, it might perhaps do better to give this enterprize the turn of its being intended to revenge the unworthy proceedings of the kings of England, and to maintain the Engliſh liberties.

You have herewith, Sir, the copy of a pecuniary contract, which I have juſt now ſettled with ſome private perſons in this country. You will find by it, that there is a conſiderable advantage to be made, which it was neceſſary to allow to ſtrangers, ſince no body in Sweden had courage enough for it. If your people had a mind to engage in it abſtractedly from the grand affair, I would admit them forthwith as far as the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns. The king's printed patent, whereof you have herewith a copy, ſufficiently ſecures every individual perſon from all frauds with regard to the States bonds, upon which the money is advanced.

But they muſt determine ſpeedily, or lay aſide all hopes, as I have juſt now obſerved to ambaſſador Sparre, in a poſtſcript, which I communicate to you.

If the thing be taken upon the foot beforementioned, it may go on; but otherwiſe nothing can be done. In a word, we muſt have money, and, after that, we muſt know what they are in a condition to do in England, and what part they expect the king ſhould take, to put this deſign into motion, and to ſupport it.'

In anſwer to baron Gortz, count Gyllenburg wrote to him the following very remarkable letter, dated at London, Decemb. 4, 1716: 'As ſoon as I had received your excellency's letter of the 23d paſt, I went to one of the principals at his own houſe, with whom I have had a long and intimate friendſhip. I ſhewed him your excellency's letter, which I inforced the beſt I could. Whereupon he aſked me, Whether I had ſpoke of it to any one of his party? And, I telling him I had not, he deſired me, for the love of God, not to do it. We were made to believe from Avignon, ſaid he, that all went on currently: That baron Gortz had accepted our offer, and had given poſitive aſſurances on the part of the king of Sweden, of his aſſiſtance. We have been preſſed on the affair of the money, and to form a ſcheme; and we have actually applied ourſelves to both the one and the other. In the midſt of all this, here are three poſts arrived from Avignon, and no farther ſigns are ſhewn of ſo much haſte. This change has very much perplexed us, we not knowing to what to impute it,

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before your parliament the diſcoveries concerning the intended invaſion; and cannot but regard, with the utmoſt horror — Geo. I. 1716-17.

unleſs to the prince's indiſpoſition. But all is now become clear. They were too ſure of their point at Avignon; they reckoned immediately on the aſſiſtance of the king of Sweden; and now they are afraid, on one hand, of damping our courage, by owning frankly, that they had deceived themſelves; and, on the other, they dare not, upon an uncertainty, engage to ſupply them with money, being ſenſible, it is the laſt that we ſhall give them, if we ſhould find it employed to any other purpoſe than we deſigned; and without direct aſſurances firſt given of our having the ſuccours we need. You ſee, therefore, continued he, of what conſequence it is, if you wiſh us well, that you do not make known, to any perſon, what I ſee our court of Avignon conceals with ſo much care. If you act otherwiſe, you will deſtroy the credit of the chevalier de St. George here, which perhaps will be of neceſſary uſe to you, and you will make his adherents your implacable enemies; for, if their deſign fail, they will be regardleſs, whether Sweden periſhes or not; and yet you know, that it is they, who have hitherto defended your cauſe, as well in the country, as in the parliament of England, and who have obliged your enemies to act with more caution and reſerve, than they would otherwiſe have done. You will ſtill have occaſion for their aſſiſtance in the next ſeſſion of the parliament of England, which your enemies are preparing to incenſe terribly againſt you, as well by pamphlets, which are already actually in the preſs, as by petitions of the merchants, who have loſt their ſhips, and who now meet twice a week to conſult. Now, (ſaid he) to return to baron Gortz's letter, give me leave to tell you freely, that, if the queſtion was explicitly and ſimply, Whether we ſhould aſſiſt the king of Sweden, and we conſented, it might then be worth while to aſk, What ſecurity we required, and what gain we inſiſted on? But that is not the caſe at preſent, nor ever will be. For I muſt own to you ingenuouſly, that there are very few amongſt us, who have any concern for the intereſts of foreign princes, any longer than while they affect our own, and that even very palpably: 'Manus noſtræ oculatæ ſunt; eredunt quod vident: Our eyes are in our hands; what they ſee we believe.' So that for you to flatter yourſelves, that, out of reſpect or friendſhip, we ſhould part with our money to any whatſoever, would be to know nothing of us. You can never alter our minds on that article; ſo you muſt juſt take us as we are. As for gain, Can we hope for greater in any country, than what we have at home, without riſquing our money? Do not we make ſeven or eight per cent. by the public funds; and this upon the ſecurity of the parliament of England, and are paid

Geo. I. ror and indignation, the malice and ingratitude of thoſe,
1716-17. who have encouraged ſuch an attempt againſt their king and country.

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paid punctually every quarter? That, this queſtion being utterly unſeaſonable, it is neceſſary to form another; and let that be, Whether we are willing, by a pecuniary ſubſidy, to merit the aſſiſtance of the king of Sweden? To that I anſwer roundly, Let us but be aſſured on the part of his majeſty, upon whoſe bare promiſe we will rely, more than on all the ſecurities and engagements of others: I ſay, let us only be aſſured, that by our money we ſhall merit his help, and actually have it. After this, let us but know what you would have us to do, and we will make ſuch efforts, that his majeſty ſhall not repent of giving his royal word to aſſiſt us. But, Sir (added he) What muſt we think, when, after a negotiation of three months or more, we are yet in uncertainty upon what ought to be the chief ſpring of all our undertakings, and are to merit by our money, not the help we aſk, but barely an anſwer, whether we ſhall obtain it or not? How can we run into expence, expoſe our friends, and, in ſhort, endanger our fortunes and lives, when perhaps his majeſty's refuſal may ſtop us ſhort; ſubject, among other things, to the fear of being betrayed by thoſe, who, ſeeing the ill ſucceſs of our projects, and that there is nothing to be hoped for more on our ſide, may endeavour to make their fortune, by ſtriking in with our enemies, and ſacrificing us?

Let us examine all this, and yourſelf will acknowledge, we ſhould hazard too much in following thoſe, who leave us in ſuch uncertainty. But, on the other hand, what does the king of Sweden riſque? Is not our government his enemies in every reſpect; and will it not aſſiſt them more this enſuing year? What can be ſaid againſt him, if, after the example of Scipio, he carries the war into their country, who have been deſirous, and are ſtill ſo, to carry it into his? This diverſion will be ſo much the greater, as it will be unexpected; and there is the more reaſon to hope for ſucceſs, becauſe the whole country is diſaffected. It is alſo probable, that half the army will be diſbanded by the parliament of England; and it is certain great part of that army will deſert on the approach of a ſufficient body of troops.

But, ſuppoſe this enterprize ſhould not ſucceed, would this government be more bent upon the intire ruin of the king of Sweden than it was before? And, when king George's deſire to have the country of Bremen is ſatisfied, will our government be leſs ſollicitous by what means to prevent the czar's aggrandizing himſelf? Let me beg you (ſaid he) to repreſent all this to baron Gortz; and I am ſure he will change his opinion: and that he will not let ſlip, by chaffering, an opportunity ſo beneficial for the king

of

We are ſorry to find, that your majeſty's lenity has been ineffectual towards reclaiming a faction, who have rendered themſelves ſo obnoxious to your juſtice.' Geo. I. 1716-17.

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of Sweden, and ſo glorious for himſelf. Tell him likewiſe, if you pleaſe, that there is nothing more proper than what he demands as to a ſcheme; and the means of ſupporting the affair. But he muſt give us the encouragement to ſee, that we are not labouring in vain, and running all hazards without any fair proſpect. One poſitive aſſurance given at Avignon will put all in motion; but, without that, all will flag. As to the colour, which the king of Sweden may put upon his enterprize, I ſhall always have that opinion (ſaid he) which baron Gortz himſelf would have me entertain of his ſcheme, namely, that the king of Sweden intends ſincerely to reſtore the chevalier. But I am much afraid, that the reſt of my party will take this affair in quite another light; that is to ſay, that they will imagine, his Swediſh majeſty, having not given any promiſe to our chevalier, nor declared for him, will make no other uſe of this enterprize, than only to compaſs his own deſigns, excluſive of the chevalier, and to oblige king George to come to better terms. But in this he will find himſelf deceived; for, the greateſt part of the nation being at preſent inflamed with Jacobitiſm, and ſet a longing for the return of him, whom they believe their lawful ſovereign, they will not join any perſon, who does not declare openly for him; on the contrary, perceiving it is only a foreign quarrel, which draws the king of Sweden hither, vexed to ſee their expectations fruſtrated, and not knowing how far his majeſty's reſentments may go, and who will be expoſed to his vengeance, or who be exempt from it, they will fall into the common humour of the nation, which is to unite all, notwithſtanding their paſt feuds, againſt a foreign power.

This is ſo true (continued he) that, if the chevalier de St. George had not an Engliſh father, and been born in England, all his pretenſions would avail him nothing with the common people; who, when the conteſt ſhall be only between foreigner and foreigner, will certainly declare for him in poſſeſſion, without much regard to the juſtice of the cauſe.

For what remains (added he) I intirely agree, that the maintaining of the Church of England ought to be one topic in the king of Sweden's manifeſto. This is the more neceſſary, becauſe it would ſerve to ſettle the minds of ſuch, as are diſturbed about the chevalier's religion. His majeſty likewiſe would act in his known character, which is to be, on all occaſions, ſollicitous for the welfare of the Proteſtant religion.

This Sir, is what was moſt material in my converſation with my friend, who, I aſſure your excellency, is a man of ſolid judgment, and ſo well informed

Geo. I. 1716-17. When this addreſs was reported to the houſe, a debate aroſe on account of the lord Coningſby's urging it very earneſtly,

formed of what paſſes at Avignon, that he told me a long time ago what was negotiated there on our part, though I took no notice of it, while I ſaw nothing particular about it, either in your excellency's letters, or in thoſe of monſieur Sparre. He even told me, that a certain relation of my lord Mar's was confident of doing us very good offices with the czar; and that it had been intimated to baron Sparre. But, being tender of intruding into the provinces of others, I reckoned your excellency would be better informed of this the direct way.'

In anſwer to this letter, baron Gortz wrote the following letter, dated at the Hague, December 11, 1716, to count Gyllenburg: 'I have received your agreeable letter of the 4th inſtant. I ſhall have the honour to anſwer the contents of it, that, the ſtronger the reaſons are, which are alledged to make us enter into the affair you know of, the more ſhould people be perſuaded of the true deſire, that we have to undertake the thing. It is ſuperfluous to ſuggeſt motives to us, and we have no need of a ſpur. As I run no riſque with you, Sir, I will freely tell you, that, even before my departure from Sweden, we were already, on our ſide, diſpoſed to this expedition. It is eaſy to believe, that thoſe diſpoſitions are ſince increaſed, in proportion as the animoſity of the court, where you are, hath continued increaſing. There is therefore now no other queſtion, but of the means to ſatisfy our juſt deſire of revenge. We have in Sweden troops more than enough for that purpoſe; but what ſuſpends our entering upon action, is that,

Firſt, We have not the ſhips neceſſary as well for tranſporting the troops, as for the convoy itſelf.

Secondly, We do not know how it is propoſed to maintain the troops, when they ſhall be arrived at the place intended.

Thirdly, Horſes muſt forthwith be found to mount the cavalry. It is well known, that, when one enters into an open country, the firſt impreſſion muſt be made by the cavalry.

Fourthly, We muſt know the number of troops, that is thought requiſite for this expedition, in order to regulate thereby the armament of the ſhips.

It is true, Sir, that, for ſeveral months laſt paſt, we have had ſome preliminary negotiation upon theſe matters with the court of Avignon. They have declared themſelves very well ſatisfied with the manner, in which we have ſpoken to them, and have promiſed not only to give the neceſſary explanations upon the advances of money propoſed, but alſo to furniſh inſtantly wherewithal to prepare on our ſide, during this winter, every thing, that concerns the firſt ſtep; being themſelves of opinion, that, if any thing be intended to be done, it muſt be entered

neſtly, that the peace of Utrecht was treacherous and diſhonourable. The biſhop of London aſſerted the contrary, and ſaid, Geo. I. 1716-17.

entered upon immediately after the obſtacles, which a hard winter might bring to navigation, are removed; but hitherto all this has ended only in vain hopes. However, I have not, on my part, loſt any time for this enterprize. I have beſtirred myſelf to find out men of war: I have actually found out ſome, and have even made bargains for purchaſing ſix of between ſixty and ſeventy guns, all armed and rigged; and they are to be delivered at Gottenburg in the beginning of the month of March. The advance of money, which I aſked from the court of Avignon, was only deſigned for the purchaſe of thoſe ſhips; and the ſum did not exceed ſixty thouſand pounds. If I have propoſed the expedient of furniſhing us with this money upon the foot of a common loan, it was only done, Sir, with a view, the better to ſecure thoſe, that were concerned on both ſides, from the danger of a diſcovery, and thoſe, that ſhould give the money, againſt the accidents, in caſe any ſuch ſhould be, that might render the deſign impracticable. It is alſo the fear either of ſome treachery or diſappointment, which cannot be foreſeen, that will hinder us from declaring before we come to the place, where we are to ſhew ourſelves.

Our friends will have nothing to object againſt this precaution, if they will but conſider, that, if we throw off the maſk too ſoon, and ſhould afterwards miſs our blow, we ſhould give the Engliſh miniſters a very good argument to carry the nation into a war againſt us, into which they would not have a great deal of trouble to draw Holland alſo.

This is a riſque of the laſt conſequence; and would they have us run into it, Sir, for a triſle? I do not know how elſe to ſtile the money-buſineſs in queſtion.

The naval armament at Gottenburg cannot be uſeful to us, unleſs for the deſign, which they propoſe to us; and the money we aſk will not be ſufficient even for that armament.

As to the reſt, however juſt and ſolid I allow your friend's reaſoning in other matters, yet I cannot reconcile the opinion, which your friend ſeems to have of the good faith of the king, and his intereſt, with the fear, which is nevertheleſs ſhewn, that we have no other end than to procure for ourſelves the reſtitution of the duchy of Bremen.

Pray, Sir, which way can the king of Sweden better ſecure to himſelf the recovery and poſſeſſion of his ſaid duchy, than by reducing king George to be nothing more than an elector of the empire? By which means the king of Sweden will make himſelf be courted by the houſe of Lunenburg, as in former times. Can good faith and a man's word be put in the ſcale againſt ſo ſolid and ſo evident a reaſon, after we have experienced

Geo. I. 1716-17. ſaid, 'He himſelf drew up the inſtruments of that treaty, and, in his opinion, it was as good a peace, as had been con-

rienced how little account ought to be made of a ſecurity founded in words or in treaties? To be ſhort, Sir, the queſtion is with us an affair already decided; nothing remains but to conſider the means.

As I underſtand the matter, thoſe, that ſhall furniſh the money, will be in no danger; they may give it under the name of Dutch merchants, and under pretext of the great gain, that is to be made in dealing with me. The better to colour the thing, they may even give commiſſion to ſome Engliſh merchants, to make an agreement with me upon the foot of the contract, which I have had the honour to communicate to you. After this there would remain no other riſque than that of loſing the money, in caſe the deſign ſhould not be executed; but, if they had the leaſt confidence in the word of the king, this ſcruple would vaniſh immediately. His majeſty piques himſelf too much upon performing his engagements, to leave any room to miſtruſt him. We have freſh proofs of this; notwithſtanding the vaſt expence, that we are obliged to bear, his majeſty would have the pretenſions of Mr. Cook, and the other merchants in France, touching the money advanced to him in Turkey, ſatisfied, and I have actually paid thoſe creditors.

To conclude, I muſt tell you again, Sir, that they muſt come to a reſolution ſpeedily, or think no more of the affair for all the next year.

It would alſo be neceſſary, that thoſe, who mean us well, ſhould labour to get half the troops, that are now on foot in England, broken, and to hinder any naval armament till the month of May.

It concerns us alſo to know, for our direction, what number of regular troops will remain, after they ſhall have got one half of them diſbanded.' I reckon, that we might employ from ten to twelve thouſand Swedes in this expedition; amongſt whom there ſhould be four thouſand horſe.'

When things ſhall be put upon the foot abovementioned, I intend to go into Sweden myſelf, to puſh on the execution; for I do not like to rely on the care of others in ſuch a particular. I had alſo rather concert this affair directly, and with you, than by the other way, which I think too long.

My lord's relation hath indeed ſent word, that the czar has ſome diſpoſitions to peace, which we will not fail to make advantage of, that we may be in a condition the better to puſh on the affair in queſtion. The czar is to be here very ſpeedily. If it could be ordered, that the ſaid relation of my lord Mar ſhould ſpeak to me, I ſhould quickly perceive what might be done there. You will eaſily judge, Sir, that an agreement with the czar would give great weight to the other affair.'

In anſwer to this letter, count Gyllenburg, on the 18th of De-

concluded for theſe forty years paſt.' Lord Coningſby replied, 'He did not intend any perſonal reflection on any perſon;' Geo. I. 1716-17.

December, N. S. 1716, wrote the following to baron Gortz: 'I received, two days ago, the letter your excellency did me the favour to write me of the 11th, and I have not deferred the execution of your orders one moment. I hope to be able to give you an account of them by the next mail. In the mean time, I ſhall have the honour to anſwer to your excellency's poſtſcript, that I ſhall not fail to govern myſelf as you there direct. If I have hitherto done otherwiſe, it has been, that I might not be accuſed of not repreſenting matters as they were on one ſide and the other, leaving it afterwards to our miniſters to make choice of that, which they thought moſt proper. Your excellency, according to your wonted goodneſs, will forgive me, however, for ſaying, that, in my opinion, whatſoever reſolution we take, it would, notwithſtanding, be well to keep the people here in good humour; that is, that we ſhould ſeem not intirely to reject their propoſals, or otherwiſe they will be prying into the motives, which render us ſo intractable, and will perhaps diſcover the true one, in which caſe they will cauſe it to miſcarry. Beſides, a little hopes would make them put off longer the puſhing the affair in parliament; and I think that is what your excellency ſeems to deſire. Methinks, to this end, it would be neceſſary, that your excellency ſhould write Petkum an anſwer, who complains of having received none to his letters, to ſhew your acknowledgment of the pains he has taken, and to deſire him to go on, in order to keep the miniſters in the ſame good way, till your excellency has received an anſwer to the account, which you have given his majeſty of the whole affair; and then we may act with more vigour. As Petkum generally ſhews all his letters to Townſhend and Bothmar, I fancy they will thereby be eaſily perſuaded to believe what they wiſh. If this letter comes before the arrival of king George, it will perhaps prevent the impreſſion, which the Germans and Sunderland will be apt to make with their uſual violence at their firſt coming over.'

The two next letters relate principally to bills of exchange, ſhipping, corn, ſalt, &c. for Sweden; but in one from count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz, dated at London, December 29, 1716, he writes as follows:

'I am once more obliged to defer the departure of my expreſs till Friday, one of the principal of our friends being not yet returned to London; but he will be here to-morrow, I have the letters ready for the phyſician, but dare not venture them by the poſt. While I am waiting for the principal of my friends, I ſhall diſpatch to-morrow a gentleman to the czar, to endeavour to poſſeſs him with pacific thoughts. I have given

Geo. I. 1716-17. ſon; but the venerable prelate who ſpoke laſt might remember, that, about two years ago, when the miniſters who made

him letters for my brother, that he may introduce him to your excellency, who will give him ſuch inſtructions, as you ſhall judge neceſſary. He is a Muſcovite by birth, and having been a long time known to my friend, and perhaps even employed on the like meſſages, he aſſures me, that we may put intire confidence in him. I have intimated to him, that he may alledge, for the pretext of his voyage, his natural inclination to ſerve the czar, by which he was induced to diſcover to him, that king George is making all the offers imaginable to acquire Bremen of the king of Sweden, at the expence of the czar, who is to be the ſacrifice of that acquiſition. Your excellency will add what other hints you judge convenient. I ſhould think, however, it might be proper, that this man ſhould be kept ignorant of the canal of the phyſician. I have another letter for him, which may introduce my brother to his acquaintance; and then he may convey meſſages between your excellency and the phyſician, till your excellency ſhall think fit to have an interview with him. We are aſſured here, that king George will have none with the czar; and they ſeem to be very little ſatisfied with that prince.

Your excellency will have the goodneſs to remember what I had the honour to write to you in my laſt, about my lord Sunderland. I have learnt ſince, that that lord does all he can to make thoſe of his party fond of king George's project, to open a port at Harbourg; aſſerting, that England will gain more by it, than even by its Weſt-India trade. One ſees very well whither all this tends. I am working againſt it. A member of parliament has deſired me to inform him of the ſituation and nature of that port.'

On the 1ſt of January, count Gyllenburg writes thus to baron Gortz, after a long account of private buſineſs, hiring of ſhips, &c. 'Since writing what goes before, my friend has been with me, and has told me, that the money, as far as twenty thouſand pounds, was ready, if I would but give my acquittance, that I had received it for the uſe of the king my maſter; and this only, that he might have ſomething to ſhew to thoſe, who made this collection, ſuppoſing, that hereafter they ſhould aſk for it. I anſwered him, That I could not give any ſuch acquittance, without your excellency's order, which I would write for this poſt. He told me likewiſe, That they had already, by order of the court of Avignon, remitted eight thouſand pounds to baron Sparre.

Since writing theſe lines, the Dutch mail of the 25th is juſt come in, by which my brother adviſes me, that your excellency was ſetting out upon your journey. It will therefore be unneceſſary to ſend the expreſs, eſpecially ſince the two letters intended are now become uſeleſs.

I

made the late peace were impeached, his lordſhip declared, Geo. I.
he was kept in the dark, and ſcarce knew any thing of what 1716-17.
was doing at Utrecht.'

The

I will, however, ſend a duplicate of this next Monday by the French poſt, together with the pieces abovementioned.

Your excellency will receive, this day, the copy of a letter; which M. Petkum writ yeſterday to baron Sparre, the contents of which confirm the ill intentions of thoſe warm men, into whoſe hands the management of affairs is going to be put; particularly if it be true, as M. Petkum has aſſured me, that my lord Townſhend, to whom he read the ſaid letter, owned, that what he had writ, in relation to our affairs, was true. All that we have to flatter ourſelves with, is, that the miſunderſtanding, which there is among theſe gentlemen, may perhaps be of ſervice to us. Thus much, at leaſt, is certain. that, if we ſet ourſelves in earneſt about the great work, the ſucceſs cannot poſſibly fail.'

The next is a letter from count Gyllenburg, to baron Gortz then at Paris, dated at London, January 7, 1716-17, as follows: 'Yeſterday I received the letters your excellency did me the favour to write me of the 29th paſt. That concerning the conduct of this court came very ſeaſonably. I gave it to read to one of the principal Whigs, with whom I have found means of contracting a friendſhip. As I am to dine with him to-morrow, I ſhall know what effect it has had. He is already in a good way, and I queſtion not but may be carried yet further by ſuch juſt reaſoning.

M. Petkum is charmed with your excellency's letter to him. He exclaims publickly againſt the Hanoverians for the groſs falſehood they have told of him. I believe him innocent as to this fact. He has told me, he will write himſelf to your excellency by this poſt. Mr. Walpole's reply is remarkable. My friend, who is one of the companions of the Whigs, has told me the ſame thing. If it be not the effect of the preſent diſcontent, and the court does not find expedients to regain thoſe people, I do not know whether the court will ever venture to bring that matter upon the ſtage; but I ſhall not be ſatisfied with that.

I am trying to get it brought into parliament my own way. My friend is labouring that point with me, and, to that end, is endeavouring to inform himſelf thoroughly of the whole. It was for him, that I demanded the other day of your excellency the particulars of Harbourg; and it is likewiſe upon his requeſt, that I beg your excellency will ſend me, as ſoon as may be, all that you ſhall be able to pick up in relation to the treaty concluded between Hanover and our enemies; particularly if you can procure the agreement, by which the aſſiſtance of an Engliſh force is ſtipulated to them. Your excellency ſees hereby what I am now doing on one

ſide

Geo. I. 1716-17. The commons, in their addreſs, obſerved, 'That they could not, but with the higheſt reſentment and indignation, look

ſide and the other; that is to ſay, with regard to our friends. I can do nothing before I have received your excellency's orders upon my laſt.'

The following letter from baron Gortz, to count Gyllenburg, is dated from Paris, January 8, 1717.

'I could not acquaint you before this day, that I am now authorized to enter into the affair, which you know of; and that I am allowed the liberty to do in it whatever I ſhall think convenient. You will be able to judge of this yourſelf by the incloſed copy of the full power, that has been ſent to me. Which way ſoever I turn this affair, I do not ſee, that we can engage in it upon any other foot, than that, which I propoſed to you at firſt. As intereſt is the moſt certain ſecurity of treaties, and what we are ſollicited to undertake, is of ſo great importance to us, and the moſt expeditious means to re-eſtabliſh our affairs, that can be deviſed; no man can doubt, that we ſhall apply ourſelves to it heartily and earneſtly; and that we could wiſh for nothing better, than to do it without the concurrent aſſiſtance of others, if the juncture of time would ſuffer us to diſpenſe with that aſſiſtance.

The only thing I ſee wanting for our purpoſe, are men of war and tranſports. Of the firſt I can have two in Holland, and ſix in France, all rigged and armed; and thoſe, who have the diſpoſal of them, oblige themſelves to deliver them in that condition at Gottenburg in the month of March. The laſt we ſhall not want, but we muſt immediately put our hands to the work, which requires money. M. Sparre has aſſured me, that I ſhould find an hundred thouſand crowns ready here; but I learnt at my arrival, that our friends, far from doing what they had promiſed, are now grown cool; ſo that I thought beſt, Sir, to deſire you to preſs your friends to a ſpeedy reſolution, whether on the foot propoſed they will forthwith ſupply us with money, which we muſt have to purchaſe thoſe men of war, or not. In caſe they will, it is neceſſary they ſhould order it to be paid to me here as ſoon as poſſible, that I may put thoſe, who are to furniſh me with the ſhips, upon getting them ready. If they will not, this buſineſs ought to be broken off intirely, without thinking any further of it. To loſe four weeks more would be loſing all, for this year at leaſt; and afterwards the circumſtances of affairs will ſo change, that there can be no thinking of it any longer.

For the reſt, our intention was to tranſport twelve thouſand men; eight thouſand of them infantry, and four thouſand cavalry, of which five hundred mounted. We were to carry with us a ſufficient train of artillery, arms for ten or twelve thouſand men more, with requiſite

look upon the obſtinate and inveterate rancour of thoſe, who were again endeavouring to embroil their native country in blood

Geo. I. 1716-17.

quiſite ſtores of ammunition. We were to land at the places, whether we ſhould be directed; ſo that we ſhould have carried with us all that is neceſſary, excepting horſes, which we expected to find in the country; and all might have been executed without the leaſt umbrage being taken; provided, that on the other ſide the ſecret was kept. M. Sparre tells me, that the reaſon of the coolneſs of theſe gentlemen in this country, is the treaty between this court and England, and the enſuing departure of the pretender out of this country. For my part, I take this reaſon to be a very weak one; for as this treaty, and the departure of the pretender out of this country, muſt make the court of England think themſelves in perfect ſafety, and deprive them of the pretext of keeping up their troops, our enterprize is become more eaſy, and more ſure. And to imagine, that this court, at the bottom of their heart, would not be better pleaſed to have the pretender on the throne of England, than the elector of Hanover; eſpecially if the firſt continued to carry himſelf well towards this court, is to have a wrong notion of its intereſt, and of the private ſentiments of the duke regent.

M. Sparre tells me further, that our friends here think we ſhall not have occaſion for any more men of war than thoſe eight, which we have at Gottenburg; but they are to know, that thoſe ſhips are but of forty guns each; ſo that it would be hazarding too much, and expoſing a body of choſen troops (for ſuch we ſhould take on this expedition) for three or four large ſhips would be ſufficient to give them chace, and to take them all. But, when we ſhall have the eight ſhips, which carry from ſixty to ſeventy guns, nothing leſs than a ſquadron could oppoſe them, and, before they could be fitted out, the blow would be ſtruck.

To conclude, Sir, I wait here for a ſpeedy yea or no; and I continue to adviſe you not to ſend any account of this matter to the court; for our miniſters themſelves are ignorant of it, and know not for what intent they have been obliged to give the turn they have to the full power which they diſpatched. 'Aut nunc aut nunquam: Now 'or never;' as well for our friends as our enemies.

When you have fixed this affair, at leaſt for what relates to the men of war here, I am very deſirous you ſhould come over to meet me in Holland, under pretext of being ordered thither; and that you ſhould put the court in hopes of returning with ſome acceptable offer, to the end we might concert together all that remains for our enterprize; after which I would ſet out myſelf for Sweden, to order every thing for making ſure of the execution. I communicate to you the ſubjoined copy of the Full Power, which

his

Geo. I. 1716-17. blood and confuſion: And that it was aſtoniſhing to find, that any, who called themſelves Proteſtants, could be ſo inflexible

his majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to give me:

We Charles, by the grace of God, king of Sweden, Goths, and Vandals, great prince of Finland, duke of Schonen, Eſtonia, Livonia, Carelia, Bremen, Verden, Stetin, Pomerania, Caſſubia, and Vandalia, prince of Rugen, lord of Ingria and Wiſmar, palatine of the Rhine, duke of Bavaria, Juliers, Cleves, and Bergues, &c. do hereby make known, and atteſt, that whereas we have committed to the fidelity and dexterity of the moſt illuſtrious and noble, our intirely-beloved baron Gortz, privy-counſellor of the moſt ſerene duke of Holſtein, and chief marſhal of his court, various affairs for our ſervice, to be tranſacted in thoſe places, where he ſhall reſide: And whereas the preſent circumſtance of the times and affairs do not eaſily permit, that we ſhould be able to furniſh him with particular credential letters (commonly called a Full Power) for every ſeveral tranſaction: To prevent therefore all delay, which might thence ariſe, we have judged it neceſſary to conſtitute by theſe preſents, him, the ſaid baron Gortz, our miniſter plenipotentiary, and to grant him full power, as by virtue of theſe preſents we do grant him full power, to treat and conclude, in our name, with all and ſingular perſons of what condition ſoever, all matters, which may relate to our ſervice, and be for our intereſt; promiſing on our royal word, that we will approve and ratify, and put intirely in execution, whatever the ſaid baron Gortz ſhall ſo tranſact and conclude. In ſure teſtimony whereof, we have cauſed our ſeal to be affixed to theſe preſents, and ſigned the ſame with our own hand.

Given at Lund, in Schonen, the 23d day of October, 1716.

CAROLUS.

(L. S.)

H. G. de Mullern.

On the 13th of January, N. S. 1717, baron Gortz wrote from Paris the following letter to count Gyllenburg:

'I am to acquaint you, that our friends here are charmed with my ſcheme. They have cauſed one hundred thouſand livres to be paid me down, and have promiſed to get the reſt paid to me in Holland, to the ſum of one million of guilders. I will go therefore, and give orders for working with all poſſible diſpatch on the men of war, and for providing and bringing together all neceſſaries. I ſhall alſo go back with all expedition to Holland; whence you will have further advice from me. I ſhall wait there with impatience the coming of your expreſs, and of the perſon who is to ſpeak to the phyſician.'

At the ſame time M. Guſtavus Gyllenburg wrote to the count his brother the following note:

'After the baron had ſigned his letter to you, he ordered me

flexible and reſtleſs in their endeavours to impoſe upon us a Popiſh pretender, and rather venture to ſubject the kingdom to

Geo. I. 1716-17.

me to tell you in his name, that it is abſolutely neceſſary our friends ſhould determine ſpeedily, and cauſe the money to be remitted, and paid to us, without any delay; for otherwiſe we cannot have the men of war from this country time enough.'

Upon the receipt of baron Gortz's letter of the 8th of January, with the king of Sweden's full power, count Gyllenburg wrote an anſwer to the baron at Paris; dated at London, January 15, 1717, wherein he begs leave to know, 'Whether his excellency would have him, for the future, add the title of Plenipotentiary to the direction of his letters. As to our affair (continues he) I went immediately to the houſe of one of the principal of my friends, and without taking notice of any coldneſs of the gentlemen in France, I told him, in order to engage him to ſpeak, that I had juſt received your excellency's orders to give ſuch an acquittance, as had been demanded of me. He ſeemed very well pleaſed, and told me in anſwer, that he, who had the direction of the whole affair, being gone again into the country, and being not to return before Saturday next, nothing could be done till Monday; but that then he queſtioned not but I ſhould be ſatisfied. We ſhall ſee what that gentleman will ſay at his return; and unleſs the gentlemen in France have made my friends here alter their opinions (which I do not yet find they have) I hope all will go as we would have it; and, in caſe that ſhould not happen ſo, I am very much of your excellency's opinion, that we ſhall leave all thoſe gentlemen to their ill deſtiny, and go another way to work.

My Whig friend was charmed with your excellency's letter, which he read over and over. Many others of the ſame party begin to change their language in our favour. I ſend my brother a little piece, which is juſt publiſhed at my charge, and writ in a pretty moderate ſtile. There is ſomething in it of my own. What is ſaid in the poſtſcript, in praiſe of the prince, is in order to gain the prince's party, which is already well inclined towards us.

If your excellency thinks it proper to order me to Holland, I ſhould be of opinion, that you ſhould ſend the like orders to monſieur Petkum, on pretence, that you would receive information from us both together, concerning the poſture of affairs here with regard to our common intereſts. That would not give any umbrage, and one might eaſily find out ways of amuſing M. Petkum.'

Before this letter reached baron Gortz, he writ another to count Gyllenburg, dated at Paris, January 16, 1717, N. S. as follows:

'I have juſt now received here, your letters of the 1ſt, 2d, 4th, and 7th. You may depend upon it, Sir, and aſſure your

Geo. I. to a foreign yoke, than depart from their darling and avowed
1716-17. deſign of altering and ſubverting the preſent happy eſtabliſhment

your friends, that the expedition to England does at preſent take up all our thoughts and attention. It will depend but upon two things; one is, the procuring four or five ſhips of war; and the other is money. I know where to get the former, but I can do nothing without the other. I cannot ſign the contracts that are offered me. Your friends muſt take care to remove that obſtacle, and to provide for the other ſquadron. There is not a moment to loſe: The time is very ſhort: Our friends on this ſide have aſſured me, that the money ſhould be ready forthwith. By your letters I am to believe, there are 20,000l. ready. I herewith ſend you the acquittance, which I have given here, that you may draw yours conformably to it, which you will exchange hereafter for mine, which I will ſend you, after you have let me know the names of the creditors, and that you have received the money. We are here agreed upon the plan of our enterprize; and I am promiſed a man to be ſent to Holland, who will bring me what farther informations may be wanting. You may likewiſe aſſure your friends, that our prince will certainly be of the party; but I conjure you to give nothing in writing about this negotiation, except what relates to the acquittances upon the foot abovementioned.

I do not expect to hear from you any more here, but in Holland; and, if your man ſhould have been got thither in my abſence, he would have found Stambke fully inſtructed.

I herewith ſend you back the contracts ſigned according to your deſire. The poſitive promiſe of letting them have iron, puts me under ſome difficulty, becauſe I had no thoughts of preparing for ſo great a quantity. As to your money, you may keep an account of what you ſhall receive, four thouſand crowns. I have not yet propoſed to the king that augmentation; but I am in hopes of obtaining it for you.

In the mean time, employ all your ſkill, in order to give the court all the trouble that is poſſible, in the next ſeſſion, in relation to their conduct in the affairs of the north; and tell me from whence proceeds the good diſpoſition wherein Walpole ſeems to be.'

The form of the acquittance mentioned and incloſed in this letter of baron Gortz to count Gyllenburg, is as follows: I, the underwritten plenipotentiary of his majeſty the king of Sweden, acknowledge to have received of for the ſervice of his Swediſh majeſty, the ſum of which the ſaid has found means of lending to his ſaid majeſty; which ſum of I promiſe, on the part of his majeſty, in virtue of the full power, which I have from his ſaid majeſty, and which I have produced in due form, to cauſe to be repaid to the ſaid or his order,

ment in the Proteſtant ſucceſſion.' They conclude, 'We are all but too ſenſible of the inſupportable weight of the na- Geo. I. 1716-17.

der, in the ſpace of two years, to commence from the date of this acquittance; ſo that every four months there ſhall be paid a ſixth part of the principal, together with intereſt at the rate of one half per cent. by the month, and ſo on, to the full payment of the total ſum. In virtue and token whereof, I have ſigned theſe preſents, the eleventh of January, 1717.

The baron de Gortz.

The next letter is from count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz, dated at London, January 18, 1717, N. S. as follows:

My friend, that directs the whole affair, came back from the country laſt Saturday night, as I had the honour to acquaint your excellency that he would, in my laſt. He hath this day let me know, that upon a letter, which he received from my lord Mar, to remit forthwith 20,000l. into France, to the queen dowager of England, who was to pay it to us, he had actually remitted that money, which he hoped was already paid to your excellency. He aſked my pardon for not having communicated this to me ſooner, having been obliged to go into the country the moment the affairs was diſpatched. He added, that he had deſired further orders from my lord Mar, with reſpect to the place, where the reſt of the money ſhould be paid. I doubt not but that baron Sparre has already had advice of all this, and that he has acquainted your excellency with it; which, however, I beg you would forthwith let me know, that I may quiet the minds of my friends here, who imagine, that the ſaid baron doth not act in concert with your excellency in an affair, wherein the leaſt miſunderſtanding might do a great deal of miſchief. I have told them, that your excellency deſigned, that I ſhould come to you in Holland, to concert every thing with you; with which they were very well ſatisfied. But I have told them, that I will not go thither with empty hands, and that they ought at leaſt to get 10,000l. ready for me to carry with me. I have alſo deſired them to get me a letter from the brother of the czar's phyſician, which might ſerve to introduce me to him, if your excellency thinks fit to imploy me to ſpeak to him. I cannot expreſs to your excellency my concern, that the affair abovementioned ſhould have taken a turn, which I did not expect; and which, for ought I know, may not be pleaſing to your excellency. Even my friends are diſſatisfied at it, every thing being done unknown to them. But, as they are obliged to have great regard for the director of the affair, who is a perſon of very great conſequence, they muſt ſeem to be ſatisfied. If your excellency, after this, thinks it neceſſary for me to come to Holland, I beg your orders therein

Geo. I. national debts, and therefore will not neglect to apply our-
1716-17. ſelves, with all poſſible diligence and attention, to the great and

therein as ſoon as poſſible, that I may take my meaſures.

After I had written theſe lines, I received the favour of your excellency's of the 13th, from whence I perceive, with a great deal of pleaſure, that our affair is begun. I read it to one of my friends, who told me, that that was the ſum, of which he had ſpoken to me ſome days ago, and which I mentioned in one of my former; that he then believed it to be 8,000 l. but that it was but 6,500 l. which exactly anſwers that, which has been paid to your excellency, and which makes part of the 20,000 l. that has been remitted. He has promiſed me to haſten the reſt, but I ſhould think, that it would be neceſſary, that our friends in France, from whom they expect the orders, ſhould pray them to diſpatch it with all haſte. He has given me hopes, that I ſhall have a good ſum with me, when I go to Holland.'

The next letter is of count Gyllenburg to baron Gortz, dated at London, January 23, 1717, in which he writes thus:

The day before yeſterday, I received the favour of your excellency's of the 16th. The incloſed triplicate of that which I had the honour to write your excellency by the laſt poſt, will ſhew you the train, that our affairs are in. In the mean time, I have told our friends, that your excellency thought my voyage to Holland abſolutely neceſſary, in order to concert with me the neceſſary meaſures for the enterprize; but, that your excellency would by no means have me ſtir from hence, without carrying with me what money ſhould be neceſſary. That it therefore lay upon them now to make the beſt uſe of the time, which was ſo precious to us, and to put me in a condition of going with the firſt opportunity.

They promiſed me to do their beſt, that my voyage might not be deferred longer than the end of the next week. In caſe I can by that means bring them to haſten their diſburſement, it will afterwards depend upon your excellency's pleaſure, whether I ſhall go to pay my reſpects to you or not.

Your excellency may be aſſured, that I do all in my power to traverſe the ill deſigns of our enemies. The printed piece incloſed, wherein I have ſpoken intirely as an Engliſhman, is a ſmall ſpecimen of what is to follow. I do not know whether Mr. Walpole's expreſſions were the effect of his firſt rage, on account of his brother-in-law my lord Townſhend's being removed, or whether they came from his heart. We ſhall be better able to judge of thoſe gentlemen after the king's arrival, when it ſhall appear, if they have reaſon to be ſatisfied; for it is from thence, that they will form their ſcheme of politics.

It is ſtrongly reported here, that your excellency has made a de-

and neceſſary work of reducing and leſſening, by degrees, this heavy burden, which may prove the moſt effectual means of preſerving to the public funds a real and certain ſecurity.' Geo. I. 1716-17.

The convocation alſo preſented a very loyal addreſs, wherein was the following paragraph: 'We have ſeen, in the late declarations of ſome of theſe men, who, nevertheleſs, call themſelves by the name of Proteſtants, what we muſt look for, ſhould a Popiſh prince ever ſit upon the throne of theſe kingdoms. Whilſt they allow us no better a character than that of Schiſmatics and Heretics, of men cut off from the communion of Chriſt's church, and all the hopes of ſalvation, What can be expected from profeſſed Papiſts, who account no better of them (however they may flatter themſelves) than they do of us; but that both they and we ſhall be utterly deſtroyed by them?' Addreſs of the convocation.

declaration, that the king, having waved all preliminary demands, has accepted the emperor's mediation, and agreed to ſend his plenipotentiaries to Brunſwick, I moſt humbly beg your excellency will let me know what truth there is in it.'

The next letter is from baron Gortz to count Gyllenburg, dated at Paris, January 27, 1717, N. S. wherein he ſays: Yours of the 18th, with the duplicate, is come ſafe to my hands. Your friends are in the wrong, to imagine, that M. Sparre and I do not act in concert in this affair.

He has communicated every thing to me with the greateſt exactneſs, and not being authorized himſelf to enter upon this affair, nor to receive the money, he has left all to my diſpoſal. I have even put into his hands acquittances, where the ſum is left in blanks, that he may make uſe of them in my abſence, as ſoon as the money is come. The friends, which are in France, ſhall be writ to, to preſs thoſe in England, to furniſh, as ſoon as poſſible, the million of Dutch guilders, which we have agreed on; and I muſt needs tell you, that I cannot take the leaſt ſtep in relation to the ſhips, which are abſolutely neceſſary to us for carrying on this enterprize, before I am in poſſeſſion of that whole ſum; for, if I ſhould begin, and the money afterwards not come in, the ſum employed upon this occaſion would be loſt; not to ſpeak of the diſgrace it would be for me, to have entered upon an affair, without being able to go through with it.

As for your voyage into Holland, that likewiſe depends on the payment of this money. When you have ſecured that point, you will do me a pleaſure in coming over to me, furniſhed with all the informations tending to the execution of our deſign, which may ſtill be wanting. I will write next poſt to Petkum, to come along with you.'

Geo. I. 1716-17.

Debate at Oxford about an addreſs.

But the univerſity of Oxford did not ſhew themſelves ſo loyal; for, at the meeting of the vice-chancellor, and other heads of the univerſity, Dr. Dunſter, warden of Wadham-college, having made a motion for an addreſs to the king, and being ſupported by Dr. Wynne, biſhop of St. Aſaph, and by the warden of Merton-college; Dr. Smalridge, biſhop of Briſtol, deſired to know the ſubject of the addreſs. Biſhop Wynne readily anſwered, That they might addreſs upon theſe three heads: '1. The ſuppreſſion of the late unnatural rebellion: 2. The king's ſafe return: 3. The favour ſhewn by the court to the univerſity, in granting their late requeſt,' that the officers of Sterne's regiment, quartered at Oxford, ſhould not burn publickly, on the day of his majeſty's arrival, the effigies of the devil, pope, pretender, Ormond, Mar, and others.

The biſhop, Smalridge, replied, 'The rebellion had been ſuppreſſed long before; a thankſgiving had already been obſerved for it, and therefore he thought it now too late to addreſs upon that ſubject.' As to the ſecond, 'There would be no end of addreſſes, if they made one upon ſuch an occaſion.' And as for the third, 'The late favour they had received was overbalanced, by having a whole regiment quartered upon them.' Dr. Charlett, the maſter of Univerſity-college, urged, 'That there was no precedent for addreſſing a king, who returned from his German territories.' Dr. Gardiner was againſt addreſſing, to ſave charges, on pretence, that 'they were out of caſh.' Dr. Cobb and others made other objections, and ſo the motion for addreſſing dropped. But the univerſity of Cambridge did not follow their example, but preſented a loyal addreſs, wherein they owned the king to be their only rightful and lawful ſovereign (a).

Three

(a) Theſe addreſſes were followed by a long one from the diſſenting miniſters, in which they ſaid:

'We think it the particular honour of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, that their ſtrict adherence to the intereſt of your illuſtrious family, before your majeſty's acceſſion, and their loyalty to it ſince, have drawn upon them ſo much of the fury of their fellow-ſubjects; we are not conſcious what elſe could render us obnoxious to them; our principles being, as we hope, the moſt friendly to mankind, and amounting to no more than thoſe of a general Toleration to all peaceable ſubjects, univerſal love and charity for all Chriſtians, and to act always in matters of religion, as God ſhall give us light into his will about them.

We do not ſo much as expect

or

Three or four days after their addreſs, the commons paſſed a bill for prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, as long as the king ſhould think it neceſſary for the ſafety and peace of the nation. The bill was approved by the lords, and received the royal aſſent. The trade with Sweden was of great moment to the merchants, but the indignation was ſo general in both houſes, that the bill met with little oppoſition. Before the ſupplies were ſettled, the commons voted ten thouſand ſeamen for the year 1717. Then they took into conſideration the eſtimates of the land-forces. In the debate, the Tories alledged, that, the late rebellion being ſuppreſſed, and the Swediſh conſpiracy ſeaſonably diſcovered, there was reaſon to hope, the counties would be ſoon eaſed of the grievous burden of quartering ſoldiers; but, if it appeared that the king of Sweden perſiſted in his deſign to invade Great Britain, they would all readily give their votes for keeping the preſent forces on foot. The contrary party urged the neceſſity of taking ſpeedy and vigorous reſolutions in relation to the army. At length it was reſolved, without dividing, that the ſum of 959,943 l. ſhould be granted, for maintaining the guards, garriſons, and land-forces, for the enſuing year. Not long after, they paſſed the mutiny and deſertion bill, by which the ſoldiers were exempted from arreſts for debts. When this bill was before the lords, the licentiouſneſs of the army, and the diſorders committed by the ſoldiery, particularly at Oxford, were complained of, and a motion was made, that, before they paſſed a bill in their favour, they ſhould inquire into the riot, which happened in that city on the prince of Wales's birth-day. The court inſiſted on the neceſſity of paſſing the bill without delay; but readily conſented, that the Oxford riot ſhould be inquired into. Some lords of the other ſide, who were apprehenſive, that the univerſity would get no credit by ſuch an examination, endeavoured to wave it, by propoſing a general enquiry into the conduct of the army. This was oppoſed by the court lords, who obſerved, that they ought not to arraign a conſiderable body of men, againſt whom there was no legal complaint; and that ſuch a proceeding could not but be diſagreeable, and even injurious to

Geo. I. 1716-17.

A bill to prohibit commerce with Sweden.

Debate about the land-forces.

Debate about the mutiny-bill.

Debate about the Oxford riot.

or deſire any thing that ought to give any one the leaſt diſturbance; we only wiſh, that under your majeſty, as the common father of all your loyal people, thoſe of our perſuaſion might not want capacity, as we hope your majeſty will find they never want an inclination, to promote the true intereſt of the Proteſtant religion, and of their country.'

Geo. I. 1716-17. the king, who, by his prerogative, has the command of the army; and, if any abuſes and diſorders are committed by the ſoldiers, the complaints ought firſt to be laid before him: But, ſince it had been moved to inquire into the Oxford riots, which had indeed made a great noiſe, and been examined in council, they ought to addreſs his majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to cauſe all the papers, relating to that affair, to be laid before the houſe. The addreſs was reſolved and preſented, and, the papers being laid before the lords, there aroſe a great debate. The archbiſhop of York, and the biſhops of Rocheſter and Cheſter endeavoured to juſtify the univerſity, alledging, among other things, 'That for forty years paſt they had not paid any regard to the birth-day of any prince of Wales, or even of the prince ſitting on the throne, by making public rejoicings: That the univerſity had a method of expreſſing their loyalty more conſiſtent with the dignity of their founders, and the characters of their perſons, than illuminations, bonfires, and firing of guns: That, as for the mayor and magiſtrates of the city of Oxford, they had this to plead for their excuſe, that they were ignorant it was the prince's birth-day: That, the ſeveral affidavits and informations, upon which the mayor and magiſtrates grounded their complaints, having been ſent up to court, copies of the ſame were returned to the officers of the regiment quartered at Oxford, in order to give them an opportunity to juſtify their proceedings; which produced another ſet of affidavits and depoſitions in behalf of the officers: That the magiſtrates had no opportunity to make any replication in their own defence; and therefore it was moved, that the houſe would come to no reſolution, upon the foot of the two ſets of affidavits; but that they would adjourn the further proceedings, and appoint a day, when they would hear the perſons concerned in thoſe informations. They inſiſted upon this method, becauſe nothing could ſet this matter in a truer light, than the croſs-examining and confronting the evidences on each ſide; urging, that this method, their lordſhips very well knew, was the conſtant practice of the courts below, and even of all the hearings at the bar of their lordſhips houſe; and that their lordſhips had never yet refuſed to admit of a replication: That, as to the diſreſpect to the prince regent, charged upon the univerſity for their neglect of ringing the bells on his royal highneſs's birth-day, of the ſixteen colleges in the univerſity, only three had any bells to ring: And that it appeared plainly by the affidavits taken before the mayor and magiſtrates, that the riotous proceedings were occaſioned by the inſolence

and

and rude behaviour of the ſoldiers, encouraged by ſeveral members of the univerſity, calling themſelves the Conſtitution-Club; and by the neglect of the commanding officers of the the regiment, in not iſſuing proper orders to ſuppreſs the diſturbance.' The duke of Bucks, the earl of Abingdon, the lords Harcourt, Trevor, North and Grey, and ſome others, ſpoke alſo in favour of the univerſity and magiſtrates of Oxford. Geo. I. 1716-17.

The lord Coningſby, who ſpoke firſt on the other ſide, ſaid, 'That he knew the uſage of the univerſity to have been otherwiſe than had been repreſented; and gave a ſhort account of their behaviour in the reigns of king Charles II. and James II; and diſtinguiſhed between their paſt and preſent loyalty.' He owned, 'That, in theſe two reigns, they had expreſſed their loyalty in a moſt extraordinary manner, and had made ſuch great advances to countenance an unlimited power in the prince, that, if providence had not miraculouſly interpoſed, they had, as far as in them lay, deſtroyed the liberties of their country, which would have involved the univerſity in certain ruin.' The lord chancellor, the duke of Kingſton, the earl of Sunderland, the lord Parker, the lord Townſhend, the lord Cadogan, and ſome other peers, who ſpoke on the ſame ſide, obſerved in general, 'That the diſreſpect to the prince regent, charged upon the univerſity and city of Oxford, was manifeſt, becauſe the major of the regiment did, about ten o'clock in the morning, go to the mayor, and complained, that he had ſhewed no regard to the prince's birth-day, by ringing the bells; to which the mayor returned a ſhuffling anſwer, pretending, he did not know it to be the prince regent's birth-day. That upon this the major told him, He would draw out the regiment to celebrate the day, with proper rejoicings, which he did accordingly; but that the mayor, inſtead of joining in the rejoicings, with a vaſt mob after him, filled up the public ſtreets; and ſome of his attendants inſulted the ſoldiers on their march, and gave them opprobrious language, crying out, 'Down with the Roundheads.' That they proceeded ſo far in their inſults, as to throw dirt and ſtones at the ſoldiers, and even attempted to diſarm ſome of them. That the houſe, wherein the officers of the regiment and ſome of the collegians met to celebrate the feſtival, was, in an inſolent manner, aſſaulted, and the windows broke by ſtones thrown from the oppoſite houſe of one Hurſt, an ironmonger, upon which the ſoldiers, to revenge the affront, began likewiſe to break windows, of which the major was no

Geo. I. 1716-17. ſooner informed, but he immediately went out and bid them deſiſt. That it was indeed affirmed in ſome of the affidavits produced in behalf of the univerſity and magiſtrates, that a certain collegian went round the bonfire, and encouraged the ſoldiers to break the windows of Hurſt, and all that were not illuminated; but, that the ſame was contradicted by no leſs than five or ſix perſons, who upon oath declared, that the collegian was from ſeven till ten that evening in their company, and had not ſtirred from the houſe all that time. That, upon the mayor's applying to the major of the regiment, the latter gave immediate orders for patrols to go through the city, and ſend home to their quarters all the ſoldiers they ſhould find in the ſtreets. And that, the patrols being inſulted by ſome of the mayor's attendants, two or three of the ſoldiers fired, but with powder only, purſuant to the orders given them.' During this debate the earl of Abingdon offered a petition from the vice-chancellor, and the mayor, and magiſtrates of Oxford, praying to be heard; and inſiſted, that it ſhould be received and read: But it was urged on the other ſide, that, the houſe being in a grand committee, the receiving any petitions was irregular. Then it was moved, that the chairman ſhould leave the chair; which being carried in the negative, the debate was reſumed, and about ſix o'clock in the evening the two following reſolutions were agreed to by a majority of ſixty-five againſt thirty-three.

I. Reſolved, 'That the heads of the univerſity, and mayor of the city, neglected to make any public rejoicings on the prince's birth-day; but, ſome of the collegiates, with the officers, being met to celebrate the day, the houſe, where they were, was aſſaulted, and the windows were broken by the rabble; which was the beginning and occaſion of the riots that enſued, as well from the ſoldiers as the ſcholars and townſmen; and that the conduct of the major ſeemed well juſtified by the affidavits produced on his part.

II. Reſolved, That the printing and publiſhing the depoſitions, upon which the complaints relating to the riots at Oxford were founded, while that matter was under the examination of the lords of the committee of council, and before they had time to come to any reſolution touching the ſame, was irregular, diſreſpectful to his royal highneſs, and tending to ſedition.'

Debates about the ſupplies. The commons, proceeding upon the ſupplies, among other things, granted 24,000 l. for the payment of our battalions of Munſter, and two of Saxe-Gotha, which the king had taken into his ſervice, to ſupply the place of ſuch as, during the rebellion,

rebellion, ſhould be drawn from the garriſons of the States-general to the aſſiſtance of England. This occaſioned a great debate. It was ſaid, as theſe troops did not ſerve, they ought not to be paid. It was replied, by the treaties, it was agreed that they ſhould be paid whether they ſerved or not, and the circumſtances of the times made ſuch an agreement neceſſary. It was moved, and the queſtion put for an addreſs to the king, that the inſtructions, given to thoſe who tranſacted the treaties for the ſix battalions, might be laid before the houſe, but it paſſed in the negative by a majority of one hundred and ſixty-five againſt thirty-eight. It was believed theſe treaties were called for, and the addreſs moved by ſome gentlemen, with a deſign to bring a cenſure on the German miniſters. About 5,500l. was alſo granted to make good the damages and loſſes ſuſtained by the tumultuous and rebellious proceedings in ſeveral counties, particularly the demoliſhing of the meeting-houſes. The money voted for the army, navy, and other particulars, amounted to above two millions and a half. Geo. I. 1716-17.

To raiſe theſe ſupplies, the commons granted a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound, and the malt-tax. While theſe things were tranſacting, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope delivered to the houſe the following meſſage from the king: A meſſage from the king for an extraordinary ſupply.

'His majeſty being deſirous, above all things, not only to ſecure his kingdoms againſt the preſent danger, with which they are threatened from Sweden, but likewiſe to prevent, as far as poſſible, the like apprehenſions for the future, thinks it neceſſary, that ſuch meaſures ſhould be early concerted, as may conduce moſt effectually to this end.

'And, as this may require ſome expence, his majeſty hopes, that his commons will, by their aſſiſtance at this juncture, inable him to make good ſuch engagements, as may eaſe his people of all future charge and apprehenſions upon this account.'

The conſideration of this unexpected meſſage was deferred till the next day, when Mr. ſecretary Stanhope made a motion, 'That a ſupply be granted to inable his majeſty to concert ſuch meaſures with foreign princes and ſtates, as may prevent any charge or apprehenſions from the deſigns of Sweden for the future.' He urged the advantage and ſecurity, that would ariſe to the nation, by enabling his majeſty to reduce the king of Sweden; and what confidence they ought to repoſe in the king's honour, wiſdom, and œconomy, in the management of what money ſhould be thought neceſſary for that ſervice. Mr. Shippen replied, 'That it was a great Debates on it.

Geo. I. misfortune, that ſo wiſe and excellent a prince as his majeſty,
1717. was as little acquainted with the uſage and forms of parliamentary proceedings, as with the language of our country. That, if he knew either, he would not have ſent ſuch a meſſage, which, he was ſure, was unparliamentary and unprecedented; and therefore it was his opinion, that the ſame was penned by ſome foreign miniſter, and then tranſlated into Engliſh. That, ſince the king's acceſſion to the throne, there had been many reflections caſt in that houſe upon the laſt miniſtry, as if they had betrayed the intereſt of their country. That, on the contrary, they had often been told, that his majeſty had retrieved the honour and reputation of the nation, the effects of which had already appeared in the flouriſhing condition of trade. That, after all this, he could not but be very much ſurprized, to find a motion made for a ſupply of money to enable his majeſty to enter into new meaſures, to ſecure his kingdoms againſt any future apprehenſions from the Swedes. That the neceſſity, that was urged for this, ſeemed to be inconſiſtent with the account of thoſe glorious advantages, which his majeſty had obtained for us. And he could not help being of the opinion, that if the new alliances and meaſures to be concerted were ſuch, as were to be obtained purely by the force of our money, that ever the happineſs or the ſecurity of the nation could be the conſequence of ſuch counſels; for, whenever foreigners come to taſte the ſweetneſs of Engliſh money, we might depend upon it, that their adherence to our intereſt would laſt no longer than we continued to ſupply their neceſſities.' Mr. Hungerford, who ſeconded Mr. Shippen, ſaid, among other particulars, 'That, for his part, he could not underſtand what occaſion there was for new alliances; much leſs, that they ſhould be purchaſed with money. That it muſt needs be very ſurprizing to the whole world, that a nation, not long ago the terror of France and Spain, ſhould now ſeem to fear ſo inconſiderable an enemy as the king of Sweden; eſpecially when we had ſo good a fleet at ſea, and ſo great an army on land.' Some other ſpeeches were made on the ſame ſide, which gave Mr. Stanhope occaſion to ſay, 'That he was ſorry to find gentlemen grow ſo warm upon a ſubject of this nature: That the king was a prince of that integrity and honour, and had already given ſuch convincing proofs of his tender care for the true intereſt of the nation, that they might intirely depend upon his wiſdom in this matter: And therefore he was of opinion, that none would refuſe compliance with this meſſage, but ſuch as either were not the king's friends,

friends, or who diſtruſted the honeſty of his miniſters.' This gave offence to ſeveral members; and Mr. Lawſon, one of the knights of the ſhire for Cumberland, replied, 'That he was very much ſurprized to find ſuch unguarded expreſſions fall from that worthy and honourable gentleman, for whom, he was ſure, the whole houſe had a very great regard. But, ſince he had thought fit to ſpeak ſo openly, he hoped he might well be juſtified in ſaying, that if every member of this houſe, that uſed freedom of ſpeech on any ſubject of debate, muſt be accounted an enemy to the king, when he happens not to fall in with his miniſters, he knew no ſervice they were capable of doing for their country in that houſe; and therefore it was his opinion, that they had nothing elſe to do but to retire to their country-ſeats, and leave the king and his miniſters to take what they pleaſed.' Mr. Boſcawen, comptroller of the houſhold, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Mr. Horace Walpole, and ſome other gentlemen, backed Mr. Stanhope's motion; but Mr. Grimſtone, member for St. Alban's, and ſome other Whig members, ſpoke againſt it, on the other ſide; and what was ſtill more obſervable, was the ſilence of Mr. Walpole, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. However, it was moved and reſolved, that the houſe would in a committee conſider, on the 8th of April, of Mr. Stanhope's motion for a ſupply. Mean time the king was addreſſed for a copy of the treaty made by king William, with the king of Sweden, in 1700, which was read and examined. With the treaty there was printed, and delivered to the members, an account of the damages ſuſtained by the Britiſh ſubjects in ſhips and lading, confiſcated in Sweden, amounting to above 69,000 l. and of the loſſes ſuſtained by the Muſcovite company, amounting to above 45,000 l. Geo. I. 1717.

Diviſion among the Whigs.

It was now obvious, that there was a miſunderſtanding among the king's miniſters, and that the Whigs were divided. This more plainly appeared, in the courſe of the debate about Mr. Stanhope's motion for a ſupply againſt Sweden. For, when it came to be reſumed on the day appointed, it was urged by thoſe who oppoſed it, 'That it was unparliamentary to grant a ſupply, before the occaſion was known, and an eſtimate of the expence was laid before the houſe. That the king's meſſage about this matter was ſo unprecedented, that his miniſters ſeemed to be divided about it; and that it was a great misfortune ſuch diviſions ſhould happen among the miniſtry; for then a parliament cannot have a true information of things. That they could not eaſily apprehend, what occaſion there was to make new alliances,

ſince

Geo. I. 1717. since we had a ſtanding army in Great-Britain, and a conſiderable fleet at ſea, which ſufficiently ſecured his majeſty's kingdoms againſt any dangers from Sweden. That if we deſigned to make an offenſive war againſt that crown, Why did we not ſend part of our forces on board our fleet; eſpecially, ſince we were now ſecure at home, both by the ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion, and by the concluſion of the triple alliance, which the regent of France had begun faithfully to perform, by cauſing the pretender to paſs the Alps? However, if the court inſiſted on the neceſſity of entering into new engagements againſt Sweden, they thought it proper to addreſs his majeſty, to acquaint the houſe with the nature of thoſe engagements, and the ſum, that was requiſite to make them good.' To this it was anſwered by Mr. Stanhope, and ſome others, 'That the diſcovery of the late conſpiracy, carried on by the Swediſh miniſters, in conjunction with the diſcontented party at home, ſufficiently evinced the neceſſity of a ſtanding army in Great Britain. That the treaty of triple alliance ſeemed indeed to ſecure us againſt any danger on the part of France; but it was to be obſerved, that treaty had met with ſo great oppoſition at the French court, that, had not the regent ſtickled ſtrenuouſly for it, the ſame would have infallibly miſcarried: And, though hitherto we had all the reaſon imaginable to commend the honeſty and candour of that prince, yet in good policy we ought not to depend on that treaty any longer, than it ſhall be the intereſt of France to obſerve it.' And, as for the addreſs, 'the ſame would be injurious to the king's prerogative of entering into ſuch alliances, as his majeſty thinks neceſſary for the ſecurity of his dominions, without communicating the ſame to his parliament: Which prerogative was grounded on very good reaſons; for, if the crown was obliged to impart the ſecret of affairs to ſo great a number of perſons, the moſt important negotiations might thereby miſcarry.' Sir Gilbert Heathcote, who ſpoke on the ſame ſide, mentioned the great loſſes and damages, which the Britiſh ſubjects had ſuſtained by their ſhips being made prize, and confiſcated in Sweden; and, beſides thoſe, contained in the printed account, which was that day delivered to the members, produced a liſt of other loſſes; concluding, 'That the king of Sweden having ſeveral times refuſed to make ſatisfaction for the ſame, and, on the contrary, his miniſters having endeavoured to raiſe a new rebellion in his majeſty's dominions, there was a ground to declare war againſt him. To this Mr. Gould replied, 'That, the Dutch having ſuſtained as great loſſes by the Swedes,

Swedes, they had an equal concern with Great-Britain to declare war againſt them; and therefore it would be proper, before we proceeded further, to engage Holland, in the firſt place, to prohibit all commerce with Sweden, as we had done.' Mr. Stanhope ſaid, 'He made no doubt but the States would readily come into any meaſures, that ſhould appear neceſſary for the good of both nations in general, and to obtain ſatisfaction for the late depredations of the Swedes in particular. That they had lately given ſignal inſtances of their firm adherence to the crown of Great-Britain, in cauſing the Swediſh miniſters to be ſeized in their dominions upon his majeſty's deſire: But that the form and conſtitution of their government, and the good of their ſubjects, who moſtly ſubſiſt by trade, did not permit them to take ſuch vigorous and ſpeedy reſolutions, as could be wiſhed; and therefore it would not be fair to exact the ſame from them.' Mr. Craggs preſſed the neceſſity of making new alliances againſt Sweden, from the late doubtful conduct of a northern potentate (meaning the czar of Muſcovy) who, by his inactivity againſt Sweden, and the poſts ſome of his troops had taken, gave great umbrage to the empire.' On the other hand, to the great ſurprize of the generality of the aſſembly, the ſpeaker, and Mr. Smith, one of the tellers of the exchequer, declared, That, though they were not againſt the ſupply, they were againſt demanding and granting it in ſuch an unparliamentary manner: And the ſpeaker propoſed, That part of the army ſhould be diſbanded, and the money thereby ſaved, applied towards the making good ſuch new engagements, as were thought neceſſary to be entered into. But general Mordaunt, and ſome others, ſhewed how unſafe and impolitic it would be, at this juncture, to diſband any of thoſe troops. Mr. Caſwell cloſed the debate, with obſerving, 'That he had rather pay others for fighting than fight himſelf: That he thought it more advantagious for Great-Britain to carry the war abroad, and enjoy peace at home, in order to improve our trade, and reduce our public debts: And, as the employing foreigners againſt Sweden would be a far leſs expence than national troops, he therefore was for complying with his majeſty's meſſage.' At laſt the queſtion was put, and it was carried for a ſupply, by a majority of fifteen voices only; one hundred and ſixty-four againſt one hundred and forty-nine. Geo. I. 1717.

The next day, this reſolution being reported to the houſe, a ſhort debate aroſe. The aſking and granting ſupplies without an eſtimate of the expence was inſiſted on again as an-

Geo. I. 1717. unparliamentary, and it was propoſed, either to preſent an addreſs to the king, to aſſure him, that the houſe would effectually make good all the engagements he ſhould think proper to enter into; or that the king be deſired to diſband part of the army, and apply the ſavings towards the new alliances. Both theſe expedients were rejected by the ſpeakers on the other ſide, and Mr. Hampden, in particular, ſaid, 'He remembered, that, about ten or eleven years before, a great man in that houſe made a motion for allowing and providing for about nine hundred thouſand pounds, which the government had expended, without laying any eſtimate before the commons.' To this the ſpeaker, who was the perſon meant, ſaid, he wondered that gentleman would bring in, as a precedent, a buſineſs, that was tranſacted ſo many years ago, and which was not parallel to the preſent caſe. Mr. Hampden replied, 'He did not mean to reflect upon Mr. ſpeaker, ſince he had the honour to vote with him upon that occaſion.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the reſolution for granting a ſupply was agreed to, though by a majority only of four votes, one hundred and fifty-three, againſt one hundred and forty-nine.

Changes in the miniſtry. The carrying of this vote, by ſo ſmall a majority, could not but give the king ſome uneaſineſs; and it being evident, that the great oppoſition, which the court found on this occaſion in the houſe of commons, chiefly proceeded from a party of which the lord Townſhend was ſaid to be the head; Mr. Stanhope wrote, that very evening, by the king's command, a letter to acquaint him, that his majeſty returned him thanks for his paſt ſervices, but had no farther occaſion for him as lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

The next morning Mr. Walpole waited upon the king to reſign his places of firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer. The king ſhewed great regret to part with him, and with many kind expreſſions endeavoured to perſuade him to keep his poſts; but though Mr. Walpole aſſured him, that he would never ſwerve from his duty to ſo good and gracious a maſter; yet, at the ſame time he repreſented, how impoſſible it was for him to ſerve him in the preſent circumſtances of affairs. Mr. Methuen and Mr. Pulteney, ſecretary at war, followed Mr. Walpole's example, and the ſame morning reſigned their reſpective places.

On the 12th of April, the commons, in a committee of the houſe, conſidered of the ſupply againſt Sweden; and, Mr. Stanhope having made a motion for granting to the king

king 250,000l. to inable him to concert meaſures againſt Sweden, there was for a minute or two a great ſilence in the houſe. Mr. Pulteney, who broke it firſt, expreſſed his ſurprize at it; and added, 'He had not yet ſaid any thing to this matter, becauſe he thought it inconſiſtent with decency to oppoſe a motion, that came from the court, while he had the honour to be his majeſty's immediate ſervant; but that, having reſigned his place, that he might act with the freedom becoming an Engliſhman, he could not forbear declaring againſt granting a ſupply, in a manner altogether unparliamentary and unprecedented. That he could not perſuade himſelf, that any Engliſhman adviſed his majeſty to ſend ſuch a meſſage; but he doubted not, the reſolution of a Britiſh parliament would make a German miniſtry tremble.' The lord Finch ſeconded Mr. Pulteney, and objected to ſome ſteps, which had been taken in relation to the affairs of the north, alledging, 'That it appeared by the memorial preſented by the Ruſſian miniſter, and by the anſwer, which had been returned to the ſame, that ſuch meaſures were purſued, as were likely to engage us in a quarrel with the czar.' Mr. Stanhope, in a long ſpeech, vindicated the king and his miniſters, in relation both to the czar and the king of Sweden. With reſpect to the czar, he obſerved, 'That hitherto he had been obliged to be ſilent; but he was now at liberty to ſet this matter in a clear light, and to acquaint the houſe, that the coldneſs, which appeared of late between the king and the czar, proceeded from his majeſty's refuſing to become guarantee of his czariſh majeſty's conqueſts; and from his ſolliciting the czar to withdraw his troops from the duchy of Mecklenburg. That, as to the firſt, his majeſty's conduct deſerved the applauſe and thanks of a Britiſh parliament, ſince it appeared, that his majeſty was tender not to engage the nation in foreign quarrels. That this indeed had been his principal care ſince his happy acceſſion to the throne; and he might aſſure them, that Great-Britain was intirely free from any engagements, and at liberty to follow ſuch meaſures, as beſt ſuit with her intereſt. That as for the inſtances, which his majeſty has cauſed to be made with the czar, and the meaſures he may have concerted to get the Ruſſian troops out of the duchy of Mecklenburg, his majeſty has acted in all this as elector and prince of the empire. That he was perſuaded, all the gentlemen there would agree with him, that the king's dignity, as king of Great-Britain, was never underſtood to tie up his hands with reſpect to his intereſts in Germany, and as prince of the empire. But, be-

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Geo. I. 1717. beſides, he muſt deſire gentlemen to conſider, that, long before his majeſty's acceſſion to the crown, Great-Britain was in ſtrict union with the emperor and empire; ſo that if, by virtue of ancient alliances, the emperor ſhould require Great-Britain to uſe theſe inſtances with the czar, which the king has made only as elector of Hanover, Great-Britain could not avoid complying with his requeſt. That, in relation to Sweden, the king's conduct was not only blameleſs and unſpotted, but worthy of the higheſt commendations. That in the late queen's time, Great-Britain interpoſed to procure a neutrality in the north, whereby the king of Sweden might have preſerved his poſſeſſions in the empire. That the regency at Stockholm agreed to this overture; but that the king of Sweden rejected it with haughtineſs, and the utmoſt ſcorn, declaring, he would uſe thoſe as his enemies, who ſhould pretend to impoſe ſuch a neutrality upon him.

That, during the whole courſe of that negotiation, the king, then elector of Hanover, uſed all friendly offers in favour of Sweden. That the ſame having proved ineffectual, through the king of Sweden's obſtinacy; and the king of Denmark having, by the fortune of war, reconquered the duchies of Bremen and Verden, his majeſty, as elector of Hanover, had purchaſed the ſame with his own money for a valuable conſideration. That although it was never in his majeſty's thoughts to engage Great-Britain in a war to ſupport that acquiſition; yet, if gentlemen would give themſelves the trouble to caſt their eyes upon the map, and ſee where Bremen and Verden lie, he hoped they would not be indifferent as to the poſſeſſor of thoſe two duchies, but would agree with him, that their being in the king's hands ſuits far better with the intereſt of Great-Britain, than if they were in the hands either of the czar, who gives already but too much jealouſy in the empire, or of the king of Sweden, who endeavoured to raiſe a new rebellion in Great-Britain, and harbours our fugitive rebels.'

This ſpeech made a great impreſſion upon the majority. However, Mr. Smith thought fit to anſwer Mr. Stanhope, and ſaid, 'He had already declared his reaſons for oppoſing the granting this ſupply, in ſuch an extraordinary manner; and ſome expreſſions, that had eſcaped a gentleman in the miniſtry, inſtead of making him alter his opinion, rather confirmed him in it. That he did not pretend to be thoroughly acquainted with affairs abroad; but, having had the honour to ſit ſo long in that houſe, where ſo great a variety of buſineſs, both foreign and domeſtic, had often been debated

bated, he might preſume to have ſome knowledge of them. That, however, he would not ſay any thing to what had been advanced by the honourable member who ſpoke laſt; but, if an eſtimate of the conduct of the miniſtry in relation to affairs abroad, was to be made by a compariſon of their conduct at home, he was ſure they would not appear altogether ſo faultleſs, as they were repreſented. Was it not a miſtake (added he) not to preſerve the peace at home, after the king was come to the throne, with the univerſal applauſe and joyful acclamations of all his ſubjects? Was it not a miſtake, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, not to iſſue a proclamation, to offer pardon to ſuch, as ſhould return home peaceable, as had ever been practiſed before upon ſuch occaſions? Was it not a miſtake, after the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, and the trial and execution of the principal authors of it, to keep up animoſities, and drive people to deſpair, by not paſſing an act of indemnity and grace, by keeping ſo many perſons under hard and tedious confinement, and by granting pardons to ſome, without leaving them any means to ſubſiſt? Is it not a miſtake not to truſt to a vote of parliament for making good ſuch engagements as his majeſty ſhall think proper to enter into; and, inſtead of that, to inſiſt on the granting of this ſupply in ſuch an extraordinary manner? Is it not a miſtake to take this opportunity to create diviſions, and render ſome of the king's beſt friends ſuſpected and obnoxious? Is it not a miſtake, in ſhort, to form Parties and Cabals, in order to bring in a 'bill 'to repeal the act againſt occaſional conformity?' To this ſpeech Mr. Stanhope replied, 'That he had the honour to ſerve his majeſty ſince his happy acceſſion to the throne, but, as there were other perſons (ſome of them in, and others out of place) who had a greater ſhare than himſelf in the adminiſtration of affairs, he left it to them to juſtify themſelves. That, however, he would clear a principal point, by aſſuring the aſſembly, that he had ſome time ago the king's orders to draw up an Act of Indemnity (b).

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Mr.

(b) Mr. Barrington Shute anſwered Mr. Smith more at large, and ſaid, 'That the king was indeed come to the throne with the joyful acclamations of moſt of his ſubjects; but that the diſaffection, that appeared ſoon after, did not proceed from the ill conduct of his miniſters, but ſolely from the removal of ſome perſons in great employments. That, nevertheleſs, in the changes that were then made, his majeſty had followed the rules of prudence, juſtice and gratitude, ſince he advanced thoſe, who

1 Geo. 1717. Mr. William Young, ſon of Sir Walter young, ſaid, 'That ſome days before he had been againſt the motion for granting

who in the worſt of times had given undoubted proofs of their affection and attachment to his intereſt, in the room of thoſe, who had been preferred in the laſt reign, as the fitteſt inſtruments to deſtroy the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, even before it took place, and who had ſince been in open rebellion againſt his majeſty. That, as for the other miſtakes charged upon the adminiſtration, they might be reduced to theſe two, The not paſſing the Act of Indemnity, and the deſign to repeal the Occaſional Bill. That, as to the firſt, there were various opinions about it; and, conſidering the reſtleſs ſpirit of the diſcontented party, it was hard to determine, whether an Indemnity was a proper way to reduce them, ſince it was notorious, that the repeated inſtances of clemency, which his majeſty had given ſince his acceſſion, have been abuſed and deſpiſed. That, as to the repeal of the act againſt the Diſſenters, nothing, in his opinion, was either more juſt or reaſonable; and he could not but wonder, that a gentleman, who had been turned out of his employment in the laſt reign, and reſtored ſince the king's coming to the crown, ſhould account it a miſtake, on the other hand, to make his majeſty's undoubted friends eaſy.' Mr. Smith, after an explanation demanded and given, about his being turned out of place and reſtored, replied to the laſt part of Mr. Shute's ſpeech, 'That he ever was for allowing liberty of conſcience to the Diſſenters, and had even voted againſt the Occaſional Bill; but that, the ſame being paſſed into a law, it was his opinion, that it could not be repealed without diſquieting the whole nation.' The deſign mentioned in theſe ſpeeches, of repealing the Schiſm and Occaſional Conformity acts, took its riſe from hence: Mr. Hillerſden, member for Bedfordſhire, and Mr. Tuckfield, member of Aſhburton, happening to meet at a tavern, and complaining to each other of the breach of court promiſes, with regard to the Diſſenters, came to a reſolution each of them to invite three members to meet the next night at the ſame place. When theſe met, they all entered into the ſame way of thinking; and, when they parted, every one agreed to invite their friends. In a little time, the number increaſed to above two hundred members of the houſe of commons, who, on the 26th of March, had a meeting at the Roſe-Tavern near Temple-Bar, in order to conſult together, 'Whether a bill for repealing the act againſt Occaſional Conformity ſhould be brought in?' The lord Moleſworth, Mr. Jeſſop, Sir Richard Steele, and ſome others, made ſpeeches, to ſhew the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of eaſing the Diſſenters of thoſe hardſhips, which had been put upon them in the laſt reign, chiefly upon account of their zeal and affection for the Proteſtant

granting a ſupply upon the king's meſſage, becauſe he thought it unparliamentary; and it was then his opinion to addreſs the king to enter into ſuch engagements, as his majeſty ſhould think proper; and that the commons would make good the ſame. But that, ſince the majority of the houſe had determined to grant a ſupply, they had brought themſelves into this dilemma, either to grant what was aſked as neceſſary for the ſervice, or to tell the king, that ſervice muſt remain unperformed, which they, in a manner, determined to be neceſſary, by granting a ſupply. This ſpeech was ſupported by Sir John Brownlow, and Mr. Gould, who owned, 'That we could not carry on our trade to the Baltic, without bringing the king of Sweden to reaſon; and therefore he was for granting the ſupply.' Geo. I. 1717.

teſtant ſucceſſion, and of putting them in a capacity to ſerve their king and country; urging, that they had reaſon to believe, that ſuch a bill would be very acceptable to the king. The majority of the aſſembly inclined to this opinion: But Mr. Tufnel, who had conſulted a perſon in a high poſt, and found, that the court were apprehenſive, ſuch a bill would meet with ſtrong oppoſition in the houſe of peers, made a ſpeech, wherein he ſaid, That, as for his own part, he had already ſo often declared againſt the Occaſional Act, that he hoped no-body would ſuſpect him of entertaining any doubt concerning its repeal. For, beſides the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of it, they ought, out of gratitude, to take off a mark of infamy, which the enemies of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion had put on them, who appeared moſt zealous for it. But that, in his opinion, the queſtion now before them was not, whether the repeal of the act was reaſonable and juſt, for he hoped, the whole aſſembly were ſatisfied as to that; but whether the bringing of it in, ought not to be put off till a more favourable opportunity?' Several members were of a contrary opinion; but, Mr. Stanhope having declared for it, the aſſembly agreed to meet again about a week after, and debate on the affair. At the meeting, the lord Moleſworth was choſen chairman. Several ſpeeches were made to ſhew the neceſſity as well as reaſonableneſs and juſtice of bringing in the bill for a repeal at this juncture; and a miniſter of ſtate having ſent an intimation, that moſt of the obſtacles that might have obſtructed its paſſage were removed, it was reſolved to conſider further of the affair. But though the debate was again reſumed; and though it was reported, that ſix or ſeven biſhops, being made ſenſible of the hardſhips put on the Diſſenters by theſe acts, had promiſed not to oppoſe the repeal, yet the matter took not effect at this time.

Geo. I. 1717. Mr. Walpole, who closed the debate, said, 'That, having already spoken of the supply, he would not refuse the court his vote; and, the sum being named, he was for granting it' (a). Upon this, most of the Tory members, who were divided among themselves as to the sum, going out of the house, it was carried, 'That a sum not exceeding 250,000l. be granted, to enable his majesty to concert such measures with foreign princes and states, as may prevent any charge or apprehensions from the designs of Sweden for the future.' Which resolution was afterwards passed in form.

Changes in the ministry. By this time there was almost a total change in the ministry. The earl of Sunderland was appointed secretary of state, as was also Mr. Joseph Addison: Mr. Stanhope was made first commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; lord Torrington, Mr. Wallop, Mr. Baillie of Jerwiswood, and Mr. Micklethwaite were the other commissioners of the treasury; Sir William St. Quintin, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Edgecombe, being removed, Mr. Craggs was declared secretary at war; Mr. Charles Stanhope, coadjutor to Mr. Lowndes, secretary to the treasury; and Mr. Joseph Micklethwaite, secretary to Mr. Stanhope, as chancellor and under treasurer of the exchequer. The earl of Orford resigned his place of first commissioner of the admiralty, which was given to the earl of Berkley. The rest of the commissioners of the admiralty were, Mr. Aylmer, Sir George Byng, Mr. Cockburne, and Mr. Chetwynd. The duke of Bolton was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland; and his place of lord chamberlain of the household was bestowed on the duke of Newcastle. The duke of Devonshire resigned his place of president of the council.

A fleet sent to the Baltic. The commons, having been adjourned during these changes, met again the 6th of May. All the expedition possible had been used to fit out a fleet for the Baltic, consisting of twenty-one ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. This fleet, under the command of Sir George Byng, arrived at Copenhagen the 11th of April, in order to sail into the Baltic, to observe the motions of the Swedes.

(a) Mr. Walpole, upon bringing in a bill concerning the window-tax, just after the resigning his places, told the house, 'He now presented the bill as a country gentleman, but hoped it would not fare the worse for having two fathers, and that his successor would take care to bring it to perfection.' Pr. H. C.

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An expreſs of his arrival in the Sound came juſt before the meeting of the parliament. The king thought proper to acquaint the parliament with the news, which, as it was unexpected, could not but agreeably ſurprize both houſes. To this end he came to the houſe of lords, and delivered to the chancellor the following ſpeech: Geo. I. 1717.

"My Lords and gentlemen,

"IT is with great ſatisfaction, that, after this ſhort ceſs, I can acquaint you with the certain advice I "have received, that my fleet is ſafely arrived in the Sound. "which, by the bleſſing of Almighty God, will ſecure "theſe kingdoms againſt any immediate danger of an invaſion. The king's ſpeech to both houſes. May 6. 1717. Pr. H. C.

"I have, by this means, an opportunity, which is very "acceptable to me, of making a conſiderable reduction in "our land-forces, having eſtabliſhed it as a rule with myſelf, to conſult the eaſe of my people in every thing, ſo "far as is conſiſtent with their ſafety. And, for my own "part, as I ſhall always place my greatneſs in the proſperity "of my ſubjects, ſo I ſhall always deſire, that my power "may be founded in their affections.

"It is upon theſe conſiderations, that I have given "orders for the immediate reducing of ten thouſand men.

"That nothing may be wanting in me to quiet the "minds of all my ſubjects, I have likewiſe given directions "to prepare an act of grace; and, however it may be received by thoſe, who are obſtinately bent on the ruin of "their country, I promiſe myſelf, that it will raiſe a due "ſenſe of gratitude in all ſuch, as have been artfully miſled "into treaſonable practices againſt my perſon and government, and preſerve them from ſtanding in need of the "like mercy for the future, when ſuch an inſtance of clemency may not be ſo expedient for the public welfare, as it would be agreeable to my own inclinations.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I thank you for your readineſs to ſupport me in the "preſent juncture of affairs, and for the ſupplies, which "you have given me; and do promiſe you, that they

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Geo. I. 1717. "shall be employed for the uses, to which you designed them.

"I shall order such faithful accounts to be laid before "you the next session, as will make it appear, there was no "other view in asking any particular supply, than to pre-"vent a much greater expence, which the nation must have "unavoidably incurred without it.

"I must recommend to you, as I did at the begin-"ning of the session, to take all proper methods for re-"ducing the public debts, with a just regard to parliamen-"tary credit.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The year being so far advanced, I hope you will go "through the public business with all possible dispatch and "unanimity; it being my intention to meet you early the "next winter, that the sitting of parliament may be brought "into the more usual and convenient season."

Addresses of thanks from both houses.

The lords immediately voted an address of thanks, which they presented the next day. The like address being moved for in the house of commons, and reported, Mr. Shippen proposed an amendment. Instead of, 'The reducing such a 'body of land-forces is the most acceptable pledge you 'could give your people of your tenderness for them,' he proposed to say, 'That nothing could more endear his ma-'jesty to all his subjects, than the reducing the land-forces 'to the old establishment of guards and garrisons, such as 'his majesty found it at his accession to the crown.' To support this motion, he represented the danger of a standing army, urging, that in Cromwell's time, a force, much less than what will remain in Great-Britain, had, after the intended reduction, overturned the monarchy, abolished Episcopacy, put down the house of peers, and drove the commons from their seats. He was seconded by Mr. Bromley, and supported by Mr. Herne and general Ross; but they were answered by Mr. Stanhope, who said, 'That the member, who spoke first, could not pitch upon a properer juncture to move for the disbanding of the army, especially if the news was true, that the pretender designed to come incognito to Paris, to confer with a certain prince;' meaning the czar of Muscovy, who was now arrived at Paris. To this purpose it may be observed, that the very day before,

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Iberville received advice from France, that the pretender was arrived at Baſil, in Swiſſerland, and had a few days after been ſeen at Old Briſac; upon notice whereof, the regent of France had ſent orders to all the governors of the frontier towns, not to ſuffer him to enter the kingdom of France: But it was ſoon after known, that the pretender had not ſtirred from Italy. However, Mr. Stanhope, to the great ſurprize of the oppoſite ſide, was ſupported by Mr. Walpole, and alſo by Mr. Pulteney, who declared, 'That, before the diſcovery of the late Swediſh conſpiracy, while he had the honour to ſerve as ſecretary at war, he had received ſuch directions, as ſhewed his majeſty's intentions, at that time, to reduce ſtill a greater number of forces than at preſent: And therefore he did not doubt but his majeſty would do it, as ſoon as the ſafety of his kingdoms would admit of it.' Adding, 'That, in his opinion, the nation had no reaſon to fear any thing from an army, who, for near thirty years paſt, had given ſignal proofs of their firm adherence to the Proteſtant intereſt, and of their zeal to maintain the liberties of their country; and, if there was any danger at preſent, it was only from foreign counſels.' The queſtion being put upon Mr. Shippen's amendment, it was rejected by a majority of one hundred and eighty-eight againſt eighty-three; and the commons, with their ſpeaker, preſented their addreſs to the king. Geo. I. 1717.

In order to paſs a cenſure on lord Cadogan, Mr. Pulteney acquainted the commons, that he was apprehenſive of ſome miſmanagements and embezzlement of public monies in relation to the ſix thouſand Dutch troops, and the ſervice in North-Britain. Upon this it was reſolved to addreſs for an account of the money given for the pay and tranſportation of theſe forces, and of the diſtribution of the extraordinaries and contingencies for ſervice performed in Scotland during the rebellion. But, after all the inquiry into the affair, by Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Walpole, and others, nothing material was found againſt the lord Cadogan. In the laſt day's debate, Mr. Lechmere urged, 'That the inquiry was altogether frivolous and groundleſs: That, as it was the reſult of party pique and malice, ſo it had no other view, than to blacken and aſperſe a perſon, whoſe greateſt crime was, that he had real bright qualities, that eclipſed the tinſel merit of others: That this inquiry was of the ſame nature with thoſe, that had formerly been ſet on foot againſt the duke of Marlborough, the lord Townſhend, and an honourable member of Inquiry about the Dutch forces in Scotland. Pr. H. C.

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Geo. I. 1717. that houſe; and he hoped would have the ſame end: That it looked very ſtrange, that the perſons, who now appeared the hotteſt in this inquiry, ſhould have been ſilent about theſe pretended frauds, while they were in place. But that it was ſtill more ſurprizing to hear them exclaim, with ſo much rancour and bitterneſs, againſt a noble lord, of whom they had been heard to ſay, that the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of the rebellion in Scotland was, under God, owing to his activity and indefatigableneſs; and that, if another general had had the management of that affair, he would have made it a ten years war.' After both parties had maintained the debate ſeveral hours, Mr. Stanhope moved, 'That the chairman leave the chair.' Which was carried in the affirmative by two hundred and four voices againſt one hundred and ninety-four. This was looked upon as a great victory on the court-ſide; for, had the Tories and their New Allies, as Mr. Shippen called them, gained their point, it was apprehended, that they deſigned, not only to have paſſed a cenſure on lord Cadogan, but alſo to have carried the inquiry further, that they might have an opportunity of returning thanks to the duke of Argyle, his rival in the buſineſs of Scotland. Moſt of the Scots members voted for lord Cadogan; but, though Mr. Hungerford ſpoke in his favour, yet he voted with his enemies; and the lord Finch and Sir Thomas Hanmer were abſent from the houſe that day.

Meaſures for reducing the public debts.

The principal buſineſs of this ſeſſion was the reduction of the national debts, which the king had earneſtly recommended to the commons in his ſpeeches from the throne. The national debt, by means of long and expenſive wars, carried on in ſupport of the revolution, and conſequently in defence of the religion, laws, and liberties of Great Britain, was become very large and heavy. And therefore the circumſtances of time, high credit, and low price of money, prompted thoſe, whoſe province it was, to conſider of proper means to make uſe of that favourable opportunity, that the public might ſhare in the common advantage of the flouriſhing ſtate of public credit. For it was thought juſt and reaſonable, that the public ſhould have the ſame liberty every private man has, to pay off his debts when he is able; or to reduce the high intereſt, which neceſſity had ſubjected him to, as ſoon as he could borrow the money elſewhere at more eaſy rate; unleſs his creditors would conſent to accept of the common rate of intereſt upon good ſecurity. This method

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of redemption, among the many ſchemes that were propoſed for reduction of the public debts, was choſen by thoſe who had the management of the affair. Geo. I. 1717.

The national debt was conſidered under two heads, Redeemable and Irredeemable Debts. The Redeemable, or ſuch debts as had been provided for by parliament with a redeemable intereſt of ſo much per cent. the public had a right and power to pay off whenever they were able, either by providing money for ſuch proprietors as inſiſted upon money, or by offering new terms, in diſcharge of all former conditions, which offer, if accepted by the proprietors, was to be deemed an actual redemption of the firſt debt, as if it had been paid off in ready money.

As for the Irredeemable debts, or the Long and Short Annuities, (ſo called from the greater or leſſer number of years they were granted for) nothing could be done without the abſolute conſent of the proprietors. The only method therefore to treat with them, was to offer them ſuch conditions as they ſhould think it their intereſt to accept.

Upon theſe principles (as will preſently be ſeen) were founded the reſolutions taken by the commons with relation to the public debts.

Mr. Walpole, who was then at the head of the treaſury, and chief projector of the ſcheme, gave the firſt hint of it by a motion in the houſe of commons, which was agreed to, 'That whoever ſhall advance or lend any ſum, not exceeding 600,000l. for the ſervice of the public by ſea or land, ſhall be repaid the ſame with intereſt at 4l. per cent. out of the firſt aid to be granted this ſeſſion of parliament.' The putting the intereſt of this intended loan ſo low as four per cent. gave reaſon to ſurmiſe, that thoſe who had the management of the treaſury, deſigned to put on the ſame foot the intereſts of all public funds: Whereupon Mr. Lechmere made a long ſpeech, obſerving, 'That ſeveral ſchemes and propoſals for reducing the national debts had been printed and diſperſed; which gave the perſons concerned in the public ſecurities, the greater uneaſineſs, becauſe there was reaſon to apprehend, thoſe ſchemes came abroad with the privity and countenance of men in great places: That the general alarm which this had occaſioned among monied men, might very ſenſibly affect public credit, and be, at this juncture, of very dangerous conſequence: To prevent which, he thought it neceſſary, and therefore moved, that the houſe would come to a reſolution, effectually to make good all parliamentary

Geo. I. 1717. engagements.' To this unexpected motion Mr. Walpole replied, 'That his majesty having, with great tenderness, recommended to them, from the throne, 'the reducing, by degrees, the debts of the nation;' and the commons having, in their address, promised 'to apply themselves, with all possible diligence and attention, to that great and necessary work,' they ought to exert themselves to make good that promise, and appoint a day to take that important matter into consideration. And he did not doubt but the commons would then shew all possible regard to justice and public faith. He owned, there had been indeed several schemes published relating to the reduction of the national debts; but that the same were made by private persons; and he durst assure the house, without the participation of any of his majesty's ministers; and therefore not to be regarded; but that, in a short time, such proposals would be laid before the house, as, he hoped, would give them satisfaction, and meet with their approbation.' He therefore moved, that Mr. Lechmere's motion might be thus altered, 'That this house will effectually make good the deficiencies of all parliamentary engagements;' which, after a short debate, was approved, and a day was appointed to consider of the national debt.

By this time the surmise, that force would be used in the reduction of the public debts, had heightened the uneasiness of monied men and stock-jobbers, in some, to a degree of extravagance and madness; in others, of sullen discontent, so that many did not scruple to inveigh against the present administration, as if the public debts were to be sponged off, and all seemed combined to distress the government, by not advancing any money towards its support; by which means, in three days, not above 45,000l. was subscribed to the loan of 600,000l. in the land-tax. This disappointment, at so critical and dangerous a juncture, furnished Mr. Lechmere with matter for another speech on the 8th of March, when, the commons being in a grand committee on the supply, he told them, 'He was sorry he was obliged to take notice, that their late vote for a loan, at four per cent. interest, was like to prove ineffectual; and, as the present exigency required a speedy supply, so he thought it necessary, and therefore moved, that a day be appointed to consider further of that matter.' Mr. Robert Walpole declared, 'That he seconded this motion, there being the greater necessity for it, because he was informed, that some stock-jobbers, in order to deter the parliament from pursuing the design of reducing

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the public debts, had formed a combination to diſtreſs the government, and ruin public credit, which was the occaſion, that the late vote for borrowing 600,000l. at four per cent. had not the deſired effect.' To this Mr. Lechmere anſwered, 'That as none but the moſt wicked of men could enter into ſuch a combination againſt the good of their country; ſo the honourable member, who ſpoke laſt, would do well to name them, that the honeſt might ſhew the utmoſt reſentment and indignation againſt them. But that, in his opinion, the ill ſucceſs of the loan was rather occaſioned by ſome reflections on the monied men and ſtock-jobbers, and by certain maxims lately advanced, That the parliament may exert its authority to extricate themſelves, by reducing the national debts: That ſuch maxims could not but alarm any perſons concerned in the public ſecurities; and the more, when they ſaw, that a ſlur had been put upon the motion made three days before, 'That all parliamentary engagements ſhould effectually be made good.' That he ſtill thought ſuch a vote abſolutely neceſſary, both to remove people's fears and jealouſies, and to vindicate the honour and juſtice of the nation: That the ſame was intirely agreeable to his majeſty's ſentiments, who, in his firſt ſpeech to this parliament, had been pleaſed to recommend to the commons, in a particular manner, 'the ſtrict obſervance of all parliamentary engagements, than which nothing could more contribute to the ſupport of the credit of the nation:' With which opinion of his majeſty the commons did intirely concur; and that he could not believe any of his majeſty's miniſters could be ſo regardleſs of his honour, and known equity, or put ſo hard a thing upon him, as to make him, in the leaſt, contradict what he had, in ſo ſolemn a manner, declared from the throne. 'He added, That, the commons having already appointed a day, to conſider the ſtate of the nation with relation to the public debts, he would not anticipate that important affair: But he could not forbear declaring, on this occaſion, his private opinion, that it would be the greateſt ingratitude, as well as injuſtice, in the leaſt to wrong thoſe perſons, who had ſupported the government in the moſt preſſing exigencies, and moſt perilous junctures, and who, on all occaſions, had ſhewn their zeal and affection for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. That he had nothing to ſay as to ſuch public ſecurities, as were redeemable by parliament; but, as to annuities granted for terms of years, he would be poſitive, that they could not be meddled with, without breaking in upon parliamentary engagements, and

Geo. I. 1717.

Geo. I. 1717. and violating the public faith; ſince thoſe annuities were not to be looked upon as debts, but as a ſale of annual rents for a valuable conſideration, of which contract the parliament had propoſed and made the terms and conditions, and the rentees became purchaſers upon the parliamentary faith and ſecurity. And that, beſides the injuſtice of breaking through a national contract, thoſe annuities could not be touched without occaſioning great confuſion and diſpute in private families, by reaſon that moſt of theſe annuities had been ſettled for portions, jointures, and the like.' Upon this Mr. Walpole declared, there never had been a deſign to uſe any compulſion with relation to the annuities: That, indeed, an alterative might be offered to the proprietors of the ſame; but it ſhould be in their choice, either to accept or refuſe it. And, as for ſuch funds as were redeemable, nothing would be propoſed, that ſhould not intirely conſiſt with juſtice and public faith (b).

State of the public debts. Three days after, the commons ordered to be laid before the houſe, an account of the public debts at the exchequer, diſtinguiſhing what the funds were, when granted; what term remained; how much the original money was; how much had been paid off, and how much unpaid; and what the annual intereſt was, that was payable for the ſums advanced. This was done accordingly in manner following:

(b) The commons having ordered, that the ſums advanced for the ſervice of the public ſhould be repaid, with 5 l. per cent. the whole loan of 600,000 l. was immediately filled up.

LOTTERIES.

101. LOTTERY, Michaelmas, anno 1710, by way of annuity.

Act of the 8th of queen Anne, 9 l. per cent.

Charges a duty of 3 s. per chaldron on coals, and an additional duty on Windows, for the term of 32 years.

101. LOTTERY, Michaelmas, anno 1711.

Act of the 9th of queen Anne, 6 l. per cent. and the principal to be repaid.

Charges a ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage upon exported goods from the 8th of March, 1710, a duty of 2 s. a chaldron on coals from the 8th of March, 1710, an additional duty of a half-penny a pound on tallow-candles, and 4 d. a pound on wax candles, from the 25th of March, 1711, for the term of 32 years.

Claſs LOTTERY, Michaelmas, anno 1711.

Another act of the 9th of queen Anne, 6 l. per cent. and the principal to be repaid.

Charges 700 l. a week out of the poſt-office, from Michaelmas 1711; the duty on leather, &c. 1 d. a pound, from the 24th of June 1711; new ſtamp duty on bills of lading, almanacks, licences, and certificates, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1711; duty of 5 s. a week on eight hundred hackney-coaches, from the 24th of June 1711; and 10 s. per ann. on two hundred hackney-chairs, from the 24th of June 1711; and a duty of 6 d. a pack on cards, and 5 d. a pair on dice, from the 11th of June 1711: All for the term of 32 years.

The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
1500000		1500000	135000
1928570	262500	1666070	135000
2602200	76230	2525970	186670

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LOTTERIES.

10l. Lottery, Chriſtmas, anno 1712.

Act of the 10th of queen Anne, 6l. per cent. and the principal to be repaid.

Charges the duty of 1d. a pound on ſoap, from the 10th of June 1712; 15s. per centum ad valorem on foreign printed, painted, or ſtained linnen, 6d. a yard on ſilks, 3d. a yard on callicoes, and 2d. a yard on linnen and ſtuffs printed, painted, and ſtained in Britain, from the 20th of July 1712; ſeveral duties on paper, paſtboard, and books, from the 24th of June 1712; a new ſtamp duty on ſurrenders, 2s. 3d. on every transfer of ſtock in any company, and the ſtamp-duty on news-papers, &c. from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1712; all for the term of 32 years.

Claſs Lottery, Michaelmas, anno 1712.

Another act of the 10th of queen Anne, 6l. per cent, and the principal to be repaid.

Charges the additional duty of a half penny a pound on leather, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1712; 1s. a pound on coffee, 2s. a pound on tea, and 20l. per cent. ad valorem on drugs, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1713; duty of 8d. an ounce on gilt wire, and 6d. an ounce on ſilver wire imported, from the 1ſt of July 1712; and a duty of 2s. 4d. upon policies of inſurance, &c. all for the term of 32 years.

Civil Liſt Lottery, Michaelmas, anno 1713.

By letters patents of the 13th of October 1713, and by an act of the 11th of queen Anne, 4l. per cent. the principal to be repaid.

Charges the civil liſt revenues with the annual ſums of 35000l. for the term of 32 years.

Lottery act, Michaelmas, anno 1714.

Act of the 12th of queen Anne, and 1ſt of king George.

Blanks, 5 per cent.	1157360
Prizes, 4 per cent.	719040
	1876400

and the principal to be repaid.

The principal money.	how much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums
2341740	83220	2258520	168003
2341990	29925	2312005	168003
633010	33820	599190	35000

Charges

Charges a duty of 1 d. a pound on foreign ſoap, and a half-penny a pound on ſoap made in Great-Britain, from the 2d of Auguſt 1714; additional duty on paper, &c. from the ſame time, coals exported on foreign bottoms, 5s. a chaldron, and on Britiſh bottoms, 3s. a chaldron, and the deficiency to be yearly computed at Michaelmas, and to be made good out of any unappropriated money, for the term of 32 years.

For the Bank upon their annuities.

Act of the 5th and 6th of king William and queen Mary.

Charges five ſeventh parts of the ſecond additional 9d. per barrel exciſe, for raiſing 1200000l. granting to all perſons liberty to ſubſcribe any ſum, not exceeding 2000l. in one name, for which an annuity of 100000l. ſhall be paid, and the ſubſcribers be incorporated by the name of the governor and company of the bank of England, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1694, to the 1ſt of Auguſt 1705; when, upon a year's notice, and repayment of the capital, the corporation to ceaſe.

And by an act of the 7th of queen Anne, 6l. per cent.

The bank lent 400000l. more without any additional intereſt (that is to ſay) they reduced the intereſt of their primitive ſtock from 8l. to 6l. per cent. which, with 4000l. per ann. for management, fills up the original 100000l. annuity, this 400000l. and the 1200000l. to be repaid before the corporation be diſſolved.

Act of the 5th of queen Anne, 4l. 10s. per cent.

Charges the duty upon houſes or windows, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1710, for ever, for raiſing 1500000l. by iſſuing Exchequer bills to that value; by this act the bank undertook to circulate thoſe bills, upon the conſideration of 4l. 10s. per cent. per annum, and Exchequer bills to be iſſued for the intereſt, till the fund commences. The bank to remain a corporation till the bills be redeemed.

The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
1876400	64300	1812100	116573 12
1600000	——	1600000	100000
1775027 17 10½	——	1775027 17 10½	106501 17 6

And by another act of the 7th of queen Anne, 6 l. per cent.

It was enacted, That the bank ſhould pay off and cancel all the exchequer bills before extant, which amounted to 1775027 l. 17 s. 10½ d. upon allowing 6 l. per cent. intereſt for that ſum; to which purpoſe, an annuity was eſtabliſhed of 106501 l. 17 s. 6 d. to be paid to the bank out of the duty aforeſaid, until the principal be paid off upon a year's notice.

The bank for exchequer bills.

Several acts of the 7th and 12th of queen Anne.

Grant 4676812 l. 10 s. by iſſuing exchequer bills——

Act of the 1ſt of king George, 7 l. 4 s. 0¾ d. per cent.

The fund for theſe exchequer bills in the general or aggregate funds.

Eaſt-India company.

Two acts of the 9th of king William.

Grant additional duties on ſtamp paper and parchment, from the 1ſt of Auguſt 1698; and a duty of 2 s. 4 d. per buſhel on ſalt, from 1698 and 1699, for ever; both theſe duties are given for 160000 l. per annum, to raiſe by ſubſcriptions 2000000 l. at 8 l. per cent. per annum, the ſubſcribers to have the ſole liberty of trading to the Eaſt-Indies, redeemable upon payment of the principal, and three years notice after Michaelmas 1711.

By an act of the 6th of queen Anne, 5 l. per cent.

It is enacted, That the Eaſt-India company ſhall pay into the exchequer 1200000 l. to have their 8 l. per cent. granted them in the 9th of king William, reduced to 5 l. per cent. per annum, and to have the trade to India continued to them ſolely to Lady-day 1726; this, together with the former ſum advanced, with all arrears of the 160000 l. to be repaid before the company ſhould be determined.

Geo. I. 1717.

The principal money.	How much paid of	What remains.	Annual sums.
4676812 10	115787 10	4561025	328561 18 6½
3200000		3200000	160000

LOTTERIES.

By the act of the 10th of queen Anne.

The corporation of the East-India company and their sole trade made perpetual; but the fund may be redeemed upon three years notice, after the 25th of March 1733, upon repayment, by parliament, what is due to such companies as shall be then intituled thereunto.

South-Sea Company.

Two acts of the 9th and 10th of queen Anne, and one act of the 1st of king George, 6l. per cent.

600000l. per annum is charged upon several duties, impositions, &c. to the South-Sea company, and 8000l. per annum for management, for paying the interest of 10000000l. at 6 per cent. per ann. the company to continue for ever, but the annual sum of 608000l. to cease upon a year's notice after the 25th of December 1716, repaying what shall then be due to the company.

ANNUITIES.

ANNUITIES, 14l. per cent. Jan. 25, 1692, afterwards turned into a certain term of 99 years.

Years purchase. Act of the 4th of king William and queen Mary, and of the 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th, of king William, and 1st of queen Anne, 11 years and a half, 12 years, 11 years, and 15 years.

Grants 9d. per barrel excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for the term of 99 years,

SURVIVORS.

Act of the 4th of king William and queen Mary, 7l. per cent.

The same 9d. is charged with a further sum on the benefit of survivorship, till the number of survivors be reduced to seven, and then the share or 7th part of each of them as they die to revert to the crown.

The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual ſums.
10000000		10000000	608000
1491639 6 10		1491639 6 10	124866
108100		108100	7567

ANNUITIES.

Annuities on the 2 7ths exciſe.

Act of the 5th of king William and queen Mary, and of the 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th of king William, and 1ſt of queen Anne.

Grants two ſeventh parts of a 9d. per barrel exciſe to ſubſcribers for raiſing 300000l. in annuities, from the 29th of September 1694, at the rate of 14 per cent. on one life, 12 per cent. on two lives, or 10 per cent on three lives, which was thus advanced:

	Principal money,	Annual intereſt.
On 1 life	107847 13 9	15098 13 6
2 lives	170917 2 3	20510 1 0
3 lives	21235 4 0	2123 10 4
	300000 0 0	37732 4 10

A half, 12 years, 11 years, and 11 years.

Afterwards by ſubſequent acts the full term of 96 years is given to the purchaſers, and accordingly the reverſion of 1 life was made up to that term, for which there was paid	61229 8	
The contributors of the 2 and 3 lives did not purchaſe the remainder. And in the year 1702 it appeared, there was fallen into the crown, of the 2 and 3 lives, 565l. per annum, which, by an act then paſſed, were ſold for 15 years purchaſe, which produced.	8475	
	369704 8 0	37732 4 10
There is ſo many of the contributors dead of the 2 and 3 lives, which abates the annual charge	1662 2 7	
So the preſent annual charge for all theſe annuities is	36070 2 3	

The principal money.	how much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums
369704 8	——	369704 8	36070 2 3

ANNUITIES.

ANNUITIES on 3700l. per week excise, Lady-Day, 1704.

Act of the 2d of queen Anne, 15 years.

Charges the 3700l. a week, issuing out of the hereditary and temporary excise, for the term of 99 years ——

Act of the 3d of queen Anne, 15 years.

Charges the same 3700l. a week excise, for 99 years ——

Act of the 12th of king William, 6l. per cent.

Charges the same 3700l. a week excise, with bankers annuities, redeemable by parliament, on payment of a moiety of the said principal, which is —— —— ——

ANNUITIES, March 25, anno 1706.

Act of the 4th of queen Anne, 15 years and a half.

Grants one third additional customs of tonnage and poundage, and the third additional 9d. per barrel excise upon beer, ale, &c. for 99 years —— —— —— ——

ANNUITIES, March 25, anno 1707.

Act of the 5th of queen Anne, 16 years.

Grants duties on low wines, from the 23d of June 1710, for 96 years; additional duty on stamp paper and vellum, from the last of July 1710, for 96 years; duty on hawkers and pedlers, from the 23d of June, 1710, for 96 years; duty on sweets for 99 years, from the 24th of March 1707; and the additional customs of tonnage and poundage, granted in the 4th of the queen, for 98 years, continued one year more after that term; the overplus of the annuity fund, granted in the 4th of the queen, computed at Lady-Day yearly, or within 6 days after, for 99 years. —— ——

The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
1569664 18 6		1569664 18 6	104745 10 6½
690000		690000	46000
664263		664263	39855 16 0½
2855761		2855761	184242 14
1155000		1155000	72187 10

ANNU-

400001. per annum ANNUITIES, March 25, anno 1708.

Act of the 6th of queen Anne, 16 years.

Charges the overplus of the annuity funds before-mentioned, granted in the 4th and 5th of the queen, to be computed at Lady-Day yearly; as alſo the overplus of the firſt 9 d. exciſe, granted from the 25th of January 1692, after the 29th of September 1710, to be computed at Midſummer yearly for 99 years.

80000 l. per annum ANNUITIES, June 24, anno 1708.

Another act of the 6th of queen Anne, 16 years.

Charges one moiety, or half part of the old ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage upon wines, goods, and merchandizes, for 96 years, from the 31ſt of July 1712; the intermediate intereſt was ſupplied out of the purchaſe money, and alſo, by an act of the 10th of the queen, out of ſeveral appropriated branches of the revenue, for 99 years.

ANNUITIES at 9 l. per cent. March 25, anno 1710.

Act of the 8th of queen Anne, 9 l. per cent.

Charges 3 d. a barrel on beer, ale, and other liquors; 18 d. a pound on pepper; 5 s. per 100 lb. weight on raiſins; a double duty on nutmegs and other ſpices; 3 s. a pound on ſnuff, from the 6th of February 1709; and, if there be a deficiency, to be ſupplied out of the duty on coals and window-tax, for 32 years.

Bank ANNUITIES.

Two acts of the 1ſt of king George, 5 l. per cent.

Charges the general or aggregate fund, after the intereſt and allowances, to exchequer bills, and after 1200001. for his majeſty's civil government, with theſe annuities payable at the bank of England at 5 l. per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament.

The principal money.	How much paid off	What remains.	Annual sums.
640000		640000	40000
1280000		1280000	80000
900000		900000	81000
1069000		1069000	54600
47268883 1 $2\frac{1}{2}$	665782 10	46603100 11 $2\frac{1}{2}$	3118448 0 $10\frac{1}{2}$

ABSTRACT.

By Lotteries
Bank { By Annuities
By Exchequer bills
East-India Company
South-Sea Company
Annuities

Exchequer, March 14, 1716.
JOS. FOX.

Reſolutions about the national debts, Mar. 23. Pr. H. C.

On the day appointed to conſider of the national debt, Mr. Walpole, having in his hand the account of the public debts at the Exchequer, made proper remarks on them, and then communicated his ſcheme, both for paying off, or reducing the intereſt of redeemable funds, and for offering an alternative to the proprietors of annuities; which was generally approved. After which, the commons came to the following reſolutions: 'I. That all the public funds redeemable by law, that do now exceed 5 l. per cent per annum, be redeemed according to their reſpective proviſoes or clauſes of redemption, contained in the acts of parliament for that purpoſe, or (with conſent of the proprietors) be converted into an intereſt or annuity, not exceeding 5 l. per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament. II. That his majeſty be inabled, to borrow of any perſon or perſons, bodies politic or corporate, ſuch ſum or ſums of money, as ſhall be requiſite to redeem the ſaid redeemable funds, at any rate not exceeding 5 l. per cent per annum, and to ſecure the ſame upon the funds ſo to be redeemed. III. That the annuity of 106,501 l. 13 s. 5 d. per annum, payable to the governor and company of the bank, out of the houſe-money, by virtue of ſeveral acts of parliament in that behalf, for the principal ſum of 1,775,027 l. 17 s. 10 d. ½ by them advanced, be redeemed, or (by conſent of the ſaid governor and company) converted into an intereſt or annuity, not to exceed 5 l. per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament. IV. That ſo much of the fund, commonly called the Aggregate Fund, ſettled by an act of parliament, in the firſt year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, as is applicable to the intereſt, circulation, exchanging or cancelling the preſent Exchequer bills, be alſo redeemed. V. That his majeſty be enabled to authorize the high-

The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual ſums.
13223910 —	549995 —	12673915 —	944249 12 —
3375027 17 10	— —	3375027 17 10½	206501 17 6
4676812 10 —	1115787 10	4561025 —	328561 18 6½
3200000 —	— —	3200000 —	160000 —
10000000 —	— —	10000000 —	608000 —
12793132 13 4	— —	12793132 13 4	871134 12 10
47268883 1 2	1665782 10	46603100 11 2½	3118448 0 10½

high-treaſurer, or the commiſſioners of the treaſury for the time being, to treat and agree with any perſon or perſons, bodies politic or corporate, for circulating ſuch a number of Exchequer bills, at a rate not exceeding 4l. 10s. per cent. per annum for intereſt, exchanging, and circulation, as may be charged and ſecured upon that part of the ſaid aggregate fund to be ſo redeemed. VI. That the annuities of 600,000l. and 8000l. per annum, payable to the governor and company of merchants of Great Britain trading to the South-Sea, be alſo redeemed. VII. That the annuities payable by an act of parliament of the twelfth year of the reign of king William (of glorious memory) to certain patentees therein named, their heirs and aſſigns, out of the weekly ſum of 3700l. charged on the exciſe, be alſo redeemed. VIII. That the ſeveral terms of years remaining in the duties appropriated by the two lottery acts, made and paſſed in the ninth year of the reign of her late majeſty queen Anne (of bleſſed memory) and by the two lottery acts, made and paſſed in the 10th year of her ſaid late majeſty's reign, be made perpetual. IX. That the ſaid duties, comprehended in the ſaid four lottery acts, be made one general fund for the future. X. That the proprietors of the orders, grounded on the ſaid lottery acts, do, within a limited time, make their elections, either to accept annuities after the rate of 5l. per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament, out of ſuch general fund, or be paid ſo much as remains due to them on their orders reſpectively. XI. That, in all caſes where the proprietors ſhall chuſe to have their principal, the 5l. per cent. per annum ſaved thereby, be made another fund, towards anſwering ſuch ſums of money, as ſhall be advanced (towards diſcharging the ſaid principal) by loans, or other ſecurities, as ſhall be thought

proper.

Geo. I. 1717. proper. XII. That his majeſty be enabled to give power for receiving voluntary ſubſcriptions from any perſon or perſons, intitled to any of the annuities iſſuing out of the public funds, for the reſidue of the reſpective terms of 99, 96, 89, or 32 years, formerly purchaſed therein, (not being ſubject to redemption) who ſhall be willing to accept, in lieu thereof, perpetual annuities, redeemable by parliament, to allow for remaining terms in the ſaid annuities, which were purchaſed for 99, 96, or 89 years, (at the election of the reſpective ſubſcribers) either ſo much as the ſame annuities ſhall amount to at 19 years purchaſe, to be made good by new annuities of 4 l. per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament, or 17 years and a half purchaſe, to be made good by new annuities of 5 l. per cent. per annum, to be redeemable in like manner; and to allow for the remaining terms in the ſaid annuities, which were purchaſed for 32 years (at the election of the reſpective ſubſcribers) either ſo much as the ſame annuities ſhall amount to at 14 years and a half's purchaſe, to be made good by new annuities of 4 l. per cent. per ann. redeemable by parliament, or 13 years and a half purchaſe, to be made good by annuities of 5 l. per cent. per ann. redeemable in like manner; and that the ſaid annuities ſhall be ſettled and ſecured accordingly. XIII. That all ſavings, that ſhall ariſe upon any of the preſent funds, by the propoſed redemptions or reductions, be reſerved and applied, after all deficiencies, that may happen upon any of the ſaid funds, are made good, towards diſcharging and reducing the debts of the national debt. XIV. That all the ſaid duties now in being, or to be continued, ſhall immediately ceaſe and determine, after the ſaid national debt, and all intereſt, due thereupon, is diſcharged and paid off.' Theſe reſolutions being approved of in form, bills were ordered to be brought in upon them.

Before theſe bills were preſented, there happened a change in the adminiſtration, which occaſioned the new officers of the revenue to think ſome alterations in the meaſures likewiſe neceſſary: But, however, they were forced to build upon Mr. Walpole's foundation, who had now reſigned his poſt, and who, believing theſe variations detrimental to the public, made ſome oppoſition to them.

As the foundation of the ſcheme for reducing the national debts was built upon paying off or ſatisfying the public creditors, many conferences had been held with the money-corporations, in order to provide money for ſuch as ſhould be willing to receive their principal and intereſt in ready money. For this purpoſe, the bank agreed to furniſh two millions and

a

a half, and the South-Sea two millions, or as much as ſhould be called for, and, for the money advanced, theſe companies were to have annuities of 5 l. per cent. Geo. I. 1717.

The propoſals of the bank and South-Sea being agreed to (a), three bills were brought in, upon the reſolutions that had

(a) In the debates on theſe propoſals, a quarrel had like to ariſe between Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Walpole. Mr. Pulteney having ſaid, "He did not know what Private Advantage ſome perſons might have for accepting the propoſal of the South-Sea Company,' Mr. Stanhope (who thought the reflection of Private Advantage was chiefly levelled againſt him) vindicated himſelf, and began with owning his incapacity for the affairs of the treaſury, which were ſo remote from his ſtudies and inclination: That therefore he would willingly have kept the employment he had before, which was both more eaſy, and more profitable to him; but, that he thought it his duty to obey the king's commands. That, however, he would endeavour to make up, by application, honeſty, and diſintereſtedneſs, what he wanted in abilities and experience. That he would content himſelf with the ſalary and lawful perquiſites of his office; and, though he had quitted a better place, he would not quarter himſelf upon any body to make it up: That he had no brothers, nor other relations, to provide for; and that, upon his firſt entering into the treaſury, he had made a ſtanding order againſt the late practice of granting reverſions of places.' Mr. Walpole, being touched with theſe inuendo's, complained in the firſt place of breach of friendſhip, and betraying private converſation. He frankly owned, 'That, while he was in employment, he had endeavoured to ſerve his friends and relations; than which, in his opinion, nothing was more reaſonable and juſt. That, as to the granting reverſions, he was willing to acquaint the houſe with the meaning of it. That he had no objections againſt the German miniſters, whom his majeſty brought with him from Hanover, and who, as far as he had obſerved, had all along behaved themſelves like men of honour; but, that there was a mean fellow, of what nation he could not tell, who took upon him to diſpoſe of employments: That this man, having obtained the grant of a reverſion, which he deſigned for his ſon (Mr. Walpole) thought it too good for him, and thereupon kept it for his own ſon. That thereupon the foreigner was ſo ſaucy as to demand of him the ſum of 2500l. under pretence, that he had been offered ſo much for the reverſion; but that he was wiſer than to comply with his demand. And that one of the chief reaſons, that made him reſign his places, was, becauſe he would not connive at ſome things, that were carrying on.' Mr. Stanhope anſwered; Mr. Walpole replied; and, ſome ſevere expreſſions having eſcaped them

in

Geo. I. 1717. had been made in relation to the public debts, and all three paſſed into laws; namely, the General Fund Act, the Bank Act, and the South-Sea Act.

The General Fund Act.

The General Fund Act recites the ſeveral acts of parliament for eſtabliſhing the four lotteries of the ninth and tenth years of queen Anne, the terms of years for which thoſe revenues were granted, and ſtates the annual produce of the ſeveral funds; namely, 135000l. 186670l. 168003l. 168003l. which, together with the banker's debt, 39855l. 15s. 7d. ½, and another ſmall ſum of about 273171. 11s. 3d. amounting in all to 724849l. 6s. 10d. ½, which is the General Fund, the deficiency whereof is to be made good annually, out of the firſt aids granted by parliament. And to the end that a ſure and ſufficient ſecurity may be ſettled for the regular payment of all ſuch annuities, as ſhall be payable by this act; all the duties and the revenues, mentioned therein, ſhall continue for ever. With a proviſo, that the revenues, by this act made perpetual, ſhall be ſubject to redemption.

Proprietors, who are willing to accept 5l. per cent. redeemable annuities, in lieu of their Lottery Orders, ſhall ſignify their option by ſubſcribing.

in the heat of the diſpute, Mr. Hungerford ſaid, 'That he was ſorry to ſee thoſe two great men fall foul upon one another. However (ſays he) in my opinion, we muſt ſtill look upon them as patriots, and fathers of their country; and, ſince they have, by miſchance, diſcovered their nakedneſs, we ought, according to the cuſtom of the eaſt, as the ſcripture tells us, to cover it by turning our backs upon them.' He added, 'That this unlucky accident had, however, produced ſome good, in that it had revealed a piece of ſecret hiſtory, the ſcandalous practice of ſelling places and reverſions.' And therefore he moved; 'That the honourable member who made the diſcovery, might be called upon to name the perſon.' But no body ſeconded this motion. Mr. Boſcawen, comptroller of the houſhold, acted the part of a common friend between Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Walpole, ſaying, 'That it was melancholy to ſee, that any difference ſhould happen between thoſe two worthy members, unbecoming their own characters, and the dignity of that aſſembly; but that it would ſtill be a greater misfortune, if they ſhould go out with any reſentment.' And therefore he moved, 'That the houſe would lay their commands upon them, that no farther notice be taken of what had paſſed.' Mr. Methuen ſeconded Mr. comptroller, whoſe motion being unanimouſly applauded, the ſpeaker put it immediately in execution.

And

And ſuch, as are willing to receive their principal and intereſt in ready money, ſhall likewiſe declare their option in writing. Geo. I. 1717.

As for the Bank Act, it muſt be obſerved, the bank at that time, as proprietors of Redeemable debts, were intitled to an annuity of 106,501l. 13s. 5d. per annum, in lieu of Exchequer bills formerly cancelled, amounting to 1,775,027l. 17s. 10d. ½. And the Exchequer bills ſtanding out, on the 22d of March 1716, are ſtated at 4,561,025l. over and above the charge of circulation which was then due to the bank. The bank, by virtue of their contracts for circulating and exchanging theſe bills for ready money, were intitled to 3l. per cent. for all theſe bills, and the bills carried an intereſt of 2d. a day, which together made 6l. per cent. or the whole ſum of 4,561,025l. of Exchequer bills. There was alſo granted, on the change of queen Anne's miniſtry, the ſums of 45,000l. and 8000l. a year, which make together 7l. 4s. 0d. ¼ per cent. upon all the Exchequer bills. The annuity payable to the bank for the cancelled Exchequer bills, together with the whole charge to the public for circulating the Exchequer bills then ſtanding, amounted to above 435,000l. a year. In theſe circumſtances the Bank Act ſays, The governor and company of the bank are willing to accept one annuity of 88751l. 7s. 10d. ½, being after the rate of 5l. per cent. per ann. or the principal of 1,775,027l. 17s. 10d. ½, in lieu of the preſent annuity or ſum of 106,501l. 13s. 5d. per ann. In the ſame manner the act goes on, and declares the bank willing to diſcharge, and deliver up to be cancelled, as many Exchequer bills as amount to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of 100,000l. being after the rate of 5l. per cent. redeemable after one year's notice, to circulate the remaining Exchequer bills at 3l. per cent. and 1d. a day, the former allowances to be continued to Chriſtmas 1717; and, after that, the bank to have, for circulating the 2,561,025l. remaining Exchequer bills, an annuity of 76830l. 15s. at the rate of 3l. per cent. till redeemed, over and above the 1d. a day for intereſt. The bank is then required to advance a ſum not exceeding 2,500,000l. towards diſcharging the national debts, if wanted, and to have 5l. per cent. for as much as they advance, redeemable by parliament.

As for the South-Sea Act, the original ſtock of the South-Sea was 9,471,325l. but, as the funds granted were ſufficient to anſwer the intereſt of ten millions, at 6l. per cent. in the year 1716, the South-Sea company advanced to the government 528,675l. which compleats the ſum of ten millions,

Geo. I. 1717. lions, for which they received an intereſt or annuity of 600,000l. and likewiſe 8000l. a year for management. Now by this act the governor and company declare, they are willing to accept an annuity of 500,000l. in lieu of the 600,000l. with 8000l. a year for management. The company are to continue a corporation till their annuity is redeemed, towards which, not leſs than a million is to be paid at a time. The company is alſo required to advance a ſum not exceeding two millions, towards diſcharging the principal and intereſt due on the four lottery funds, of the 9th and 10th years of queen Anne.

Purſuant to theſe acts, the bank, which was in poſſeſſion of receipts out of the Exchequer, amounting to 435,063l. 16s. 0d. ½ per ann. accept voluntarily of three annuities, amounting to about 304,531l. 1s. 3d. ¾/₁₀, whereby the ſaving to the public was 130,532l. 14s. 8d. ½/₄ a year.

The proprietors of the Lottery Orders, amounting to above nine millions, ſubſcribed their orders at the bank, and accepted bank annuities in lieu of the ſame.

Thus, though the bank and South-Sea had agreed to advance four millions and a half towards the payment of thoſe that ſhould demand ready money, not one farthing was ever demanded in money, except very ſmall ſums, amounting in the whole to 471l. 4s. (a). All the annuities, that were ſettled by virtue of theſe three acts, were Redeemable Perpetuities granted at the rate of 5l. per cent. per annum, upon a principal of about 25,869,247l. the amount of the national debt at that time redeemed or reduced.

The ſinking fund conſtituted.

In the General Fund Act is the clauſe that eſtabliſhes the Sinking Fund, as the reduction of the intereſt to 5l. per cent. would make a ſurplus or exceſs upon the appropriated funds, the act declares, 'That all the monies ariſing from time to time, as well for the ſurplus by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the bank and of the South-Sea company, as alſo for the ſurplus of the duties and revenues by this act ap-

(a) 10l. Lottery, 1711.

Principal.	l.	s.
Margaret Woolrich	20	
Roger Altham, D. D.	100	

10l. Lottery, 1712.

Roger Altham, D. D.	60	

Banker's Annuity.

	l.	s.
David Marſhal	150	
William Harriſon and Fr. Oſborne	71	4
George Bloodworth	70	
	471	4

propriated

propriated to make good the General Fund, and the overplus monies of the General Fund, ſhall be appropriated and employed for the diſcharging the principal and intereſt of ſuch national debts as were incurred before the 25th of December, 1716, in ſuch manner as ſhall be directed or appointed by any future act of parliament, to be diſcharged out of the ſame, and for none other uſe, intent, or purpoſe whatſoever.' This clauſe conſtitutes the Sinking Fund, and ſhews of what it conſiſts, and to what uſes it is appropriated. Though there had been Sinking Funds before this time for the payment of particular debts (b), yet a Sinking Fund, for diſcharging the national debt in general, was firſt projected and formed in the year 1716; and till that time unheard of.

Geo. I. 1717.

(b) In moſt of the funds that were granted for circulating and exchanging Exchequer bills, there was a ſurplus of the fund itſelf, computed to be ſufficient to cancel and diſcharge annually ſome part of the bills: And, in the Aggregate Fund Act of the firſt of king George, there was a ſum of 270,999 l. 7 s. directed to be paid annually towards diſcharging the Exchequer bills. In all ſhort annuities likewiſe granted for thirty two years, the principal being to be ſunk at the end of the term granted, this may be looked upon as a Sinking Fund, attending thoſe particular debts. But the firſt mention that ever was made in parliament of a Sinking Fund, for diſcharging the national debt in general, was in this ſeſſion.

BOOK XXXI. CHAP. II.

A motion in favour of Dr. Snape carried by the Tories.—Proceedings in the convocation againſt the biſhop of Bangor.—Affairs in the north.—The czar's memorial.—Marriage propoſed between the pretender and the czar's daughter.—Trial of the earl of Oxford.—The Seſſion ends.—Account of the act of grace.—Value of the forfeited eſtates in Scotland.—Prince Eugene defeats the Turks near Belgrade.—Great preparations in Spain.—Meaſures concerted between France and England to reconcile Spain and the emperor.—The earl of Peterborough ſeized at Bologna.—Difference between the king and prince.—Third ſeſſion of king George's firſt parliament.—Debates about the army.—Attempt to lower the gold coins.—Deſign againſt the king's life by James Shepherd.—The king accepts the government of the South-Sea company.—Debates in both houſes about the mutiny-bill.—A bill about the forfeited eſtates.—The ſeſſion ends.—Changes in the miniſtry.—Great preparations in Spain.—Quadruple alliance.—Sir George Byng ſent with a ſtrong fleet to the Mediterranean.—His inſtructions.—He defeats the Spaniſh fleet.—His proceedings after the battle.—Complaints of Spain.

A motion in favour of Dr. Snape carried by the Tories.

AS the change in the miniſtry had cauſed a diviſion among the Whigs, ſome adhering to thoſe that were in, and others to thoſe that were out of place; an oppoſition was formed by thoſe laſt in conjunction with the Tories on ſeveral occaſions. This evidently appeared when Sir William Wyndham (who had been diſcharged) moved, that Dr. Snape ſhould be appointed to preach on the reſtoration of king Charles. The doctor was one of the king's chaplains, and maſter of Eaton-School, but was of High-Church principles, and had lately attacked the biſhop of Bangor. Sir William's motion was ſeconded by Mr. Shippen, and ſupported, not only by ſeveral Tories, but alſo by all the Whigs, who had lately reſign'd their employments. Mr. Horace Walpole, who ſpoke after Mr. Shippen, ſaid, 'That it was unuſual,

unuſual, on ſuch occaſions, to put the negative on any man, whom a member of that houſe had thought fit to name; and that Dr. Snape was not only a perſon of merit, and great learning, but had likewiſe the honour to be one of his majeſty's chaplains. To theſe commendations Mr. Robert Walpole added, 'That he knew Dr. Snape to be both a very learned, and a very honeſt man: That he had not only intruſted him with the education of his own children, but alſo recommended the ſons of the duke of Devonſhire and lord Townſhend to his care; and therefore he could not but think, that he might be truſted with preaching a ſermon before that aſſembly. Mr. Lechmere obſerved, 'That he could not but wonder, that a member, who had been one of the managers againſt Dr. Sacheverel, ſhould now ſpeak in behalf of a divine, who had aſſerted the ſame notions of paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance, for which the other had been proſecuted; and who had lately attacked a worthy champion of the revolution and Proteſtant ſucceſſion.' Mr. Aiſlabie anſwered, That he gave his vote to Dr. Snape, becauſe he looked upon him as a learned and honeſt man: And, as for his having written againſt the biſhop of Bangor's ſermon, he did not think it a ſufficient reaſon to put upon him a negative, which would be prejudging of a controverſy, that did not properly belong to their cognizance.' The lord Guernſey ſpoke with ſtill more vehemence in behalf of the doctor, ſo that the motion being thus ſtrongly ſupported, he was appointed to preach by a majority of one hundred and forty-one againſt one hundred and thirty-one.

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Proceedings of the convocation againſt the biſhop of Bangor.

The controverſy mentioned in this debate between the biſhop of Bangor and Dr. Snape, was occaſioned in this manner: Dr. Benjamin Hoadley (the preſent biſhop of Wincheſter) famous for his ſteady adherence at all times to the principles of the revolution (for which he had been recommended to the throne by the houſe of commons, and advanced to the ſee of Bangor) had lately publiſhed, 'A Preſervative againſt the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors;' and, ſoon after *, preached a ſermon before the king, which was printed under the title of, 'The Nature of the Kingdom of Chriſt (c).' To this ſermon Dr. Snape publiſhed an anſwer; and, preſently after, the lower houſe of convocation (as they had before done with regard to Dr. Samuel Clarke's Scripture-Doctrine) entered upon the ſubject, both of the biſhop of Bangor's ſermon, and of his Preſervative. They appointed a committee of ſix of their members,

* Mar. 31.

(c) The text was, 'My kingdom is not of this world.'

Geo. I. 1717. Dr. Moſs, Dr. Sherlock, Dr. Friend, Dr. Sprat, Dr. Cannon, and Dr. Biſs, to examine them, and made their report to the houſe. The committee ſat and drew up a repreſentation, in which both the Preſervative and Sermon were cenſured, as tending,

'I. To ſubvert all government and diſcipline in the Church of Chriſt, and to reduce his kingdom to a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion.' And,

'II. To impugn and impeach the regal ſupremacy in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, and the authority of the legiſlature, to inforce obedience in matters of religion by civil ſanctions.'

This charge was ſupported by paſſages taken out of the Preſervative and ſermon (d), and the whole drawn up in the form

(d) The biſhop, in the concluſion of his anſwer to this repreſentation, has confronted the paſſages, on which the charge againſt him was founded, with the oppoſite doctrines, which muſt be true, if his are falſe.

The propoſitions contained in thoſe paſſages of my ſermon and preſervative, which are made the foundation of the charge in the repreſentation:	The propoſitions, contradictory to them: Which, therefore, muſt be maintained to be true and Chriſtian, by all who condemn the others:
1. Chriſt himſelf is king in his own kingdom.	1. Chriſt himſelf is not king in his own kingdom.
2. Chriſt is the ſole law-giver and ſole judge of his ſubjects, in all points relating to the favour, or diſpleaſure of Almighty God. In other words,	2. Chriſt is not the ſole law-giver and ſole judge of his ſubjects, in all points relating to the favour, or diſpleaſure of Almighty God.
3. No one of his ſubjects is law-giver and judge over others of them, in matters relating to ſalvation. In other words thus,	3. Some of his ſubjects are lawgivers and judges over others of them, in matters relating to ſalvation.
4. No men upon earth have a right to make any of their own declarations or deciſions to concern and affect the ſtate of Chriſt's ſubjects, with regard to the favour of God.	4. There is a right in ſome men, to make their own declarations and deciſions to concern and affect the ſtate of Chriſt's ſubjects, with regard to the favour of God.
5. The more cloſe and immediate the regard of men to	5. A cloſe and immediate regard to Chriſt himſelf, is not ſo

Chriſt

form of a report, to be laid before the convocation. But the government, out of regard to the intereſt of the conſtitution

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Chriſt is, the more certainly and evidently true it is, that they are of his kingdom.

6. It is worthy of all Chriſtians, to live and act as becomes thoſe who wait for the appearance of an all-knowing and impartial judge; and in ſuch a behaviour to be without fear of man's judgment, who is both ignorant of many things neceſſary to form that judgment, and partial in the forming it.

7. We muſt not frame our ideas, from the kingdoms of this world, to what ought to be, in a viſible and ſenſible manner, in Chriſt's kingdom.

8. Our title to God's favour depends upon our real ſincerity in the conduct of our conſciences, and of our own actions under them.

9. Humane benedictions—abſolutions—denunciations—excommunications—do not determine either God's favour, or anger, towards Chriſtians: And therefore, are vain words, when they pretend ſo to do.

10. Whoever has a right to add ſanctions to Chriſt's laws, is ſo far king, and has ſo far regal power in Chriſt's kingdom.

11. The ſanctions of Chriſt's laws, appointed by himſelf, are not the rewards of this world; not the offices or glories of this ſtate; not the pains of priſons, certain and evident mark of being of his kingdom, as a cloſe and immediate regard and reſpect to frail men, ſubordinate to him.

6. It is not worthy of all Chriſtians to live and act as becomes thoſe who wait for the appearance of an all-knowing and impartial judge; but it becomes them, at the ſame time that they live and act thus, to be under a fear of man's judgment, who neither has capacity nor authority to determine their condition; and who, in very many caſes, contradicts the judgment which Chriſt will make.

7. We muſt frame our ideas, from the kingdoms of this world, to what ought to be, in a viſible and ſenſible manner, in Chriſt's kingdom.

8. Our title to God's favour doth not depend upon our real ſincerity in the conduct of our conſciences, and of our own actions under them; but upon our actual being in the right.

9. Humane benedictions—abſolutions—denunciations—excommunications—do determine God's favour, and anger, towards Chriſtians: And therefore are not vain words, when they pretend ſo to do.

10. Men may have a right to add ſanctions to Chriſt's laws, without having any part of regal power in his kingdom.

11. The ſanctions of Chriſt's laws, appointed by himſelf, are the rewards of this world; the offices and glories of this ſtate; the pains of priſons, baniſhments,

Geo. I. 1717. ſtitution in church and ſtate, thought proper to put a ſtop to theſe proceedings, by a prorogation to the 22d of November.

baniſhments, fines, or any leſſer and more moderate penalties; nay, not the much leſſer negative diſcouragements that belong to humane ſociety. He was far from thinking that theſe could be the inſtruments of ſuch a perſuaſion, as he knew to be acceptable to God.

12. Chriſt choſe the motives which are not of this world, to ſupport a kingdom which is not of this world.

13. The maxims, oppoſite to the maxims upon which Chriſt founded his kingdom, are contrary to the intereſts of true religion.

14. To apply worldly force or worldly flattery, worldly pleaſure or worldly pain, to the caſe of religion; is a method oppoſite to the maxims upon which Chriſt founded his kingdom: And therefore, contrary to the intereſts of true religion.

15. Chriſt knew the nature of his own kingdom, or church, better than any ſince his time.

16. Chriſt left no ſuch matters to be decided againſt himſelf, and his own expreſs profeſſions.

17. To teach Chriſtians that they muſt either profeſs, or be ſilent, againſt their own conſciences, becauſe of the authority of others over them, is to found that authority upon the

fines, or other leſſer and more moderate penalties; or the much leſſer negative diſcouragements that belong to humane ſociety. Theſe he thought the proper inſtruments of ſuch a perſuaſion, as he knew to be acceptable to God.

12. Chriſt did not chuſe the motives which are not of this world, to ſupport a kingdom not of this world.

13. The maxims, oppoſite to the maxims upon which Chriſt founded his kingdom, are agreeable and helpful to the intereſts of true religion.

14. To apply worldly force or worldly flattery, worldly pleaſure or worldly pain, to the caſe of religion; is not oppoſite to the maxims upon which Chriſt founded his kingdom: Or, is not contrary to the intereſts of true religion, though it be contrary to our bleſſed lord's maxims relating to it.

15. Chriſt did not know the nature of his own kingdom, or church, better than his profeſſed followers do, ſince his time.

16. Chriſt did leave the nature of his own kingdom, and the maxims of ſupporting it, to be decided, by others after him, againſt himſelf, and againſt his own expreſs profeſſions.

17. To teach Chriſtians that they muſt either profeſs, or be ſilent, againſt their own conſciences, in regard to the authority of others, is a very good doctrine, very conſiſtent

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ber. As this was induſtriouſly repreſented to be the effect of the biſhop's ſollicitation, and an argument of his fear, he pub-

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ruins of ſincerity and common honeſty; to teach a doctrine which would have prevented the reformation, and the being of the Church of England; which diveſts Chriſt of his empire in his own kingdom, and leads his people to proſtitute their conſciences at the feet of men.

18. Chriſt never interpoſeth, ſince his firſt promulgation of his law, either to convey infallibility, or to aſſert the true interpretation of it.

After this, the biſhop adds a particular view of thoſe principles, which ought to be the meaſures of judging in ſuch important matters:

1. Chriſt has the ſupreme authority of legiſlator, and judge, with reſpect to all Chriſtians.

2. No authority, therefore, can be juſtly claimed by any Chriſtians, of whatrank ſoever, in any Chriſtian church, which deſtroys the ſupreme authority of Chriſt.

3. The will of Chriſt is delivered to all Chriſtians for the conduct of their lives.

4. No human, fallible authority, therefore, can determine Chriſtians in points of religion, which they themſelves do not judge to be agreeable to the will of Chriſt.

5. Whatſoever, equally concerns the ſalvation of all Chriſtians, is equally propoſed to the underſtandings of all

with the ſincerity and honeſty becoming Chriſtians; very uſeful for the juſtification of the reformation, and Church of England; perfectly conſiſtent with Chriſtians regard to Chriſt as their king, and not at all leading them to proſtitute their conſciences at the feet of weak men.

18. Chriſt does interpoſe, ſince the firſt promulgation of his law, to convey infallibility to ſome of thoſe who interpret it; or to aſſert the true interpretation of it.

6. There can, therefore, be no ſuch thing as ſubmitting our underſtandings, out of humility or out of lazineſs, to any other men whatſoever, in points relating to eternal ſalvation; without either ſuppoſing that Chriſt did not deliver his will for us, in things which concern us; or did not deliver it plainly enough for us to find it out (with the aids and means he has put in our power) in thoſe points which concern our eternal ſalvation, and therefore require all ſufficient plainneſs; Though the taking in the advice and aſſiſtance of others, and attending to their arguments, is perfectly conſiſtent with the foregoing propoſition.

7. No argument can be admitted by Proteſtants, which deſtroys the very eſſence of Proteſtantiſm; Nor can any reaſoning conclude juſtly in favour of any powers amongſt them, which

Geo. I. 1717. publickly declared before the world, that the prorogation was ordered, not only without his ſeeking, but without ſo much as his knowledge or even ſuſpicion of any ſuch deſign till it was reſolved. It muſt be obſerved, that the repreſentation was never approved of by the lower-houſe, ſo as to be made the act of it: Though many have been led to think it was, by the artifice made uſe of in the title-page to the printed copy of it.

The prorogation of the convocation did not put an end to the controverſy. For ſeveral of the members, ſince they could not attack the biſhop, as a public aſſembly, reſolved to take up the cauſe in a private capacity. Dr. Sherlock, who was one of the committee who drew up the report, ſeconded Dr. Snape, and theſe two were followed by many others, inſomuch that the tracts publiſhed on this occaſion, on both ſides, are ſaid to be about ſeventy (e).

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which they conſtantly and ſtrongly condemn in the church of Rome.

8. No authority therefore, can be claimed by any reformed church, which was juſtly condemned and oppoſed, in order to the reformation itſelf. Conſequently,

9. No ſubmiſſion in religious affairs can juſtly be demanded from Proteſtants, by Proteſtants, upon any ſuch foundation, as would have abſolutely prevented the reformation itſelf.

10. Whatſoever was true at the time of the reformation, is true ſtill.

11. Whatſoever principles are true and juſt, when urged againſt Papiſts, are likewiſe ſo, amongſt Proteſtants.

12. Whatever principles and conduct, are unjuſtifiable in Papiſts, are equally ſo in all Proteſtants.

13. Whatſoever was the foundation of the reformed Church of England then, is ſo ſtill: And whatſoever was neceſſary to juſtify it at firſt, is neceſſary to defend it now.

14. Nothing therefore, which contradicts the main principle of the reformation; and that, without which the Church of England itſelf could not juſtly have been in being; can be for the true intereſt of this church, as it is a Proteſtant church.

15. As it is a Chriſtian church, nothing can be ſuppoſed either to ſupport or defend its intereſt, which, admitted as true, would have prevented even the reception of Chriſtianity itſelf; or which contradicts the main deſign of the Goſpel.

16. The principles therefore, which alone can juſtly and unexceptionably ſupport it, are ſuch as are uniformly and conſiſtently Chriſtian and Proteſtant.

(e) Dr. Snape, on the 26th of June, publiſhed, "A ſecond letter to the biſhop of Bangor," being a reply to the biſhop's anſwer to his firſt, wherein the doctor

During theſe proceedings, the miniſters were no leſs employed than the parliament. Negociations were carrying on, Geo. I. 1717. par.

doctor puts the following queries to the biſhop:

'I pray recollect yourſelf, and put theſe queſtions home to your own conſcience, whether your Abſolutely's and Properly's, and ſuch evaſive words, were not omitted in your ſermon, as it was originally compoſed? Whether you did not, before it was preached, ſhew it to a certain perſon without ſuch limitations? And whether you was not with difficulty prevailed upon by him to inſert them by way of caution? If you think fit to anſwer in the negative, I engage a perſon of as high a ſtation as your lordſhip will charge himſelf with the proof of the affirmative.'

The biſhop two days after, in an advertiſement, ſolemnly denies all this, and challenges the doctor to name his author.

The doctor, preſſed by the ſolemnity of the challenge, names the biſhop of Carliſle, who, being called upon to prove what he had aſſerted, diſputed a while with Dr. Snape, affirming he had not ſaid, the words were put in, before the ſermon was preached, but before it was publiſhed; owning withal, that he knew there was ſuch a perſon in the world who had averred the ſame. The biſhop of Carliſle, being preſſed to name him, names Dr. White Kennet, and writes to him of what had paſſed, telling him, he did not queſtion but he would own his own words. Dr. Kennet poſitively denied the fact, ſaying, 'I never affirmed, never ſuggeſted to any mortal that the late ſermon of the biſhop of Bangor was preached with my knowledge, or ſubmitted to my correction.' Notwithſtanding this, the biſhop of Carliſle aſſerted in print, that Dr. Kennet was the man that told him he had prevailed with the biſhop of Bangor to put in the foremen-tioned words. In ſhort, the biſhop of Carliſle pledges his eternal ſalvation that Dr. Kennet did ſay ſo: Dr. Kennet, in one of his papers, ſays, God ſo help him, and judge him, if he did. They went on advertiſing againſt each other, till the biſhop of Carliſle reſolved to give no more anſwers to whatever ſhould be ſaid. However, the biſhop of Bangor, reſolving that calumny ſhould lie where it ought to lie, publiſhed a long advertiſement, as Dr. Kennet did another, to fix the fact upon the biſhop of Carliſle, and to convict him of forgetfulneſs at leaſt, in charging a fact upon the biſhop of Bangor, which was not true, and quoting a witneſs for it who knew nothing of the matter. In a word, after lying dormant ſome months, this controverſy was revived in October following, on account of the biſhop's entertaining in his houſe Francis de la Pillonere, who had been a Jeſuit, but had now renounced the Popiſh religion. The biſhop's three principal adverſaries were dean Sherlock, Dr. Snape, and Dr. Cannon, whom the biſhop ſeemed to outdo in reaſon and argument

Geo. I. 1717. particularly to oblige the king of Sweden to make peace. The czar had, the laſt year, married his neice, the princeſs Catharina, to the duke of Mecklenburg Swerin, and reſolved to procure the poſſeſſion of Wiſmar for him. To that end he had ſent firſt twelve thouſand Ruſſians (which were afterwards increaſed to twenty-ſix thouſand) to aſſiſt at the taking of that place, then beſieged by the Pruſſians, Hanoverians, and Danes. But, the town having ſurrendered before the arrival of his army, his project fell to the ground, nor would the allies ſuffer any of his troops to be garriſoned there. The czar was vexed at this diſappointment, and from hence may be dated ſeveral memorable events, particularly the miſunderſtanding between him and the court of Hanover.

Soon after this, a deſcent on Schonen was concerted between the kings of Pruſſia and Denmark and the czar, in order to oblige the king of Sweden to quit Norway, where he had penetrated with an army of twenty thouſand men, and was advancing towards Chriſtianſtadt, the capital of that kingdom. The czar ſeemed the moſt forward in this expedition, and took upon him the command of the united fleets of England, Holland, Denmark, and Ruſſia, in order to drive the Swediſh fleet into port. But this was all outward ſhow. For the appearance of the Britiſh fleet under admiral Norris, could not be very agreeable to the czar, as it prevented the deſigns he had formed againſt Denmark itſelf, after his diſappointment at Wiſmar. And therefore when, in a council of war between him and the king of Denmark, all things were ſettled for the deſcent in Schonen, and the troops ordered to imbark, on a ſudden the orders were countermanded, and the project, which was to reduce the king of Sweden to ſuch terms as the allies ſhould think proper to impoſe on him, was laid aſide, after the great expence the

ment as far as they did him in virulence, perſonal reflections, and reproachful language. He was painted in the moſt odious colours, both from the preſs and the pulpit, and all for aſſerting, that Chriſt is the ſole law-giver, and ſole judge in his kingdom, in all points relating to the favour or diſpleaſure of God; a propoſition as evident as the ſun at noon-day. Dr. Cannon vindicated the convocation, and dean Sherlock attacked the biſhop upon a popular point, the repeal of the Teſt Act, which he aſſerted to be the deſign of the biſhop's ſermon. The dean ended his treatiſe with a moſt unjuſt and reproachful reflection, which the biſhop immediately anſwered, by ſetting the matter in a clear light. In November, Dr. Sherlock, and Dr. Snape were both removed from being king's chaplains, nor has the convocation ſate to do any buſineſs ever ſince.

Danes

Danes had been at for the tranſportation of the forces, and other preparations. The czar pretended the ſeaſon was too far advanced, and that it would be better to defer the expedition till the ſpring. This was ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt in a long manifeſto by the king of Denmark, to which the czar, knowing his own ſecret motives, returned no anſwer. The czar had for ſome time been diſcontented with the allies, who were all for preventing his having any footing in Germany, ſo jealous were they of his power; and this diſcontent of the czar was probably what hindered the utter ruin of the king of Sweden, and was now like to reconcile him to his moſt powerful enemy, if baron Gortz ſucceeded in his project of making a peace between them, of which not only Denmark, Pruſſia, and Poland, but England itſelf was to feel the effects (f). The firſt ſtep to this reconciliation was by the means of Dr. Erſkine to ſound prince Menzikoff, who, pleaſed with the deſign, ſoon brought the czar into it. But it will preſently be ſeen, how deſirous he was to clear himſelf from ſuch an imputation. Geo. I. 1717.

The czar, having ſent his forces into Mecklenburgh, reſolved to take a tour to France. He arrived at Amſterdam in December, where he expected the czarina, who attended him in his travels; but ſhe, being big with child, happened to be delivered of a prince, as ſhe was preparing to ſet out from Weſel, and came not to Amſterdam till the 10th of February. The czar remained there and at the Hague till the 4th of April. When king George paſſed through Holland, in his way from Hanover, the czar was there, and, had they deſired it, might have had an interview, but the czar excuſed himſelf on pretence of an indiſpoſition. During the czar's ſtay in Holland, the letters of baron Gortz and count Gyllenburg were publiſhed in England by the

(f) The czar's laying aſide the deſcent upon Schonen was ſaid to be brought about by the ſecret management of baron Gortz, who was become chief miniſter and favourite of the king of Sweden. As there was no likelihood of the czar's making a peace with the king of Sweden, unleſs the provinces he had conquered on the eaſt and north of the Baltic were yielded to him, Gortz perſuaded the king of Sweden that he would have ample amends made him for relinquiſhing thoſe conqueſts of the czar, by having the honour of re-placing Staniſlaus on the throne of Poland, ſetting the crown of England on the head of the chevalier de St. George, and by reſtoring the duke of Holſtein to his dukedom. Beſides, that, being united with the czar, there was nothing they might not undertake.

kings

Geo. I. 1717. king's ſpecial command. In theſe letters, there were ſome paſſages relating not only to Dr. Erſkine the czar's phyſician, but to the czar himſelf, reflecting on his conduct in regard to king George. Upon this the czar ordered Weſſelouſki to preſent a long memorial to king George, wherein he expreſſes a ſurprize at the malice of his enemies, to make him a party concerned in the conſpiracy in favour of the pretender: Shews the improbability of it, as the pretender would not fail (ſhould he ſucceed) of aſſiſting the king of Sweden againſt him: Mentions his offering, the laſt year, to guarantee the ſucceſſion of the crown of Great-Britain in the houſe of Hanover, though he had obſerved ſeveral diſagreeable ſteps taken by the Britiſh miniſters at the courts of Vienna, Pruſſia, and Denmark, and even at the diet of Ratiſbon; and though he had been informed that the court of England was privately treating of a ſeparate peace with the king of Sweden, promiſing him aſſiſtance on his yielding up Bremen, as too plainly appeared by count Gyllenburg's letters: Offers, however, to eſtabliſh the antient good underſtanding between them, and to concert meaſures for the vigorous proſecution of the war againſt the common enemy: Concludes with ſaying, he could not but be very much concerned at the king's cauſing to be printed the malicious inſinuations of his enemies, which wounded his honour, without a previous communication of the ſame, or demanding an explanation of thoſe paſſages, as a good ally ſhould have done.

As ſome articles of this memorial related to the king as elector of Hanover, there were two anſwers given to it, one by Mr. Stanhope, the other by the chancery of Hanover. The king ſays, he is very far from ſuſpecting the czar of entering into any engagements in favour of the pretender: Owns (as nothing can leſſen the good underſtanding between them) but the continuance of the Ruſſian troops in the empire) he cauſed inſtances to be made to the courts of Vienna, Denmark and Pruſſia, for uniting their endeavours to perſuade him to remove them: Hopes the czar will have a due regard thereto, and ſpeedily withdraw his troops, ſince the continuance of them in the empire intimates a deſign quite contrary to the acting againſt Sweden, and creates ſuch diſtruſt and jealouſies as cannot be otherwiſe removed. As for the publication of the letters, it was impoſſible (ſays the memorial) to omit the paſſages concerning the czar, becauſe the king had weighty reaſons to impart to the parliament the letters entire as they were found. The anſwer concluded

with

with aſſuring the czar, that he ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied, provided he would remove the only obſtacle to their mutual good underſtanding, the continuance of the Ruſſian troops in the empire. Geo. I. 1717.

These memorials did not reconcile the two princes: The diſtance of their dominions, the intereſts of their ſubjects with regard to commerce, ſuſpended their reſentments, but they were enemies the reſt of their life. The czar, curious as he was, would not have failed of viſiting England in his progreſs, had the two monarchs been upon good terms.

The czar, after having ſpent three months in Holland, reſolved upon a tour to the court of France, with deſign to enter into a confederacy with the regent of France. He offered to pour a numerous army into the empire, which ſhould be at the diſpoſal of the regent, provided he would pay him the ſubſidies he demanded, which were very large. But his offer was rejected, and communicated by the regent to king George. However, the czar, during his ſtay at Paris, concluded a treaty of friendſhip with France, in which the king of Pruſſia was included, and, being preſſed by the regent, he promiſed to withdraw his forces from Mecklenburg. The czar, at his return to Amſterdam, admitted baron Gortz (who had been ſet at liberty the day before his arrival) with great privacy to an interview at Loo (g). Gortz undertook to adjuſt all differences between the czar and the king of Sweden, within three months, and the czar engaged to ſuſpend all operations againſt Sweden till the end of that term.

This interview having been complained of by the Britiſh reſident at Peterſburg, the czar's miniſters at firſt denied it,

(g) It may here be obſerved, that the duke of Orleans had interpoſed to bring the king of Sweden to a peace, and had ſent the count de la March to him as his ambaſſador. But the king of Sweden would hearken to no propoſals till baron Gortz and count Gyllenburg were ſet at liberty. The regent, upon this, orders d'Ibberville to aſſure his Britannic majeſty, that the king of Sweden had declared, he had yet no intention to trouble the tranquility of Great Britain, nor had entered into any of the deſigns, attributed to his miniſters, and ſhould conſider, as a great injury to him, the ſuſpicion of his having had any concern in their projects. After this declaration on the part of the king of Sweden, the regent hoped, that the king would ſend back count Gyllenburg to his maſter, and give his conſent that baron Gortz ſhould be alſo releaſed. This was accordingly done, and count Gyllenburg was exchanged for Mr. reſident Jackſon, who had been detained at Stockholm.

but

Geo. I. 1717. but ſoon after were obliged to own it. The late duke of Ormond, with one Mr. Jernegan, a Roman Catholic, was come to Mittau in Courland to propoſe a marriage between one of the czar's daughters and the pretender, and to offer to go and perſuade the king of Sweden to make peace with the czar, and aſſiſt in ſetting the pretender on the throne of Great Britain; but the propoſal of the marriage interfered with baron Gortz's ſcheme, who had long intended that princeſs for the duke of Holſtein, to whom ſhe was afterwards married. Mr. Jernegan was ſent to Sweden for leave that the duke of Ormond might come there as the pretender's miniſter. The anſwer he brought to the duke was, that the king of Sweden had ſtrong reaſons for not admitting him. He was ſoon after ſent from Mittau, and Jernegan was left to manage the buſineſs at Peterſburg, with all poſſible ſecrecy. Mean while a congreſs was formed at Abo, between the Swediſh and Ruſſian miniſters, which was afterwards removed to Aland.

The czar's chief aim was to keep not only Ingria, and part of Carelia, but alſo Revel, with Eſtonia, and Riga, with Livonia, and to reſtore to Sweden only Finland, and the reſt of Carelia. Baron Gortz flattered the czar with the hopes of the king of Sweden's conſent to theſe ceſſions, in conſideration of his aſſiſting him in reſtoring Staniſlaus, and retaking what Denmark and England had conquered upon Sweden. The king of Pruſſia was to be included in the treaty, and the czar, the better to make his own terms, engaged to prevail with him to reſtore Stetin for an equivalent ſomewhere elſe. Upon theſe foundations baron Gortz and M. Oſterman, the czar's plenipotentiary, concerted the plan of a peace between the czar and the king of Sweden. By this plan the conqueſt of Norway was deſigned. The czar was obliged to aſſiſt his Swediſh majeſty in that expedition, and both promiſed to unite all their forces againſt the king of Great Britain, in caſe he ſhould interpoſe. This ſeemed to have a view to the intereſt of the pretender, and a deſign of an invaſion in Scotland, after the conqueſt of Norway.

When baron Gortz ſet out from Aland with the plan of peace, in order to obtain his maſter's conſent, the king of Sweden was with his army before Frederickſtadt, in Norway, where he was killed in the night, between the 29th and 30th of November, 1718. Baron Gortz, not being informed of his death, was arreſted on the road, and having drawn upon himſelf the hatred of the nation, and reſentment of the nobles, whom he had treated with haughtineſs, he was by them condemned

condemned to the ſcaffold, where he died with great reſolution. By the king of Sweden's death the face of affairs in the north was entirely changed: Sweden was forced to ſubmit; the czar, king of Denmark, and king George, as elector of Hanover, remained in poſſeſſion of what they had acquired. Theſe affairs, though not ended till the following year, have been related at once to prevent any farther recourſe to them. But to return to England. Geo. I. 1717.

The earl of Oxford had now been confined in the Tower almoſt two years, and finding the ſeſſion was like to end without entering upon his caſe, he cauſed a petition to be preſented to the houſe of lords, wherein he ſubmitted his caſe to their lordſhips conſideration, praying, that his impriſonment might not be indefinite. The lord Trevor, who preſented his petition, made a long ſpeech in his favour, as did alſo the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Nottingham and Abingdon, and the lords Harcourt and North and Gray. It was inſiſted in the earl's behalf, that the impeachment was deſtroyed and determined, ſince he was not brought to his trial the ſame ſeſſion, in which he was impeached; and that the prorogation ſuperſeded the whole proceedings. The earl of Nottingham, who, in 1715, when in favour, had been one of the moſt zealous againſt the miniſters of the late queen, ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon the impeachment's being ſuperſeded by the prorogation, and demanded leave to enter his proteſtation againſt the vote paſſed to the contrary, by a majority of eighty-ſeven to forty-five (a). The trial of the earl of Oxford. Pr. H. L. Pr. H. C.

This

(a) His proteſt was as follows:

Diſſentient'

I. Becauſe there ſeems to be no difference in law between a prorogation and a diſſolution of the parliament, which, in conſtant practice, have had the ſame effect as to determination, both of judicial and legiſlative proceedings; and conſequently this vote may tend to weaken the reſolution of this houſe, May 22, 1685, which was founded upon the law and practice of parliament in all ages, without one precedent to the contrary, except in caſes which happened after the order made the 19th of March, 1678, which was reverſed and annulled in 1685; and in purſuance hereof the earl of Saliſbury was diſcharged in 1690.

II. becauſe this can never be extended to any but peers, for by the ſtatute 4 Edw. III. no commoner can be impeached *for any capital crime; and it is hard to conceive, why the peers ſhould be diſtinguiſhed and deprived of the benefit of all the*

Geo. I. 1717.

This being rejected, the duke of Buckingham moved to appoint a day for the earl's trial, which, after ſome debates, and appointing a committee to ſearch for precedents, was fixed and appointed. It is remarkable, that the appointing a day did not occaſion ſo long a debate as the ſhortening the day, and that the earl's friends preſſed the houſe to appoint a ſhort day, while the other ſide pleaded for time. Accordingly, the duke of Buckingham, who had made the motion, declared in a ſpeech for a ſhort day, and named the 6th of June. But the earl of Sunderland and the lord Coningſby were for ſending a meſſage to the commons, to know whether they were ready, or to appoint the 13th of June for the trial. After ſome debate, the 13th was appointed by a majority of eighty-five againſt forty-four, and a meſſage was ſent to the commons to acquaint them with the ſame.

This meſſage cauſed no leſs debates among the commons. They ſaw the face of their affairs a little changed: Some, who had been active in this proſecution when it was firſt begun, and upon whom the houſe might be ſaid in ſome meaſure to depend for carrying it on, ſeemed to look coldly upon the matter, and to decline the work, or at leaſt to have leſs of that confidence, the houſe uſually ſhewed them before. This cauſed a vote to appoint a committee to inquire into the ſtate of the earl of Oxford's impeachment. The committee found, upon inquiry, that ſeveral members of the Secret Committee (who begun the proſecution) had been called up to the houſe of peers, as the lords Onſlow, Coningſby, and Marſham, and that others ſeemed remiſs, or were abſent. Therefore the houſe was moved, and did agree, that Mr. Carter, Sir William Thompſon, the ſerjeants Birch, Pengelly, and Reynolds, ſhould be added to the Secret committee. At their firſt meeting, Mr. Carter was choſen chairman in the room of Mr. Walpole, who, with ſeveral others, abſented himſelf. For this reaſon Mr. ſecretary Addiſon, Mr. Craggs, ſerjeant Mead, and Mr. Jeſſop, and a little after Mr. Lechmere, now chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, were added to the number.

laws of liberty, to which the meaneſt commoner in Britain is intitled; and this ſeems the more extraordinary, becauſe it is done unaſked of the commons, who, as is conceived, never can aſk it with any colour of law, precedent, reaſon or juſtice.

This proteſt was ſubſcribed by Nottingham, Fra. Roſſen, North and Grey, Bathurſt, Abingdon, Manſell, Hay, Guilford, Dartmouth, Foley, Bruce.

All

All the eminent lawyers of the houſe being thus named to be of the committee, they immediately fell to preparing to make good the articles of impeachment, in caſe the houſe ſhould agree to proceed to the trial; but all the while they left people in ſuſpence as to their reſolution, even till the day before the trial was to be. The king had appointed lord chancellor Cowper to be lord high-ſteward on this occaſion, and all things were in readineſs for the trial; when, on the 12th of June, a meſſage was ſent from the commons to the lords, to demand longer time for their preparations, purſuant to the following report of the committee. Geo. I. 1717.

'That the committee had met ſeveral times, and made ſome progreſs in the matters to them referred; but that the proſecution of the impeachment having been interrupted for ſo many months, by the intervention of many weighty and urgent affairs, which more nearly and immediately concerned the welfare, defence, and ſecurity of the kingdom, it was become abſolutely neceſſary for thoſe, who ſhould be appointed to manage the impeachment, to review and carefully peruſe all the treaties, records, letters, and other papers proper and neceſſary for ſupporting this proſecution; which being voluminous, it would be impoſſible, within the time appointed for the trial, to adjuſt and apply the proper evidence to the ſeveral articles (b).

Upon

(b) When this report was read in the houſe of commons, there was a ſilence for two or three minutes, till at laſt Mr. Hungerford roſe up, and took notice of the great hardſhips, which the earl of Oxford had undergone. Mr. Boſcawen expreſſed his concern, 'That a proſecution, which the commons had begun in ſo ſolemn a manner, and which was thought ſo neceſſary to vindicate the honour and juſtice of the nation, ſhould, at laſt, be dropped; which he was ſure would be a reflection upon that houſe.' Here again was a deep ſilence; and, the ſpeaker riſing, in order to put the queſtion, Mr. Samuel Tufnel made a long ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that, the houſe having been aſſured by the chairman of the committee of ſecrecy, that there was evidence againſt the earl of Oxford, ſufficient to convict him of high-treaſon in Weſtminſter-Hall, it was that, which ſwayed him to vote for bringing an offender to public juſtice, who had 'betrayed the honour and intereſt of the nation.' Mr. Bromley endeavoured to vindicate Mr. Walpole, by alledging, 'That, though he was chairman of the Secret Committee, yet, if any thing were done amiſs, amongſt them, it were hard to lay all the

Geo. I. 1717. Upon this meſſage, the earl of Sunderland moved to allow the commons a fortnight. The duke of Devonſhire ſaid, blame at his door, ſince the whole committee was equally concerned in the impeachments.' But, as to the matter then under deliberation, Mr. Bromley added, 'That they had been told above a year and a half ago, that the evidence was ready; but that they ought not to give the lords the trouble of going through the whole impeachment, ſince, in his opinion, twenty of the articles were altogether vain and needleſs.' Some members being ſhocked at this aſſertion, Mr. Bromley immediately explained himſelf, ſaying, 'That, if the two articles, that were for high-treaſon, could be made good, the other twenty would be needleſs and inſignificant.' Mr. Shippen obſerved, 'That this impeachment had been depending ſo long, that every body expected it would be dropped: And indeed, unleſs the two articles of high-treaſon could be made good, he thought it unreaſonable to give the two houſes an unneceſſary trouble about the other articles, by keeping them ſitting in the hotteſt part of the ſummer. That, after all, thoſe, who had firſt begun the impeachments, ought to be ſatisfied with having got the places of thoſe, that were impeached; which, indeed, ſeemed to be what they had principally in view. That the truth of this appeared evidently from the behaviour of the gentleman, who was the moſt forward and active in the impeachments, whoſe warmth was very much abated ſince he was out of place. That he did not mention this as a reflection on that gentleman, for whom he ever had a great reſpect; but that he was afraid this would leſſen him in the eſteem of others. That, for his own part, he was not in the leaſt ſurprized at his conduct; of which he had, of late, obſerved many inſtances; but that he ever diſapproved it.' After this, Mr. Walpole made an apology for himſelf, ſaying, among other things, 'That he had of late looked over ſome of the moſt material papers relating to this impeachment; and, he was ſtill convinced in his conſcience, that the late miniſtry had given themſelves up intirely, and were ready to deliver up the nation to France. Mr. Lechmere ſtrongly ſupported the motion for the meſſage, and ſaid, 'It was no wonder, that a certain ſet of men, who had, at firſt, oppoſed the impeachments, ſhould now be for letting them drop: And that this was yet the leſs ſurprizing, in that the ſame gentlemen had conſtantly oppoſed all that had been propoſed for the ſupport of the preſent happy ſettlement. But that, for his own part, he was of the ſame opinion he ever was, that the nation could not proſper, till they had brought thoſe to juſtice, who betrayed its allies in ſo ſcandalous a manner, and brought it to the brink of ruin: And that he would venture his life in this proſecution.' This ſpeech had ſo much weight, that it was carried without dividing, That the meſſage be ſent to the lords.

Twelve

Twelve days were ſufficient. The lords Trevor, Harcourt, and others, inſiſted that, the lords having fixed a day for the trial, they ought not to grant any farther time: But the duke of Devonſhire's motion for twelve days was carried by ſeventy-ſix againſt fifty-ſeven; and the 24th of June was appointed for the day of trial, of which notice was ſent to the commons. Geo. I. 1717.

Upon this the commons, to let it be ſeen that they reſolved to go on with the trial, voted the preparatory orders, and appointed the committee, with four other members, to be the managers to make good the articles of impeachment.

On the 24th of June, the lord high-ſteward, with the houſe of peers, paſſed to the court prepared for them in Weſtminſter-Hall, when the commons were preſent, as a committee of the whole houſe, their managers coming firſt, and taking their places. The king, the prince, and princeſs of Wales, were ſeated in boxes; as were the reſt of the royal family, and the foreign miniſters. All things being prepared, and ſilence proclaimed, the earl of Oxford, who had been brought from the Tower by water to Weſtminſter, was conducted to the bar by the deputy-lieutenant of the Tower, having the axe carried before him by the gentleman-jailor of the Tower, who ſtood with it on the left hand of the priſoner, with the edge turned from him. Then the articles of impeachment * were read, with the earl's anſwer, and the replication of the commons. After which the lord high-ſteward addreſſed himſelf thus to the priſoner (after having mentioned the uſual way of exhorting perſons in his condition as to their behaviour); 'But, conſidering the many great offices your lordſhip has borne in the ſtate, your long experience and known learning in all parliamentary proceedings, I cannot but think it would be improper for me to ſpeak to your lordſhip in that manner.' Mr. Hampden, one of the managers, then made a long ſpeech, which ended, Sir Joſeph Jekyll ſtood up, in order to make good the firſt article of the impeachment; but, the lord Harcourt having ſignified to the lords, that, before the managers proceeded farther, he had a motion to make, they adjourned to their own houſe, and the commons returned to theirs.

* See page 429.

As ſoon as the peers were come to their houſe, the lord Harcourt repreſented, 'That the going through all the articles of impeachment would take up a great deal of time to little purpoſe; for, if the commons could make good the two articles for high-treaſon, the earl of Oxford would forfeit

Geo. I. 1717. both life and eſtate, and there would be an end of the matter; whereas the proceeding, in the method the commons propoſed, would draw the trial into a prodigious length: Urging, that it would be a great hardſhip upon a peer, who had already undergone ſo long a confinement, to appear every day at their bar like a traitor, and be, at laſt, found guilty only of high crimes and miſdemeanors:' And therefore he moved, 'That the commons might not be admitted to proceed, till judgment was firſt given upon the articles for high-treaſon.' The lord Harcourt was ſupported by the lord Trevor, and the earls of Angleſea and Nottingham. But the lord Parker anſwered them, 'That, in all courts of judicature, it is the uſual and conſtant method to go through all the evidence, before judgment be given upon any part of the accuſation: That, though the houſe of peers be the ſupreme court of the kingdom, yet it has ever a regard to the rules of equity and juſtice, and even to the forms obſerved in the courts below. And, as for the priſoner's appearing in the abject condition of a traitor, it was but a piece of formality, which did him no manner of hurt, and to which perſons of the higheſt rank had ever ſubmitted, in order to clear their innocence.' The earl of Sunderland, the lord Coningſby, and the lord Cadogan ſpoke on the ſame ſide. But the dukes of Buckingham and Argyle, the earl of Ilay, the biſhop of Rocheſter, the lord North and Grey, the lord Townſhend, and ſeveral others having ſtrenuouſly ſupported the lord Harcourt's motion, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of eighty-eight againſt ſifty-ſix.

This reſolution being declared to the managers at the lords return to the hall, Sir William Thompſon replied: 'That they conceived it to be ſo much the undoubted right of the commons to proceed in their own method, in maintenance of the articles exhibited by them, and did apprehend, that this reſolution of their lordſhips might be of fatal conſequence to the rights and privileges of all the commons of Great Britain, that they could not take upon them to proceed any further, without reſorting to the houſe of commons for their direction therein.'

Upon this proceeding, conferences, ſearching for precedents, and the like methods of managing ſuch diſputes, took up ſome days; and in particular, on the 27th of June, the commons at a conference delivered a paper, containing their reaſons for aſſerting it as their undoubted right to impeach a peer either for high-treaſon, or for high crimes and miſ-

demeanors,

demeanors, or, if they ſee occaſion, to mix both in the ſame accuſation (c). Geo. I. 1717.

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(c) The paper was as follows:

'The commons having taken into their conſideration your lordſhip's reſolution communicated to their managers relating to the proceedings on the trial of Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer; and being deſirous, as far as in them lies, to maintain a good correſpondence with your lordſhips, have deſired this conference, and have commanded us to acquaint your lordſhips, that they conceive it to be the undoubted right of the commons to impeach a peer, either for high-treaſon, or for high crimes and miſdemeanors; or, if they ſee occaſion, to mix both the one and the other in the ſame accuſation.

The impeachment preferred againſt Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer is one continued accuſation, conſiſting of high crimes and miſdemeanors, and alſo of charges of high-treaſon. The facts, on which the articles preceding thoſe of high-treaſon are grounded, are laid together in order of time, and follow one another ſucceſſively, in the manner they were committed.

As the commons thought this the moſt natural method for exhibiting the ſeveral articles againſt the ſaid earl, they were of opinion, that they ſhould proceed in the proof of theſe ſeveral facts after the ſame method, ſince it is manifeſt, that, in laying open the courſe of ſuch a wicked adminiſtration, the preceding parts of it give light to thoſe which follow; and that the proof of the ſeveral articles of high crimes and miſdemeanors would naturally lead to the proof of thoſe of high-treaſon.

Your lordſhips received theſe ſeveral articles of impeachment, without making any exception againſt the form, in which they were exhibited. The ſaid earl made his anſwer to them in the ſame order, and has no where inſiſted to be tried in any other method: So that the commons are ſurprized to find a ſtop put to their proſecution by an objection, which has never been ſtarted by the ſaid earl, and which your lordſhips had given them ſo little reaſon to expect.

To this muſt be added, That as the commons only are maſters of the evidence, and as upon that account they are beſt able to determine what to charge firſt, and what next; ſo they are moſt proper to determine in what method to proceed for the advantage of the proſecution, in the event of which all the commons of Great-Britain are ſo highly concerned.

To which they further add, that they ſee no reaſon, but that your lordſhips may as well invert the whole order of the articles, as to preſcribe to the commons thoſe particular articles, on which they are firſt to proceed; which will neceſſarily produce ſuch a confuſion, both in the facts and evidence, as is

Geo. I. 1717. This paper being debated in the houſe of lords, they inſiſted on their former reſolution, that the commons ſhould not proceed till judgment was given upon the articles of high-treaſon, and ordered likewiſe a paper of reaſons in ſupport of their reſolution to be drawn up and delivered to the commons at another conference, wherein they aſſerted it to be a right inherent in every court of juſtice to order and direct ſuch methods of proceedings as ſuch courts ſhall think fit to be obſerved, in all cauſes depending before them (d).

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by no means conſiſtent with that clearneſs and perſpicuity, in which the commons think this affair ought to appear.

The commons, upon examining precedents, do find divers precedents of impeachments for high-treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanors, in the ſame accuſation; and do not find, that the lords ever objected to ſuch proceedings, or ever gave judgment upon any particular article of an impeachment, before the commons had gone through, and concluded their evidence upon all the articles, or ſo many of them as they thought fit: And the commons are at a loſs to conceive what arguments, or precedents, can be brought to ſupport the reſolution of your lordſhips, to give judgment upon one part of the ſame accuſation, reſerving the other part for a ſubſequent trial, as they are to know what your lordſhips mean by admitting the commons to proceed upon the articles of high crimes and miſdemeanors, after the judgment is given upon the articles of high-treaſon, ſuppoſing the judgment proper for high-treaſon ſhould be given againſt the ſaid earl.

For theſe reaſons the commons aſſert it as their undoubted right to proceed on the trial of Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, after the method, in which their managers were proceeding, when interrupted by your lordſhips reſolution.

(d) The paper was as follows:

'Their lordſhips, in order to preſerve a good correſpondence with the houſe of commons, (which they ſhall always endeavour to do, as far as lies in their power) have deſired this conference upon the ſubject-matter of the laſt conference, and have directed us to acquaint you, that their lordſhips judge it a right inherent in every court of juſtice, to order and direct ſuch methods of proceedings, as ſuch court ſhall think fit to be obſerved in all cauſes depending before them; which can have no influence to the prejudice of juſtice, and where ſuch methods of proceedings are not otherwiſe ſettled by any poſitive rule. The power of judicature on all impeachments being a right unqueſtionably inherent in their lordſhips, and it not being determined by any poſitive rule, whether the houſe of commons may proceed to make good the ſeveral articles exhibited for high-

Thus far the two houſes carried on their debate with ſome calmneſs, but they grew warmer the next day, when the commons, Geo. I. 1717.

high-treaſon; and there being no precedent, where the commons, upon the trial of any ſuch impeachment, attempted to proceed, in the firſt place, to make good any of the articles contained in ſuch impeachments for high crimes and miſdemeanors; their lordſhips conſidering the nature of the impeachment now depending before them, and the method, wherein the managers for the houſe of commons were beginning to proceed upon the trial, to make good the firſt article thereof, which is a charge for high crimes and miſdemeanors only; and alſo conſidering the very different methods of proceeding on an impeachment of a peer for high-treaſon, as well before as upon the trial thereof, and the circumſtances attending ſuch a trial, thought themſelves obliged to come to the reſolution communicated to the commons on the 24th inſtant, as well for the doing juſtice in the caſe depending before them, as for the preventing a new precedent to be made on this trial; in conſequence whereof, a new and unjuſtifiable form of proceeding againſt a peer, upon an impeachment for high-treaſon and high crimes, might be introduced at his trial upon thoſe articles, in which he is charged for high crimes and miſdemeanors only, to the prejudice of the peerage of Great-Britain in all time to come, viz. The trying a peer on articles for high crimes and miſdemeanors without the bar, the detaining in cuſtody a peer ſo accuſed, and repeated commitments of him to the Tower during the time of ſuch trial, and ſubjecting a peer to as ignominious circumſtances on his trial, as if he was then on his trial on articles for high-treaſon: Whereas a peer, on his trial on articles for miſdemeanors only, ought not to be deprived of his liberty, nor ſequeſtered from parliament, and is intitled to the privilege of ſitting within the bar during the whole time of his trial: In all which particulars, the known rule of proceedings in ſuch caſes may be evaded, ſhould a peer be brought to his trial on ſeveral articles exhibited againſt him on high crimes and miſdemeanors and high-treaſon mixed together, and the commons be admitted to proceed, in order to make good the articles for high crimes and miſdemeanors, before judgment be given upon the articles for high-treaſon. Their lordſhips have fully conſidered the matters offered to them by the houſe of commons, at the laſt conference relating to the proceedings againſt Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer; and their lordſhips are fully ſatisfied, That the reſolution, they have taken and communicated to the commons on the 24th inſtant, is juſt and reaſonable; and that the houſe of commons are not put under any real inconvenience thereby, in carrying on their preſent proſecution. Their lordſhips have commanded us to let

you

Geo. I. 1717. commons, having conſidered the paper delivered to them by the lords, ſent a meſſage to deſire a free conference, and the lords refuſed it; and now the party for the earl of Oxford began to ſee his deliverance at hand, for the lords, refuſing to grant the commons a free conference, ſet the two houſes into a new diſpute, and put the wiſhed-for agreement about the trial quite out of the queſtion.

This refuſal of a free conference was urged in the houſe of lords upon the foundation, That it was a point of judicature in which the commons had no concern, at leaſt, they could not admit it to be debated; and ſome precedents were brought, in which the commons had denied the peers a free conference, as in money-bills, in which the ſame reaſons were given, namely, That it was a money-bill, in which the lords had no right to make any amendment. Theſe things were going on to great heights, and, the commons deſiring a conference upon this ſubject, they gave in a paper to the managers for the peers, wherein they inſiſted that it was not a point of judicature, but a point relating only to the proſecution of the commons, and therefore a free conference ought not to be denied (e).

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you know, that they do inſiſt on their ſaid reſolution, viz. That the commons be not admitted to proceed, in order to make good the articles againſt Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, for high crimes and miſdemeanors, till judgment be firſt given upon the articles for high-treaſon.'

(e) The paper was thus:

'The commons having taken into conſideration your lordſhips meſſage, viz, 'That your lordſhips did not think fit to give a free conference on the ſubject-matter of the laſt conference, as was deſired by the commons:' And they being ſtill deſirous, to the utmoſt of their power, to preſerve a good correſpondence with your lordſhips, have aſked this conference; and have commanded us to acquaint your lordſhips, that they are very much ſurprized to find your lordſhips deny a free conference, after your lordſhips have already agreed to a conference deſired by the commons on the ſame ſubject-matter, and after your lordſhips have, on your parts, alſo deſired a conference upon the ſame ſubject. That free conferences are the moſt ancient and eſtabliſhed methods for adjuſting the differences, that have at any time ariſen between the two houſes, and, as the commons conceive, is the only method to preſerve a good correſpondence between them on ſuch occaſions, which, at this time, is of the higheſt importance, becauſe a miſunderſtanding on this account would tend to defeat the trial of the impeachment of the commons. That the commons

The lords, though many of them were zealous for bringing on the trial, yet being tender of the privileges of the peers, and satisfied that the commons were in the wrong, resolved to insist upon it, that they ought not to grant them a free conference upon this subject; and, having put the question again in their house, it passed, not to grant a free conference, which was signified to the commons. Geo. I. 1717.

This message put the house of commons in a flame, and several warm speeches were made on the occasion by Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Craggs, Mr. Tufnel, and others; Mr. Lechmere 'lamented the unhappy dilemma to which they were brought, either to see so great an offender as the earl of Oxford escape unpunished, or to acquiesce in proceeding on his trial in the manner prescribed by the lords.' He said, 'He thought the latter more eligible of the two, with a saving to the rights and privileges of the commons, and therefore made a motion for it.' He was supported by Mr. Hampden, and several other members, but his motion was rejected. Then a message was brought from the lords, that they intended presently to proceed on the trial of the earl. The commons took no notice of this message (f). However, seeing the lords were resolved to proceed, the house adjourned. It was suggested, this adjournment was ordered, that they might not receive any more messages about it, or be sent to from the Hall to appear at the trial.

It appears from the debates above-mentioned, that these things were not carried thus without some variety of opinions and motions. Some, who were zealous for bringing a great offender, (and such they accounted the earl to be) to justice, were for quitting the nicety they contended for, and, not doubting but they should be able to make good the charge of high treason against him, were for giving the lords the point and proceeding. But others, no less zealous for justice, and as much convinced of the earl's guilt, were yet of opinion, that they ought not to make any precedent, which might be used by posterity to the disadvantage of the commons, and in

mons conceive clearly, that the subject-matter of the last conference is not a point of judicature, but a point relating only to the prosecution of the commons, it having arisen before any matter of judgment had come before your lordships upon the trial. For which reasons the commons conceive, that your lordships ought not to have denied them a free conference upon the subject-matter of the last conference."

(f) It is said, some moved not to receive it. Annals.

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Geo. I. 1717. prejudice to their rights, but that they ſhould proceed in the ordinary methods of juſtice, and preſerve the privileges of their houſe entire, as their anceſtors had done before them.

It was, however, propoſed to proceed by way of attainder; and Sir William Strickland moved it, though in other words, 'That leave be given to bring in a bill, to inflict pains and penalties on Robert earl of Oxford, as his traiterous practices and miſdemeanors deſerve, and as ſhall be thought reaſonable.' This bred a high debate, which ended in an adjournment to the 3d of July.

In the mean time, the lords proceeded to the formalities of judicature. They went down to the Hall, took their places, ordered the earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his accuſars to appear, and make good the impeachment againſt him. After this, the court ſat perfectly ſilent, as if expecting the commons ſhould appear. This ſilence held about a quarter of an hour, when the lords adjourned to their houſe, where the queſtion, that the earl ſhould be acquitted, paſſed in the affirmative, after ſome debate. Then the houſe returned to the Hall, where, one or two excepted, they all gave their votes for the diſcharge of the earl of Oxford, who was immediately ſet at liberty. It was obſerved, moſt of the Whig lords retired, before the peers went the laſt time to the Hall, ſo there were not above a hundred and ſeven who gave their votes.

Thus ended this affair: And it is plain, the earl owed his diſcharge not only to the diſputes between the two houſes, but alſo to the late changes in the miniſtry; without which the earl of Nottingham, the duke of Argyle, the earl of Ilay, the duke of Devonſhire, and the lord Townſhend, would certainly not have been in the number of his friends. However, the commons did not reſt here. For, though Sir William Strickland's bill for inflicting pains and penalties on the earl was not ſeconded, yet, to ſhew their reſentment at this proceeding, they reſolved that the king ſhould be addreſſed, to except him out of the Act of Grace, which was intended to be brought into the houſe (g). The king had likewiſe,

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(g) As this addreſs (which was preſented by the whole houſe on the 5th of July) ſets forth the juſt reſentment of the commons, it is here inſerted with the king's anſwer.

Moſt gracious ſovereign,

We your majeſty's moſt faithful ſubjects, the commons of Great-Britain in parliament aſſembled, do moſt humbly re-

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two days before, upon information that the earl of Oxford designed to come to court, thought fit to forbid him. Geo. I. 1717.

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preſent to your majeſty, That, in our impeachment exhibited againſt Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, we did ſet forth, That he the ſaid earl did traiterouſly adhere to, aid, and abet the late French king, then an enemy to her late majeſty, and did begin and carry on a clandeſtine and ſeparate correſpondence and negotiation with the miniſter of the ſaid French king; in conſequence of which it is evident, that great part of the forces maintained at the expence of ſo much Britiſh treaſure, in order to reduce the power of France; as likewiſe great part of the ſame end, were, in reality, made ſubſervient and inſtrumental to awe the good allies of her majeſty into a compliance with the hard terms dictated by France. The unhappy Catalans were abandoned; the emperor, empire, and king of Portugal, were left to treat for themſelves; the kingdom of Sicily was given to the duke of Savoy, as an inducement and reward to him for quitting the common cauſe, in direct defiance and violation of the grand alliance, and of the declared ſenſe of moſt of our good allies, and eſpecially of the Dutch, who, to this day, have never aſſented to that condition of the treaty of Utrecht. A ſhameful and diſhonourable treaty of peace was at laſt concluded, by which impracticable terms of trade were impoſed on Great-Britain; the demolition of Dunkirk, which had been addreſſed for by parliament, was eluded by a treacherous connivance, as the making of a new canal at Mardyke; and the ſecurity which was propoſed, by removing the pretender out of France, was, in the like manner, evaded by a treacherous connivance at his reſiding in Lorrain.

It is owing to your majeſty's unwearied endeavours for the good of your ſubjects, and that juſt regard which is paid to your majeſty by foreign princes and ſtates, that we ſee ourſelves delivered, in a great degree, from the effects of theſe pernicious meaſures, which might otherwiſe have proved fatal to your kingdoms: But as we reflect, with equal gratitude and admiration, on your majeſty's being able to retrieve ſuch miſcarriages, eſpecially in a time which has been diſturbed by public tumults and rebellion; we think it is a great aggravation of guilt in thoſe who gave up ſo many national advantages, at a time when they laboured under no ſuch difficulties at home, and when the continued ſucceſſes of a long and glorious war had put them into a condition of gaining the moſt beneficial terms from the enemy.

Your faithful commons did likewiſe exhibit ſeveral other charges againſt the ſaid earl, repreſenting him, in many notorious inſtances, as a perſon who had abuſed the truſt and confidence which her late majeſty had repoſed in him, and ſacri-

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Geo. I. 1717.

The ſeſſion now drew towards an end, the houſes were chiefly employed in finiſhing the bills that were depending, when, on the 15th of July, the earl of Sunderland delivered in the houſe of peers, the Act of Grace, which the king had promiſed in his ſpeech of the 6th of May. It was immediately read and paſſed, and then ſent down to the houſe of commons, where it met with the like diſpatch.

Act of Grace, July 15. Pr. H. L.

The ſeſſion ends, July 15. Pr. H. C.

All things being ready, the king came the ſame day, in the afternoon, to the houſe of peers, and, having given the royal aſſent to all the bills, cloſed the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech, which was read to both houſes by the lord-chancellor:

'My lords and gentlemen,

The king's ſpeech.

'I Cannot put an end to this ſeſſion without expreſſing my 'thanks to you for the diſpatch you have given to the 'public buſineſs, and declaring the ſatisfaction I promiſe 'myſelf in meeting you again early the next winter, with 'the ſame good diſpoſitions for the ſervice of your country.

'The meaſures, we have taken in this parliament, have, 'by the bleſſing of Almighty God, effectually defeated all

ficed the honour of his ſovereign, and the good of her people, to private views of intereſt and ambition.

Your faithful commons have not been wanting in their endeavours to bring the ſaid earl to juſtice; but, by reaſon of the unhappy differences that have, in this proceeding, ariſen between the two houſes, we have found ourſelves diſappointed of our juſt expectation, and reduced to the neceſſity either of giving up rights and privileges of the higheſt importance to all the commons of Great-Britain, or ſeeing this great offender eſcape with impunity for the preſent.

For theſe reaſons, we do moſt humbly beſeech your majeſty, that your majeſty will be pleaſed to except Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer out of the act of grace, which your majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to promiſe from the throne, to the end the commons may be at liberty to proceed againſt the ſaid earl, in a parliamentary way.'

To this addreſs his majeſty was pleaſed to return the following anſwer:

Gentlemen,

'I will give directions, in relation to the earl of Oxford, as you deſire; and it is with pleaſure I obſerve the ſenſe expreſſed in your addreſs of my endeavours for the ſecurity, honour, and advantage of theſe kingdoms.'

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'the attempts of our enemies, both at home and abroad: Geo. I.
'And, as the principles, on which thoſe meaſures are 1717.
'founded, are equally conducive to the ſupporting the juſt
'rights of the crown and the liberties of the people, I ſhall
'always perſevere in them myſelf, and diſtinguiſh thoſe who
'adhere to them with the ſame ſteadineſs and reſolution.

'Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

'I thank you, in the moſt affectionate manner, for the
'ſupplies you have granted me, and for that conſtancy and
'zeal, which you have ſhewn in reducing our national
'debts, notwithſtanding the many incidents and obſtructions
'you have met with in the carrying on of that great work.
'As you have furniſhed me with the means of diſappointing
'any deſigns of a foreign enemy againſt theſe my kingdoms;
'ſo I cannot but aſcribe, in a great meaſure, the happy proſ-
'pect of our affairs abroad to that public ſpirit, which has
'appeared in your proceedings, and has convinced the world,
'that no inſinuations or artifices can divert you from your
'duty to your ſovereign, and a diſintereſted regard to your
'fellow-ſubjects.

'My lords and gentlemen,

'It is with great pleaſure, that I ſee the tranquillity of the
'nation ſo well eſtabliſhed, as to admit of an Act of Grace,
'which I have long deſired a fit opportunity to grant. I
'hope, that ſuch as ſhall, by this means, be reſtored to the
'enjoyment of ſecurity, and the protection of thoſe laws,
'againſt which they have offended, will have a due ſenſe of
'this my indulgence, and give me the moſt acceptable re-
'turn they can poſſibly make me, that of becoming friends,
'inſtead of enemies, to their country.'

Then the parliament was prorogued to the 12th of Auguſt, and afterwards, by ſeveral prorogations, to the 21ſt of November. The parliament is prorogued.

Thus ended this ſeſſion of parliament, famous for the tranſactions relating to the earl of Oxford, but chiefly for laying the foundation of paying the public debts, without any breach of parliamentary credit.

The expectation of the Act of Grace had long agitated the minds of people. Some, through their impatience for want

of

Geo. I. 1717. of it: Others, through fear of being excepted out of it; and others, through their diſlike of the general tenor of it, had appeared diſſatisfied about it, and ſpoke contemptibly of it (h).

Account of the Act of Grace.

This Act of Grace and free pardon was as a finiſhing to the whole tranſaction of the rebellion, and therefore it will not be improper to give an account of the perſons who received benefit by it, and alſo of thoſe who were excepted out of it.

The exceptions by name were no more than, the earl of Oxford, purſuant to the commons addreſs, lord Harcourt, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, and Mr. Arthur Moor; with five mean perſons, Criſp, Nodes, O Bryan, Redmayne (the printer) and Thompſon. Beſides theſe, the aſſaſſinators in Newgate (confined there ever ſince the aſſaſſination-plot in king William's reign) were alſo excepted by name. The other exceptions were but five, except ſuch as are uſual in all general pardons. No Act of Grace for many ages paſt, in like circumſtances, had been clogged with fewer exceptions, conſidering the number of rebels then abroad, and their unwearied diligence to diſturb the peace of the kingdom (i).

As

(h) This gave ground to the following expreſſion in a treatiſe publiſhed at that time, 'That 'the clemency of king George 'was not only great and God-'like, but even extended far-'ther than that of God himſelf.' For (ſays the author) God Almighty, however merciful in his nature, has yet proclaimed pardon to none but the penitent; whereas king George has pardoned, not thoſe who have repented only, but even thoſe who contemned the very grace they have received, and inſulted the king that forgave them, receiving the grace with unthankfulneſs, and with ungrateful reproaches againſt the hand that gave it.

(i) Among the exceptions, were all the perſons of the name and clan of Macgregor, mentioned in an act of parliament in Scotland, in the firſt year of king Charles I. It ſeems the family or clan of Macgregors, alias Campbells, had been in rebellion in the time of king James I, and were reduced. But, on king James's death, they took up arms again, not ſo much on any ſtate account, as to plunder the Low-Lands, and injure the country; whereupon a remarkable act paſſed againſt them. By this act they were all at the age of ſixteen to appear before the privy-council, and give ſurety for their good behaviour; and, in order to their extirpation, no miniſter, within the bounds of the Highlands, were to baptize any male-child, with the name of Gregor,

As for theſe who received the benefit of it, they were firſt the lords in the Tower under ſentence of death, who were immediately delivered. This was directed by an exception in the Act of Grace, namely, 'All perſons impeached in parliament, before the 6th of May 1717, whoſe impeachment remains undetermined.' So that they who were impeached for rebellion, and being convicted were under ſentence of death, were not by this article excepted, becauſe the impeachment was determined in law. Conſequently, the earl of Carnwarth, with the lords Widdrington and Nairn, peers, condemned by the houſe of lords, were immediately diſcharged. The lord Duffus was continued under confinement, with an allowance of 3l. a week. Geo. I. 1717.

Likewiſe the priſon-doors were ſet open all over England: Seventeen gentlemen under ſentence of death in Newgate were releaſed; as alſo a great many in the Marſhalſea and Fleet, and in the hands of Meſſengers; and not only thoſe who were under ſentence, but ſeveral others who were not tried.

In the caſtle of Weſt-Cheſter, about two hundred priſoners taken at Preſton were ſet free, none being detained but the lord Charles Murray, ſon of the duke of Athol, and he was only reſerved to be a particular object of the king's clemency, a pardon having paſſed for him a few weeks after.

In like manner the priſoners in the caſtle of Lancaſter were delivered; theſe were in general the common ſoldiers of the rebels, the reſt of them were either ſent to the plantations at their own requeſt, or dead in priſon, or had made their eſcape. The priſoners in the caſtle of Carliſle, being twenty-ſix gentlemen, the chief of the diſaffected people in Scotland; moſt, if not all, taken in actual rebellion, and under ſentence of death, were likewiſe releaſed.

In Scotland, all the priſoners remaining in the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling, as the lord Rollo, the earl of Strathallan, and ſeveral others of rank, were all diſcharged.

Commiſſioners, for enquiring into the forfeited eſtates, had been appointed ſome time by the parliament. They had managed their enquiry with great application, but had met with great difficulties and obſtructions from the creditors of the attainted perſons, who, by the ordinary courſe of juſtice,

gor, or Macgregor. The famous Rob. Roy, head of this clan, being in the rebellion, occaſioned perhaps the exception, by which the whole family of the Macgregors were excluded the benefit of the Act of Grace.

Geo. I. 1717. were in poſſeſſion of the eſtates. The lords of ſeſſion had alſo, at the petition of ſome perſons, pretending to be creditors, ſequeſtered all the moſt conſiderable forfeited eſtates, and appointed factors with power to diſtrain tenants for non-payment of rents, on behalf of thoſe creditors. Theſe factors, or receivers, repreſenting, that they acted by the authority of the court of ſeſſion, abſolutely refuſed, though ordered by the commiſſioners, either to pay the rents into the Exchequer, or to give ſecurity for ſo doing. In vain did the commiſſioners appoint receivers, as they could not give them a power to diſtrain. Nor would the court of ſeſſion, upon the petition of the commiſſioners, recal the ſequeſtrations (a). The barons of the Exchequer were next applied to, but they likewiſe refuſed to comply with the commiſſioners; upon which they ordered all the monies, ariſen from the ſale of the perſonal eſtates, into the receiver-general of Scotland.

Value of forfeited eſtates in Scotland.

The yearly value of the real eſtates, of which the commiſſioners had perfected the ſurvey, amounted to 29694 l. 6 s. 8 d. ſterling per annum, as appeared by their report, which was publiſhed in July, by order of the houſe of lords (b).

The

(a) Theſe ſequeſtrations were founded upon the words of 'the act for encouraging ſuperiors, &c.' 'That no conviction or attainder ſhall exclude the right of any creditor remaining peaceable, for ſecurity of any juſt debts contracted before the commiſſion of any of the aforeſaid crimes.' As theſe words ſeemed only to import, that the creditors ſhould be paid their juſt debts, the commiſſioners ſubmitted the matter to the lords, Whether the payment of theſe debts was not better provided for by paying the rents into the Exchequer, for the benefit of the public and creditors, according to the expreſs directions of the act of parliament, than by ſuffering the growing rents to remain at the diſpoſal of the receivers, who being the truſtees friends, and agents of the forfeiting perſons, were like to injure both the public, and the creditors.

(b) The abſtracts of the rentals of the forfeited eſtates in Scotland were as follow, the ſhillings and pence being omitted:

	per Ann.
Wintoun	3393 l.
Southeſque	3271
Linlithgow	1296
Keir	907
Panmure	3456
Wedderburne	213
Ayton	823
Kilſythe	864
Bannockbourn	411
Eaſt Reſton	137
Marr	1678
Invernitie	361
Awchintoul	347

Pow-

The commiſſioners in England did not meet with ſo much difficulty, by whoſe report (which was alſo printed) the annual rents of the forfeited eſtates in England and Ireland amounted in the whole to 47626l. 18 s. 5d. ½. The improved rents of eſtates on lives, after the lives were expired, they computed at 4798l. 6s. 3d. (c). Geo. I. 1717.

As

	per Ann.
Pow-Houſe	377l.
Natthill	72
Bowhill	27
Lathriſk	208
Gleubervy	75
Preſton-Hall	230
Wood-End	83
Fairney	153
Maſter of Nairne	60
Dunboog	170
Earl Mariſchal	1676
Kilconquhar	287
Lord Nairne	740
Fingaſk	537
Cromlix	415
Nithiſdale	800
Inneray	281
Kenmure	608
Drummond	2566
Burleigh	697
Scotſtown	110
Duntroon	54
Lagg	424
Carnwarth	863
Baldoon	1495

(c) The rental was as follows, ſhillings and pence omitted:

	per Ann.
Francis Anderton, Eſq;	1425l.
Hugh Anderton, Eſq;	131
John Aſhlow	60
Richard Butler	382
Henry St. John late lord Bolinbroke	2552
Richard Billſborough	19
Thomas Biers	91
Robert Cowper	20
Richard Charley, Eſq;	138
George Clifton	5
George Collingwood, Eſq;	924
Edward Gore	19
Robert Daniel	18
John Dalton, Eſq;	661
Earl of Derwentwater	6371
Roger Dicconſon, Eſq;	641
Thomas Foſter, Eſq;	530
In Reverſion—600,	1100
George Gibſon	227
John Gregory	26
John Hall	70
Gabriel Heſketh	102
Albert Hodgſon	327
Philip Hodgſon	238
Jordan Longdale	79
John Leybourne	275
Duke of Ormond, Eng. and Irel. incumbered.	21163
Henry Oxborough,	507
John Parkinſon	5
William Paul	42
John Pleſſington	39
Robert Scarſbrook, Eſq;	388
William Shaftoe, Eſq;	714
Richard Sherburne	32
Richard Shuttleworth	3
Ralph Shuttlewort[illegible],	78
Ralph Standiſh, Eſq;	671
James Singleton	40
Thomas Standley, Eſq;	246
Lord Seaforth	517
Edward Swinburne, Eſq;	305
John Sturzeker	10
John Thornton, Eſq;	1585
Chriſtopher Trap	58
Joſeph Wadſworth	12
Thomas Walton	97
Thomas Walmſley	51.

Geo. I. 1717. As the king reſolved not to go into Germany this year, the houſhold removed to Hampton-court, where he reſided for the ſummer.

At the cloſe of the ſeſſion, the following alterations and promotions were made: Mr. Stanhope, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, was created baron of Elvaſton, and viſcount of Mahon; the earl of Suffolk, Mr. Chetwynd, Sir Charles Cook, Mr. Docminique, Mr. Moleſworth, Mr. Pelham, Mr. Daniel Pulteney, and Mr. Bladen, were appointed commiſſioners of trade; lord Cadogan was made general of all the forces in England; and Mr. Boſcawen vice-treaſurer of Ireland, of which kingdom the following perſons were made peers: Trevor Hill, viſcount Hillſborough; Sir Thomas Southwel, viſcount Southwel; Walter Chetwynd, viſcount Fitzharding; Alan Broderick, viſcount Middleton; lord Hamilton of Strack Allan, viſcount Boyn; John Allen, viſcount of Kildare. Coniers d'Arcy, brother to the earl of Holderneſs, was removed from his employment of gentleman of the horſe, and one of the commiſſioners for executing the office of maſter of the horſe. The earl of Leiceſter was appointed conſtable of Dover-Caſtle, and warden of the Cinque-Ports, in the room of the earl of Dorſet; and the duke of Portland was made one of the lords of the bed-chamber.

Prince Eugene defeats the Turks before Belgrade. Aug. 5. Hiſt. Reg.

Whilſt the king was at Hampton-Court, count Volkra, the imperial miniſter, brought him the news of prince Eugene's victory over the Turks at Belgrade. Prince Eugene, having aſſembled the imperial army, before the Turks could draw their forces together, reſolved to beſiege Belgrade: To this end he marched his army over the Theyſſe, upon a bridge of boats laid for that purpoſe, and poſted himſelf on the other ſide of the Danube, in ſight of that fortreſs: This unexpected paſſage ſtruck the infidels into ſuch a conſternation, that their troops ran away in the utmoſt confuſion, while the reſt of the imperial army paſſed the Danube likewiſe over a bridge, that was ſoon prepared. The place was immediately inveſted, and lines of circumvallation and contravallation were made from the Save to the Danube, by which means the imperial camp became ſo ſtrong, that it ſeemed as if one fortreſs had laid ſiege to another. This precaution had its effect; for, when the main army of the Turks was advanced to relieve

	per Ann.		per Ann.
Lord Widdrington	5154l.	Richard Withington	14l.
Edward Winchley, Eſq;	226.		

Bel-

Belgrade, they found the beſiegers ſo ſtrongly intrenched, that they were under a neceſſity of opening trenches to approach their lines: But prince Eugene had taken meaſures ſo well before-hand, that when the Ottoman army appeared, though, they were much more numerous and formidable than could be believed, he was in a condition to expect them in his intrenchments, without diſcontinuing his attacks. It was undoubtedly a very extraordinary ſight, to ſee two ſieges at once, and even the beſiegers themſelves beſieged; the place being ſhut up on all ſides by the imperial army; and the imperial army ſhut up on one ſide between two great rivers, and on the other between a town, defended by a ſtrong garriſon, and the enemy's camp ſtrongly intrenched: Thus there was a neceſſity either to conquer or periſh, and the leaſt falſe ſtep would have decided it. But, when things ſeemed reduced to this dangerous criſis, prince Eugene, inſtead of waiting to be attacked in his intrenchments, marched out of them, and attacked the Turks in theirs, with ſo much bravery and conduct, that he gained a moſt compleat victory, over their almoſt innumerable forces, which was followed the next day by the ſurrender of Belgrade, the key of the Ottoman empire. Geo. I. 1717.

Great preparations in Spain. Corlet.

Mean while, the great preparations, the Spaniards were making by ſea and land, drew the attention of all Europe. When the emperor ſent his army into Hungary againſt the Turks, who had invaded the dominions of the Venetians his allies, the pope, to whom wars of that kind are always agreeable, obtained repeated aſſurances from the king of Spain, both by letters, and by declarations from his ambaſſador at Rome, 'That he would not undertake any thing againſt the intereſts of the emperor, whilſt his arms ſhould be employed in ſo religious a cauſe; and would even aid the Venetians with a ſquadron of men of war and gallies.' For which purpoſe he obtained from the court of Rome an Indulto, for raiſing a ſubſidy of two millions and a half on the eccleſiaſtical revenues in the Indies; and another for five hundred thouſand ducats on the eſtates of the clergy in Spain. Accordingly, the king of Spain ſent out the laſt year a ſmall ſquadron of ſix men of war and five gallies, which arrived too late in the Levant, to be of any ſervice to the Venetians, who had before ſuſtained a naval fight with the Turks, and had almoſt finiſhed the operations of the campaign. But this year the preparations in Spain were ſo extraordinary, as gave a jealouſy, that, inſtead of ſending aſſiſtance to the Venetians, the Spaniards had a deſign to make ſome conqueſt themſelves on

Geo. I. 1717.

the emperor's dominions in the Mediterranean. The event juſtified the ſuſpicion. A ſtrong ſquadron of men of war, with about nine thouſand land-forces, commanded by the marquis de Lede, ſailed from Barcelona the 20th of July, and, landing at Cagliari in Sardinia, made a ſpeedy and entire conqueſt of that iſland which belonged to the emperor, and was in no good condition of defence.

Spain attacks the emperor.

During this expedition, the marquis of Grimaldo, ſecretary of ſtate at Madrid, ſent a letter to the Spaniſh miniſters in foreign courts, to be publiſhed as a manifeſto or declaration of the reaſons of thoſe proceedings, the ſubſtance of which was: 'That all Europe, as well as himſelf, might well be ſurpriſed to find the military preparations of his maſter, which were deſigned to ſecond the efforts of the Chriſtian army, according to promiſes made to the pope thereupon, on a ſudden turned againſt that very power, in the attack of Sardinia; but that, as he had opportunity of learning the reaſons of ſuch a conduct from his majeſty's own mouth, he thought fit to communicate the ſame, to be, That though his majeſty had bore with great magnanimity the ſacrifice of many of his territories to the public tranquillity by the late peace; upon the preſumption that ſuch a condeſcenſion would ſecure the repoſe of a nation, whoſe good fortune was not anſwerable to its virtue; yet as the arch-duke, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and ſupported the deſertion of his ſubjects in Catalonia, by frequent ſuccours from Naples, and other places, and ſeemed, by all his meaſures, reſolved on all opportunities of giving him diſquiet in his dominions; his majeſty had looked upon the war with the Turks to have opened to him a gate of revenge, in recovering thoſe territories which had been uſurped from him by the arch-duke. That all overtures of pacification on his majeſty's ſide, had rather inflamed the arch-duke's conduct in his prejudice; and that becauſe declarations had been publiſhed in many parts of Europe, injurious to his majeſty's honour and dignity, and particularly becauſe the great inquiſitor of Spain had been ſeized, though furniſhed with his holineſs's paſſport, and in deſpight to that authority, neceſſary to ſupport the due regards of his ſubjects; his majeſty was reſolved to employ thoſe forces in a lawful revenge, which were at firſt deſigned againſt the enemies of the arch-duke (d). Theſe reaſons did not appear ſatisfactory: For what-

(d) the king of Spain had not yet acknowledged him for emperor. At the ſame time, the cardinal Paulucci, ſecretary of ſtate to

whatever unfairneſs had been practiſed by the emperor, it was long before the king of Spain's promiſe not to moleſt the emperor whilſt he was at war with the Turks. And the detention of a ſingle ſubject was too weak a ground for a proceeding of ſuch violence. However, the king of Spain promiſed (by the marquis Beretti Landi, his ambaſſador at the Hague) to proceed no further againſt the emperor, and to ſuſpend all operations, in order to give time and opportunity to the powers of Europe to think of expedients for reconciling their differences, and ſecuring the tranquillity and balance of power in Italy. The marquis alſo complimented the king of Great Britain and the States, with the arbitration of that important affair. Geo. I. 1717.

King George and the regent of France were not only guarantees of the neutrality of Italy, but the king was moreover engaged in a defenſive alliance with the emperor. Purſuant therefore to the king of Spain's promiſe, they concerted meaſures in conjunction with the imperial miniſter, for an accommodation between the emperor and king Philip, on ſuch terms as ſhould be equally advantageous and honourable to both, ſupply the defects of the treaties of Utrecht and Baden, and eſtabliſh, on a more ſolid baſis, the tranquillity of Europe; with a reſolution of compelling by force that party, which ſhould refuſe to accede to thoſe ſtipulations, and obſtruct the general good. The abbot du Bois came to London, the lord Stanhope was ſent to Madrid, and the lord Cadogan to the Hague. Theſe negotiations gave birth to the famous treaty, called the Quadruple Alliance, which was concluded the next year. It was agreed, that the emperor ſhould renounce all pretenſions to the crown of Spain (a point king Philip had much at heart) and part with Sardinia to the duke of Savoy, in lieu of which the duke was to ſurrender Sicily to the emperor. The ſucceſſion to the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, which the queen of Spain (of the houſe of Farneſe) claimed by inheritance, in default of male-iſſue, was to be ſettled on her eldeſt ſon: The king of Spain, not being ſatisfied with this partition, con- England and France concert meaſures to reconcile Spain and the emperor.

to the pope, wrote a circular letter to clear his holineſs from the imputation of any colluſion in that affair, by greatly inlarging upon the reſentment with which he treated ſo perfidious a breach of promiſe in his Catholic majeſty, 'not to fall upon any of the dominions of the emperor during his war with the Turks,' and for the performance of which his holineſs had engaged in the moſt ſolemn manner.

Geo. I. 1717. tinued to make very formidable preparations by sea and land, without any regard to the admonitions of England and France. Upon which king George ordered a strong squadron of ships of war to be fitted out, as will presently be seen.

The earl of Peterborough seized at Bologna.

Before the parliament met, the following incident happened. The earl of Peterborough, whether with design only to travel, as was given out, or charged with some secret negotiation, was gone into Italy. Before his departure, he had conferred with the duke of Marlborough, and at Paris had talked with the duke of Orleans: He was said to carry with him larger remittances than was usual for travellers, even of his rank. The pretender was then at Urbino, where he had notice sent him from St. Germains to be upon his guard, there being a design to destroy him. He gave information of it to Rome, and pope Clement XI. sent orders to all places round Urbino to examine all foreigners, especially English, and seize such as should be suspected.

The earl of Peterborough came at that very time to Bologna with a few armed followers. He was immediately seized with his papers, and confined to Fort Urbino, and his people sent to prison. His papers were examined, but, nothing being found against him, he was himself interrogated. He said, he was come to pass some time in Italy for the benefit of the air, and that his people were armed for his defence. He was close confined for a month, and no person suffered to speak with him. He was at length set at liberty with all possible civilities, and afterwards had an authentic reparation for the insult, the cardinal minister having declared, that he had been seized unadvisedly, and without sufficient cause. The news of the earl of Peterborough's confinement was highly resented by the people in England, but the king was content with demanding and receiving reparation for the affront. The pope agreed to write with his own hand a letter to an ally of Great Britain, by which he would declare, that the legate of Bologna had violently and unjustly, without the knowledge of his holiness, caused the earl of Peterborough to be seized upon suspicions, which proved to be ill-grounded; that then the cardinal Paulucci, secretary of state, and the cardinal legate of Bologna, should send each a declaration to the English admiral in the Mediterranean; the first to shew the pope's disavowal, and the other to assure him, that, out of complaisance to his friends, and upon unjust suspicions, he had ordered a peer of Great Britain to be apprehended on his travels, for which he had begged the pope's pardon, and desired his Britannic majesty's. This letter and these declarations

rations, were accordingly ſent, and are preſerved, to ſhew the earl of Peterborough's innocence, and the falſity of the ſuſpicions. Geo. I. 1717.

A difference between the king and the prince.

On the 3d of November, the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a prince, at St. James's, and the king two days after paid her a viſit, and returned to Hampton-Court. The young prince was baptized the 28th of the ſame month, and died not long after. This baptiſm occaſioned an unhappy difference between the king and the prince. It ſeems, the prince had deſigned the duke of York, biſhop of Oſnabrug, the king's brother, to be one of the godfathers, and had reaſon to believe the king was ſatisfied with his choice. But, when the ceremony came to be performed, the duke of Newcaſtle ſtood godfather with the king, not as proxy for, or repreſenting the duke of York, but for himſelf, and in his own name and perſon. This the prince took ill of the duke, not as he acted in obedience to his majeſty's command, but as if the duke had done, or at leaſt ſeemed officious to do, ſomething which he was not commanded. This proceeding ſenſibly touched the prince, and raiſed his indignation to that degree, that he could not help ſhewing it; but, as ſoon as the ceremony was over, ſpoke ſome warm words to the duke, expreſſing his reſentment at what he had done. Upon report of theſe words to the king, his majeſty thought fit to give a ſudden mark of his diſpleaſure, by ſending his commands to the prince to keep his own apartment till his pleaſure was farther known; to which he immediately ſubmitted: Soon after this his majeſty's farther pleaſure was ſignified to the prince, that he ſhould leave St. James's; accordingly he quitted the palace, the princeſs going along with him, and retired to the houſe of the earl of Grantham, in Albemarle-ſtreet; but the children, by the king's order, remained at St. James's. Soon after this, his majeſty's pleaſure was ſignified to all the peers and peereſſes of Great Britain and Ireland, and to all privy-counſellors and their wives, that all perſons, who ſhould go to ſee the prince and princeſs of Wales, ſhould forbear coming into his majeſty's preſence. Beſides, ſuch as had employments under the king and prince both, were obliged to quit the ſervice of one of them.

Soon after this difference, there was printed in the Amſterdam Gazette a letter in French, ſaid to be written by one of the ſecretaries of ſtate to the foreign miniſters, dated at Whitehall, December 14, 1717, giving an account of the whole

Geo. I. 1717. whole affair, of which the author of the Critic (a weekly paper) publiſhed a tranſlation (e).

Third ſeſſion of king George's firſt parliament. Pr. H. C.

The parliament met the 21ſt of November, and the king came to the houſe of peers with the uſual ſolemnities. His ſpeech had been prepared with great care, by reaſon of the

(e) The letter was as follows:

SIR,

'His majeſty having been informed that ſeveral reports, for the moſt part ill grounded, are ſpread abroad concerning what has lately paſſed in the royal family, he has ordered me to ſend you the incloſed account of it.

As ſoon as the young prince was born, the king cauſed himſelf to be informed of what was wont to be obſerved in the like caſes in this kingdom, in regard to the ceremony of baptiſm; and having found by the records, that, when it was a boy, and the king was godfather, it was the cuſtom for him to nominate, for ſecond godfather, one of the principal lords of his court, who for the moſt part was the lord chamberlain; he named for this function the duke of Newcaſtle, who now bears that charge; naming at the ſame time for godmother the ducheſs of St. Alban's, firſt lady of honour to the princeſs. Nevertheleſs, his royal highneſs the prince of Wales conceived ſuch a diſlike at this, that on Thurſday laſt, after the ſolemnity of the baptiſm was over, finding himſelf no longer maſter of his temper, he drew near to the duke of Newcaſtle, and gave him very reproachful words, upon ſuppoſition that he had ſollicited that honour in ſpite of him; The king was ſtill in the chamber, but not near enough to hear what the prince ſaid to the duke. This laſt thinking himſelf obliged to inform the king of it, and the prince having confeſſed the matter to the dukes of Kingſton, Kent, and Roxburgh (whom his majeſty ſent to him the next day upon this occaſion) his majeſty ordered him by a ſecond meſſage, not to go out of his own apartment till farther order: On Saturday the prince wrote a letter to the king, and the next day (Sunday) another: But, his majeſty not finding them ſatisfactory, and having beſides other reaſons of diſcontent at ſeveral ſteps the prince had taken, he cauſed him to be told yeſterday in the afternoon, by his vice-chamberlain Mr. Cooke, that he ſhould be gone from the palace of St. James's; and to the princeſs, that ſhe might continue in the palace as long as ſhe thought convenient; but that, as for the princeſſes her daughters, and the young prince, the king would have them remain with him in the palace, and that the princeſs ſhould be permitted to ſee them as often as ſhe deſired it. However, the princeſs, being unwilling to leave the prince her huſband, went with him to the houſe of the earl of Grantham her lord-chamberlain, where their royal highneſſes lay laſt night.'

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importance of the matters he had to ſpeak of, and was attended with the expected ſucceſs. The ſpeech was as follows: Geo. I. 1717.

'My lords and gentlemen,

'I AM very glad I have been able to bring the ſitting of 'parliament into a more proper and uſual ſeaſon of the 'year. I hope, ſuch an early meeting will not only be a 'benefit to the public, but a convenience to your private 'affairs.

'As I have always had at heart the ſecurity and eaſe of my 'people, ſo I never kept up any troops, but for their protection, and have taken every opportunity to diſband as many 'as I thought conſiſtent with their ſafety. I have reduced 'the army to very near one half, ſince the beginning of the 'laſt ſeſſion of parliament, and leſſened them to ſuch a number, as will neither be a burden to my good ſubjects, nor 'an encouragement to our enemies to inſult them.

'You cannot but be ſenſible of the many attempts, which 'have been ſet on foot to diſturb the peace of Europe, and of 'theſe kingdoms. They only pretend not to ſee, who are not 'afraid of them. But, as no application has been wanting, 'on my part, to preſerve the public tranquillity, I have the 'pleaſure to find my good offices have not been altogether 'unſucceſsful, and have reaſon to hope they will, in the 'end, have their full and deſired effect.

'Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

'I queſtion not, but you are very well pleaſed to find, 'that your endeavours for leſſening the national debts have, 'at the ſame time, raiſed the public credit; and that whatever was propoſed, for that end, is actually and compleatly 'effected. This ſucceſs muſt chiefly be attributed to that 'juſt and prudent regard you have ſhewn to parliamentary 'engagements.

'It was with a view of procuring and ſettling a laſting 'tranquillity, that I demanded the extraordinary ſupply, 'which you granted me laſt ſeſſion. The credit, which this 'confidence repoſed in me hath given us abroad, has already been ſo far effectual, that I can acquaint you, we have a 'much better proſpect than we had. I have ordered an account to be laid before you of the very ſmall part of that 'ſupply, which, as yet, has been expended. Any further

'iſſues,

Geo. I. 1717. ‘ iſſues, that may be made of it, ſhall be laid before you. ‘ And you may be aſſured, that every part of it ſhall either ‘ be employed for your ſervice, or ſaved to the public.

‘ I have ordered to be laid before you a ſtate of the deficiencies of the preſent year, and the ſeveral eſtimates for ‘ the ſervice of the next, which you will find conſiderably ‘ diminiſhed. I rely upon your making the neceſſary proviſion for them; not doubting of the continuance of that ‘ zeal for the good of your country, which hath been ſo eminently conſpicuous in every ſeſſion of this parliament.

‘ I cannot, in juſtice, avoid putting you in mind, that ſeveral arrears of pay and ſubſidy, incurred before my acceſſion to the crown, are claimed by foreign princes and ‘ ſtates. I ſhall order them to be laid before you, to the ‘ end you may put them in a method of being examined and ‘ ſtated; which will very much tend to the honour and credit ‘ of the nation.

‘ My lords and gentlemen,

‘ I could heartily wiſh, that at a time, when the common ‘ enemies of our religion are, by all manner of artifices, endeavouring to undermine and weaken it, both at home and ‘ abroad, all thoſe, who are friends to our preſent happy ‘ eſtabliſhment, might unanimouſly concur in ſome proper ‘ method for the greater ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt; ‘ of which, as the Church of England is unqueſtionably the ‘ main ſupport and bulwark, ſo will ſhe reap the principal ‘ benefit of every advantage accruing by the union and mutual charity of all Proteſtants.

‘ As none can recommend themſelves more effectually to ‘ my favour and countenance, than by a ſincere zeal for the ‘ juſt rights of the crown, and the liberties of the people; ſo ‘ I am determined to encourage all thoſe, who act agreeably ‘ to the conſtitution of theſe my kingdoms, and conſequently ‘ to the principles, on which my government is founded.

‘ The eyes of all Europe are upon you at this critical juncture. It is your intereſt; for which reaſon, I think it is ‘ mine, that my endeavours for procuring the peace and ‘ quiet of Chriſtendom ſhould take effect. Nothing can ſo ‘ much contribute to this deſirable end, as the unanimity, ‘ diſpatch, and vigour of your reſolutions for the ſupport of ‘ my government.’

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This ſpeech, as it appears, was worded with great caution, particularly with regard to the army, and the Proteſtant Diſſenters. The king, by ſaying he had ſo leſſened the troops, that they would neither burthen his ſubjects nor encourage his enemies, prevented any intended addreſſes for a farther reduction. His wiſhing, that all the friends of the eſtabliſhment would concur in ſome method for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt, tended to the repeal of the ſevere laws made in the laſt reign againſt the Diſſenters, which had been prevented by the commotions in the kingdom, and which he thought might be accompliſhed this ſeſſion. He had, ever ſince his acceſſion, declared for toleration, and ſeems here to promiſe his favour and countenance to ſuch as ſhould be of his mind. Geo. I. 1717.

The lords, without any debate, voted an addreſs, in which they thanked the king for diſbanding ſo many troops, and for his unwearied application towards ſettling the peace of Europe, aſſuring him, that nothing ſhould be wanting on their parts towards ſupporting him with the utmoſt zeal and vigour, till his endeavours had the deſired effect. They concluded with ſaying, 'We have a grateful ſenſe of your majeſty's concern for the Proteſtant religion, and the Church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed; which, as it has always been the chief of the Proteſtant churches, ſo it can never be ſo well ſupported, as by ſtrengthening and uniting (as far as may be) the Proteſtant intereſt.' The lords addreſs.

An addreſs of thanks was alſo voted by the commons, but not without ſome debates. It was moved by the High-Church party, that the king's general expreſſion, 'to concur in ſome proper method for the greater ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt,' ſhould be thus ſoftened, 'to concur in the moſt effectual methods for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt of theſe kingdoms, as far as the laws now in force will permit.' But this motion was rejected, and the addreſs paſſed as it had been drawn up; wherein, after having thanked the king for bringing the ſitting of parliament into a more proper ſeaſon of the year, and aſſured him of their endeavours to anſwer his gracious intentions, by improving their early meeting (as much as they were able) to the public benefit, they expreſſed their lively ſenſe of his concern for the welfare of the people by the reductions he had made from time to time of the land-forces. 'It is, (ſay they) our peculiar happineſs to ſee ourſelves governed by a ſovereign, who is not influenced by any notions of greatneſs that are inconſiſtent The commons addreſs.

Geo. I. 1717. with the proſperity of his ſubjects, and who propoſes to himſelf the eaſe of his people, as the chief glory of his reign.

We acknowledge, with hearts full of duty and gratitude, your majeſty's unwearied endeavours to prevent the many attempts which have been ſet on foot to diſturb the peace of Europe, and the quiet of theſe kingdoms; and have the more reaſon to apprehend the ill conſequences of ſuch attempts, ſince there are thoſe, who, as they would be thought to ſee no danger in them, give us reaſon to believe, that they would not be troubled at their ſucceſs.'

Proceedings of the commons.

This approbation of the king's ſentiments was followed with aſſurances of moſt effectually ſupporting him in ſuch meaſures as he ſhould judge neceſſary, and of chearfully granting ſuch ſupplies as the public ſervice ſhould require. Concluding, 'It is a pleaſure to us, that the eyes of all Europe are turned upon us at this critical juncture, ſince we have thereby an apportunity of ſhewing the world the juſt confidence we repoſe in your majeſty, and our unſhaken reſolutions to ſupport your government, in ſuch a manner as ſhall enable your majeſty to ſettle the peace of Chriſtendom.'

The commons began with fulfilling their promiſe concerning the ſupplies. Eſtimates and accounts were called for, to ſee what was wanted to ſettle the eſtabliſhment of the army, navy, and ordnance as uſual. Ten thouſand men, at 4l. a month each, were voted for the ſea-ſervice; and 224,857l. 14s. 11d. was granted for the ordinary of the navy.

Debates about the army, Dec. 4. Pr. H. C.

When the motion for a ſupply for the army was made, it was oppoſed by Mr. Shippen, Sir William Windham, and others. Mr. Walpole made a ſpeech that laſted above an hour, wherein, beſides the common topic of the danger of a ſtanding army in a free nation, he inſiſted on four principal points: '1. That whereas they were given to underſtand, that the army was reduced to ſixteen thouſand and odd men, it ſtill conſiſted of about eighteen thouſand, which was one third part more than the number of land forces in Great Britain amounted to formerly in time of peace. 2. That there was no due proportion obſerved, either between the number of the horſe, dragoons, and foot, or between the number of the officers and ſoldiers, that were kept ſtanding, inſomuch that, of about 11000l. which the pay of a reduced regiment of foot amounts to, near 7000l. goes towards the pay of the officers, and 4000l. only to the private ſoldiers. 3. That the keeping up ſo great a number of officers, was, in effect, the maintaining of an army almoſt double of what

was

was intended, ſince the ſoldiers, that were wanting to compleat the companies and regiments, might be raiſed with a drum, in twice four and twenty hours. 4. That the pay of general officers, which amounted to above 20000l. was an expence altogether needleſs, and unprecedented, in time of peace.' Mr. Craggs, ſecretary of war, anſwered Mr. Walpole, and obſerved in general, 'That, in all wiſe governments, the ſecurity of the ſtate is the rule chiefly to be regarded; and that his majeſty, both in the augmentation, and the reduction of his forces, had not only conſulted the ſafety, but likewiſe the eaſe of his people. That though, as was ſuggeſted, the nation paid, at preſent, near eighteen thouſand men, yet there were only ſixteen thouſand three hundred forty-ſeven, who could give any jealouſy, unleſs ſome people ſhould think our liberties in danger from the chaplains, ſurgeons, widows of officers, and ſuch inoffenſive perſons, who were included in the firſt number. That therefore there were not much above four thouſand men more now in Great Britain, than there were kept up after the peace of Ryſwick; which number muſt be thought very moderate by all, who wiſh well to the preſent happy ſettlement, conſidering, that the embers of an unnatural rebellion lately extinguiſhed, were ſtill warm, and the diſcontents induſtriouſly fomented by the enemies of the government. That the parliament had ever contented themſelves with fixing the number of forces, that were thought neceſſary to be maintained; but had left to the crown the manner of reducing and modelling that number. And therefore, if they ſhould now do otherwiſe, it would be but an indifferent return to that gracious and tender regard, which, on all occaſions, his majeſty had ſhewn to the ſecurity and eaſe of his ſubjects. That, after all, it was no leſs a piece of juſtice than matter of prudence, to keep up as great a number of officers as poſſible; for, beſides the occaſion, which this nation may have for them for the future, it was but reaſonable to acknowledge the paſt eminent ſervices of gentlemen, who, having been brought up to no other trade but war, had no other way to ſubſiſt and provide for themſelves and families. Mr. Craggs was ſupported by ſeveral members, particularly Sir David Dalrymple, who declared for keeping up ſixteen thouſand men at leaſt one year longer, urging, 'That the diſcontents ran ſtill as high in Scotland, as before the late rebellion; of which he alledged ſeveral reaſons.' But Mr. Walpole and others were, on the contrary, of opinion, that twelve thouſand men were ſufficient. The debate having laſted ſome hours, the queſtion was going to be

Geo. I. 1717.

Geo. I. 1717. be put, Whether the number ſhould be ſixteen thouſand, or twelve thouſand, when Mr. Shippen made a ſpeech, in which, among many other vehement expreſſions, he ſaid, 'That the ſecond paragraph of the king's ſpeech ſeemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than Great-Britain: and that it was a great misfortune, that the king was a ſtranger to our language and conſtitution.' Theſe reflections gave great offence to ſeveral members, and Mr. Lechmere urged, 'That the ſame was a ſcandalous invective againſt the king's perſon and government, of which the houſe ought to ſhew the higheſt reſentment; and therefore moved, that the member who ſpoke thoſe offenſive words, ſhould be ſent to the Tower.' Upon which Mr. Walpole ſaid, 'That, if the words in queſtion were ſpoken by the member, on whom they were charged, the Tower was too light a puniſhment for his raſhneſs: But, as what had been ſaid in the heat of this debate might have been miſunderſtood, he was for allowing him the liberty of explaining himſelf.' But, Mr. Shippen not thinking proper either to retract or excuſe what he had ſaid, he was voted to the Tower by a majority of one hundred and ſeventy-five againſt eighty-one.

The next day it was reſolved, that the guards and garriſons in Great-Britain ſhould be ſixteen thouſand three hundred and forty-ſeven effective men; and that the ſum of 681,618 l. ſhould be granted for their maintenance: That 130,361 l. 5 s. 5 d. ſhould be given for the half-pay of the reduced officers. After this, was ſettled as uſual the pay of the forces in America, and the garriſons of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. When theſe reſolutions were reported, ſeveral of them were debated. The pay of the army was reduced to 650,000 l. by a majority of fourteen voices only, one hundred and ſeventy-two againſt one hundred and fifty-eight. The ſum for the half-pay officers was reduced to 94,000 l. (f).

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(f) At the ſame time the following regulations were agreed to:

'I. That no perſon ſhall be intitled to half-pay, who was a minor under the age of ſixteen years at the time when the regiment, troop, or company in which he ſerved was reduced. II. That no perſon ſhall be intitled to half-pay, except ſuch perſons who did actual ſervice in ſome regiment, troop, or company. III. That no perſon, having any other place or employment of profit, civil, or military, under his majeſty, ſhall be intitled to half-pay. IV. That no chaplain of any garriſon, or regiment, who has an ec-

An attempt was made this ſeſſion to lower the value of guineas. Mr. Aiſlabie having taken notice of the great ſcarcity of the ſilver coin, occaſioned chiefly by the exportation of ſilver, and importation of gold, propoſed, that a ſpeedy remedy might be put to the growing evil, by lowering the value of gold ſpecies. Upon this the king was addreſſed for the repreſentations made by the officers of the Mint, to the treaſury, in relation to the gold and ſilver coins. Accordingly Mr. Lowndes preſented to the houſe ſeveral papers relating to the coins, and particularly Sir Iſaac Newton's repreſentation to the lords of the treaſury (a). Then Mr. Aiſlabie Geo. I. 1717.

eccleſiaſtical benefice, or other preferment in Great-Britain or Ireland, ſhall be intitled to half-pay. V. That no perſon ſhall be intitled to half-pay, who hath reſigned his commiſſion, and has had no commiſſion ſince. VI. That no half-pay ſhall be allowed to any perſon by virtue of any warrant and appointment, except to ſuch perſons who would have been otherwiſe intitled to the ſame as reduced officers. VII. That half-pay ſhall not be allowed to any of the officers of the five regiments of dragoons and eight regiments of foot, lately diſbanded in Ireland, except to ſuch as were taken off the eſtabliſhment of half-pay in Great-Britain.'

(a) This repreſentation, being reckoned a curious piece, is here inſerted at large:

In obedience to your lordſhips order of reference of Auguſt 12, that I ſhould lay before your lordſhips a ſtate of the gold and ſilver coins of this kingdom, in weight and fineneſs, and the value of gold in proportion to ſilver, with my obſervations and opinion, and what method may be beſt for preventing the melting down of the ſilver coin; I humbly repreſent, that a pound weight troy of gold, 11 ounces fine, and 1 ounce allay, is cut into 44 half guineas; and a pound weight of ſilver, 11 ounces 2 pennyweights fine, and 18 pennyweights allay, is cut into 62 ſhillings; and, according to this rate, a pound weight of fine gold is worth 15 pounds weight 6 ounces, 17 pennyweight, and 5 grains of fine ſilver, reckoning a guinea at 1 l. 1 s. 6 d. in ſilver money. But ſilver in bullion exportable, is uſually worth 2 d. or 3 d. per ounce more than in coin. And, if at a medium, ſuch bullion of ſtandard allay be valued at 5 s. 4 d. half-penny per ounce, a pound weight of fine gold will be worth 14 pounds weight, 11 ounces, 12 pennyweight, 9 grains of fine ſilver in bullion. And at this rate a guinea is worth but ſo much ſilver as would make 20 s. 8 d. When ſhips are lading for the Eaſt Indies, the demand of ſilver for exportation raiſes the price to 5 s. 6 d. or 5 s. 8 d. per ounce, or above; but I conſider not thoſe extraordinary caſes.

A Spaniſh piſtole was coined

Geo. I. 1717. Aiſlabie renewed his motion, and was ſeconded by Mr. Caſwel, who made a long ſpeech on the various values, which at

for 32 reas, or 4 pieces of eight reas, uſually called Pieces of Eight, and is of equal allay, and the 16th part of the weight thereof. And a doppio moeda of Portugal was coined for ten cruſadoes of ſilver, and is of equal allay, and the 16th part of the weight thereof; gold is therefore in Spain and Portugal of ſixteen times more value than ſilver of equal weight and allay, according to the ſtandard of thoſe kingdoms; at which rate, a guinea is worth 22s. 1d. But this high price keeps their gold at home in good plenty, and carries away the Spaniſh ſilver into all Europe; ſo that at home they make their payments in gold, and will not pay in ſilver, without a premium. Upon the coming in of a plate-fleet, the premium ceaſes, or is but ſmall; but, as their ſilver goes away and becomes ſcarce, the premium increaſes, and is moſt commonly about 6 per cent. which being abated, a guinea becomes worth about 20s. 9d. in Spain and Portugal.

In France, a pound weight of fine gold is reckoned worth 15 pounds weight of fine ſilver; in raiſing or falling their money, their king's edicts have ſometimes varied a little from this proportion, in exceſs or defect; but the variations have been ſo little, that I do not here conſider them. By the edict of May 1709, a new piſtole was coined for 4 new Lewiſes, and is of equal allay, and the 15th part of the weight thereof, except the errors of their mints. And by the ſame edict fine gold is valued at fifteen times its weight of fine ſilver, and at this rate a guinea is worth 20s. 8d. half-penny. I conſider not here the confuſion made in the monies in France, by frequent edicts to ſend them to the mint, and give the king a tax out of them, I conſider the value only of gold and ſilver in proportion to one another.

The ducats of Holland, and Hungary, and the empire, were lately current in Holland among the common people in their markets and ordinary affairs, at 5 guilders in ſpecie, and 5 ſtivers, and commonly changed for ſo much ſilver monies in three guilder pieces, and guilder pieces as guineas are with us for 21s. 6d. ſterling; at which rate a guinea is worth 20s. 7d. half-penny.

According to the rates of gold to ſilver in Italy, Germany, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, a guinea is worth about 20s. and 7d. 6d. 5d. or 4d. for the proportion varies a little within the ſeveral governments in thoſe countries. In Sweden, gold is loweſt in proportion to ſilver, and this hath made that kingdom, which formerly was content with copper money, abound of late with ſilver, ſent thither (I ſuſpect) for naval ſtores.

In the end of king William's reign, and the firſt year of the late queen, when foreign coins abounded

at different times, gold and ſilver coins have borne, with reſpect one with another, according to the plenty or ſcarcity of Geo. I. 1717.

abounded in England, I cauſed a great many of them to be aſſayed in the mint, and found by the aſſays, that fine gold was to fine ſilver in Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Italy, Germany, and the northern kingdoms, in the proportions above-mentioned, errors of the mints excepted.

In China and Japan, one pound weight of fine gold is worth but 9 or 10 pounds weight of fine ſilver; and, in Eaſt-India, it may be worth 12. And this low price of gold in proportion to ſilver, carries away the ſilver from all Europe.

So then, by the courſe of trade and exchange between nation and nation in all Europe, fine gold is to fine ſilver as 14½ or 15 to one; and a guinea, at the ſame rate, is worth between 20s. 5d. and 20s. 8d. half-penny, except in extraordinary caſes, as when a plate-fleet is juſt arrived in Spain, or ſhips are laden here for the Eaſt-Indies, which caſes I do not here conſider. And it appears by experience as well as by reaſon, that ſilver flows from thoſe places where its value is loweſt in proportion to gold, as from Spain to all Europe, and from all Europe to the Eaſt-Indies, China, and Japan; and that gold is moſt plentiful in thoſe places, in which its value is higheſt in proportion to ſilver, as in Spain and England.

It is the demand for exportation which hath raiſed the price of exportable ſilver about 2 d. or 3 d. in the ounce above that of ſilver in coin, and hath thereby created a temptation to export or melt down the ſilver coin, rather than give 2 d. or 3 d. more for foreign ſilver; and the demand for exportation ariſes from the higher price of ſilver in other places than in England, in proportion to gold, that is, from the higher price of gold in England than in any other places, in proportion to ſilver, and therefore may be diminiſhed by lowering the value of gold in proportion to ſilver. If gold in England, or ſilver in Eaſt-India, could be brought down ſo low as to bear the ſame proportion to one another in both places, there would be no greater demand for ſilver than for gold to be exported to India: And, if gold were lowered only ſo as to have the ſame proportion to the ſilver money in England, which it hath to ſilver in the reſt of Europe, there would be no temptation to export ſilver rather than gold to any other part of Europe: And, to compaſs this laſt, there ſeems nothing more requiſite, than to take off about 10 d. or 12 d. from the guinea, ſo that the gold may bear the ſame proportion to the ſilver-money in England, which it ought to do by the courſe of trade and exchange in Europe; but, if only 6 d. were taken off at preſent, it would diminiſh the temptation to export or melt down the ſilver coin, and by the effects would ſhew hereafter better than

Geo. I. of either; he ſuggeſted, That the over-valuation of gold, in the current coins of Great-Britain, had occaſioned the exportation

can appear at preſent, what further reduction would be moſt convenient for the public.

In the laſt year of king William, the dollars of Scotland, worth about 4s. 6d. half-penny, were put away in the north of England for 5s. and at this price began to flow in upon us; I gave notice thereof to the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, and they ordered the collectors of taxes to forbear taking them, and thereby put a ſtop to the miſchief.

At the ſame time the Lewidors of France, which were worth but 17s. and three-farthings a-piece, paſſed in England for 17s. 6d. I gave notice thereof to the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, and his late majeſty put out a proclamation that they ſhould go but at 17s. and thereupon they came to the mint, and 1400001. were coined out of them; and if the advantage of 5d. one farthing a Lewidor ſufficed, at that time, to bring into England ſo great a quantity of French money, and the advantage of three farthings in a Lewidor to bring it to the mint, the advantage of 9d. half-penny in a guinea, or above, may have been ſufficient to bring the great quantity of gold which hath been coined in theſe laſt fifteen years, without any foreign ſilver.

Some years ago, the Portugal moeders were received in the weſt of England at 28s. a-piece; upon notice from the mint that they were worth only about 27s. 7d. the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury ordered their receivers of taxes to take them at no more than 27s. 6d. Afterwards, many gentlemen in the weſt ſent up to the treaſury a petition, that the receivers might take them again at 28s. and promiſed to get returns for this money at that rate, alledging, that when they went at 28s. their country was full of gold, which they wanted very much: But the commiſſioners of the treaſury conſidering, that at 28s. the nation would loſe 5d. a-piece, rejected the petition. And, if an advantage to the merchant of 5d. in 28s. did pour that money upon us, much more hath an advantage to the merchant of 9d. half-penny in a guinea, or above, been able to bring into the mint great quantities of gold without any foreign ſilver, and may be able to do ſtill, till the cauſe be removed.

If things be let alone till ſilver money be a little ſcarcer, the gold will fall of itſelf; for people are already backward to give ſilver for gold, and will, in a little time, refuſe to make payments in ſilver, without a premium, as they do in Spain, and this premium will be an abatement in the value of the gold: And ſo the queſtion is, Whether gold ſhall be lowered by the government, or let alone till it falls of itſelf, by the want of ſilver money?

It may be ſaid, that there are great quantities of ſilver in plate, and,

portation of great quantities of ſilver ſpecies; and, to that purpoſe, laid open a clandeſtine trade, which of late years had been carried on by the Dutch, Hamburghers, and other foreigners, in concert with the Jews, and other traders here, which conſiſted in exporting ſilver coins, and importing gold in lieu thereof, which being coined into guineas at the Tower, near fifteen pence was got by every guinea, which amounted to about 5 per cent. and, as theſe returns might be made five or ſix times in a year, conſiderable ſums were thereby got, to the prejudice of Great-Britain, who thereby was drained of ſilver, and over-ſtocked with gold: Concluding, That, in his opinion, the moſt effectual way to put a ſtop to this pernicious trade was to lower the price of guineas, and all other gold ſpecies. Geo: I. 1717-18.

This ſpeech was received with applauſe, and an addreſs was voted, and preſented to the king, for a proclamation to forbid all perſons to utter or receive guineas at a higher rate than one and twenty ſhillings for each guinea. Purſuant to this addreſs, the proclamation was iſſued the next day, after which the commons adjourned till the 13th of January.

The lowering the value of gold, which was thought a proper expedient to procure a greater circulation of ſilver ſpecies, had, during the receſs, a contrary effect, either, as was ſuppoſed, through the covetouſneſs of ſome monied men, who hoarded up ſilver, in hopes that the ſame would be raiſed; or out of fear that gold would be ſtill lowered; or through the malice of the diſaffected, who, by the ſame method, thought, if not to diſtreſs the government, ot leaſt to raiſe murmurings againſt it among the common people,

and, if the plate were coined, there would be no want of ſilver money; But I reckon that ſilver is ſafer from exportation in the form of plate than in the form of money, becauſe of the greater value of the ſilver and faſhion together; and therefore I am not for coining the plate, till the temptation to export the ſilver money (which is a profit of 2 d. or 3 d. an ounce) be diminiſhed: For, as often as men are neceſſitated to ſend away money for anſwering debts abroad, there will be a temptation to ſend away ſilver rather than gold, becauſe of the profit, which is almoſt 4 per cent. And, for the ſame reaſon, foreigners will chuſe to ſend hither their gold rather than their ſilver.'

All which is moſt humbly ſubmitted to your lordſhips great wiſdom.

Mint-Office, Sept. 21, 1717.

ISAAC NEWTON.

Geo. I. 1717-18. upon account of the ſtop which was thereby put to petty trade. In order therefore to remedy this great evil, as ſoon as the commons met, they came to a reſolution, 'That this houſe will not alter the ſtandard of the gold and ſilver coins of this kingdom in fineneſs, weight, and denomination: The lords came alſo to the ſame reſolution, and ordered a bill to be brought in to prevent the melting down of the ſilver coin.

Upon a meſſage delivered to the lords by the lord chancellor, and to the commons by Mr. comptroller, both houſes adjourned for a few days. It was generally believed this adjournment was occaſioned by ſome meaſures that were then taken, in order to reconcile the royal family, which not having the deſired effect, it was expected, the king would, on the day of meeting, have come to the houſe of peers, and acquainted the parliament with ſome matters of importance; but the court took another courſe, to the great diſappointment of ſome perſons (b).

A deſign againſt the king's life by James Shepheard.

About this time a deſign againſt the king's life was diſcovered. The author of it ſeemed to be fitter for Bedlam than Newgate. His name was James Shepheard, a youth of

(b) The king conſulted the judges about ſome matters in diſpute between him and the prince. He gave notice of it to the prince, that he might ſend ſome perſons to ſet forth and ſupport his pretenſions. His royal highneſs ſent Sir Robert Raymond, Mr. Carter, Mr. Darnel, and Mr. Reynolds. The firſt point was, Whether the care of the education of the royal family belonged of right to the king? The judges were moſt of them for the affirmative, alledging, beſides other arguments, the example of king Charles II, who educated his two nieces in the Proteſtant religion, and married them to Proteſtant princes againſt the will of the duke of York, his brother. They cited alſo the example of king William, who appointed governors and preceptors for the duke of Glouceſter, ſon of the princeſs Anne, preſumptive heir of Great-Britain by the new eſtabliſhment.

The other point was, Whether the king could retain, for the maintenance of the children, ſome part of the hundred thouſand pounds granted by parliament to the prince of Wales? The judges were divided upon this point, but, however, in ſuch a manner as ſeemed to favour the prince. This conſultation proved fruitleſs. The prince and princeſs ſtood their ground, and, though they left to the king the education of their children, they refuſed to contribute towards the expence. The king made his grandſon, prince Frederick, duke of Glouceſter, and formed the young princeſſes houſhold.

eighteen

eighteen years, apprentice to a coach-maker in Devonſhire-ſtreet. On the 24th of January, he came to the houſe of Mr. John Leake, a Nonjuring clergyman, and, not finding him at home, left a letter with the maid, who delivered it to Mr. Leake's daughter. When Mr. Leake came home, the letter was given to him, who, upon reading the ſuperſcription, found it directed for the reverend Mr. Heath; upon which he doubted of its being left for him; but being told by the maid, that it was left for him, and conſidering that there was no ſuch perſon as Mr. Heath, a clergyman, in that neighbourhood, he opened the letter, and, having read it to himſelf, told his maid and daughter, it was a wicked and villainous letter, and then read it to them, and afterwards threw it into the fire. But, upon conſidering the matter, and ſuſpecting that ſome perſon might have ſent it with a deſign to get his houſe ſearched, and fix an odium upon him, he went to Sir John Fryer, alderman, the next morning, and acquainted him with the matter. Sir John adviſed him to ſecure the writer of the letter, if he ſhould call again at his houſe, as it ſeems he had promiſed to do. According to his promiſe he called again in three days, when Mr. Leake aſked him whether his name was James Shepheard, and if he had left a letter for him on the Friday before? he anſwered in the affirmative; upon which he was ſeized and carried before Sir John Fryer; Shepheard owned to him the bringing of the letter; and being aſked, if he had a copy of it? he anſwered, he had no copy about him; but, if he had pen, ink, and paper, he could ſoon write one; which he did, and gave it to Sir John; who obſerving to him, that he had not put his name to it, he immediately ſubſcribed it, affirming, that he belived it to be a true copy of the letter he had left at Mr. Leake's; and that, if at all, it differed only in ſome few words: The copy was as follows:

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SIR,

'From the many diſcontents viſible throughout this kingdom, I infer, that, if the prince now reigning could be by death removed, our king being here, he might be ſettled on his throne without much loſs of blood. For the more ready effecting of this, I propoſe, that, if any gentleman will pay for my paſſage into Italy, and if our friends will intruſt one ſo young with letters of invitation to his majeſty, I will, on his arrival, ſmite the uſurper in his palace. In this confuſion, if ſufficient forces may be raiſed, his majeſty may appear, if not, he may retreat or conceal himſelf till a fitter op-

Geo. I. 1717-18.

portunity. Neither is it preſumptuous to hope, that this may ſucceed, if we conſider how eaſy it is to cut the thread of human life; how great confuſion the death of a prince occaſions in the moſt peaceful nations; and how mutinous the people are, how deſirous of a change. But we will ſuppoſe the worſt, that I am ſeized, and by torture examined. Now, that this may endanger none but myſelf, it will be neceſſary, that the gentleman, who defrays my charges to Italy, leave England before my departure; that I be ignorant of his majeſty's abode; that I lodge with ſome Whig; that you abſcond; and that this be communicated to none. But, be the event as it will, I can expect nothing leſs than a moſt cruel death; which that I may the better ſupport, it will be requiſite, that, from my arrival till the attempt, I every day receive the holy ſacrament, from one who ſhall be ignorant of the deſign.'

James Shepheard.

Sir John Fryer committed him priſoner to the Compter, and afterwards went with him and Mr. Leake, his daughter and maid, to the earl of Sunderland's office, where the copy of the letter was produced and read to him; which he owned with the greateſt unconcern imaginable. He owned likewiſe, that, while he was at ſchool at Saliſbury, he had imbibed the principles, which he then acted upon, by converſation with his ſchool-fellows, who, in the time of the rebellion in the north, wiſhed the pretender might have ſucceſs, and was confirmed in his opinion by reading ſome pamphlets he ſaw lying on ſome bookſellers ſtalls, particularly, 'A Vindication of the biſhop of Exeter,' and eſpecially from the improvement of the words of St. Paul, 'That perſons ought to be obedient to the powers that were ſet over them, although they were tyrannical.' That he had three years ago reſolved upon the deſign to aſſaſſinate the king, and did determine to put it in execution, when opportunity offered (c). He was brought to his trial on the 6th of March,

(c) When the recorder gave ſentence, he ſaid, 'It was reaſonable to think that you had received thoſe impreſſions, which incited you to this undertaking, from ſome of thoſe falſe and malicious libels, which have been induſtriouſly diſperſed to delude unwary readers, and to alienate the minds of his majeſty's ſubjects; and it appears to be ſo from your own confeſſion, that you had imbibed your principles from ſermons and pamphlets, which make you think king George an uſurper, and the pretender your lawful king.

It ſeems ſtrange, that you ſhould

March, for high-treaſon; and the evidence againſt him was very ſtrong. Being called upon by the court to make his defence, he acknowledged the truth of what had been depoſed againſt him; and owned, that he meant it, that he intended it, and did not think there was any harm in it, or any guilt in the fact, if committed. Upon this he was condemned, and executed at Tyburn, being attended by Mr. Orme, a Nonjuring clergyman, who abſolved him at the gallows, and was ſuppoſed to have penned his ſpeech; which being an invective againſt the king, the government did not think proper to allow it to be printed (d); and Mr. Orme was taken into the cuſtody of a meſſenger. Orme was frequently examined; but, as nothing appeared, upon which it was judged proper to bring him to a trial, he was at laſt ſet at liberty. Geo. I. 1717-18.

The ſame day that Shepheard was hanged, the marquiſs de Paleotti, brother to the ducheſs of Shrewſbury, was executed for killing his ſervant. The marquiſs had been in the army many years, under various commiſſions, and had then a regiment in the emperor's ſervice. He was reported to be a gentleman very unhappy in his natural temper, and apt to fly into ſudden indecencies of paſſion. It appeared upon trial, that the marquis committed this unhappy fact upon his ſervant late at night, as they were going along in the ſtreet together, but upon what provocation, no one knew. The circumſtances were ſuch, as to leave no poſſibility of its being done by any other hand, though none ſaw otherwiſe than the buſtle, and running and purſuing, with outcries of danger made by the deceaſed. The marquiſs made a very inſignificant defence, and pretended diſtraction, or a total ignorance of the whole matter; and it was ſaid, that, afterwards he would frequently call for him, as if he had been in attendance about him, and had fallen into no harm; but he

Marquiſs de Paleotti executed for murder.

ſhould hint at a paſſage in St. Paul for your juſtification. If he exhorted the Chriſtians to ſubmit to the Roman emperors, even though they ſhould be tyrants, How comes it, that you, a private youth, ſhould not only judge of the title of kings in oppoſition to the ſenſe of ſo many parliaments; but that you ſhould think yourſelf authorized to murder a prince in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne, and by whom his ſubjects are protected in the enjoyment of all their rights and privileges, and of every thing that is dear and valuable to mankind?'

(d) However, it was clandeſtinely printed and diſperſed about, inſomuch that it came back to England at laſt in the Amſterdam Courant.

was

Geo. I. 1717-18. was found guilty, and ſentence paſſed accordingly. Very earneſt inſtances were made for his pardon, and perſons of great diſtinction employed on his behalf, particularly his ſiſter the ducheſs of Shrewſbury; but it was all to no purpoſe, his majeſty reſolving that the law ſhould take place upon ſuch an offender, notwithſtanding the eminence of his character. And upon apprehenſions only of a pardon, from the known influence of thoſe who ſollicited it; even the common people began ſtrangely to ferment, and diſaffected perſons were cunning enough to blow up the coals, and aggravate highly upon the impunity of ſuch a crime; inſomuch that the public quiet called for his execution. So much regard was, however, granted to his diſtinction, as to be carried out, on the day of execution, early in the morning, to avoid the uſual crouds of ſpectators; but, whether by that getting air, and the deſire of the people to ſee juſtice done upon him, or becauſe young Shepheard, the aſſaſſin, was to be executed at the ſame place that day, is not certain, yet the place was more thronged than commonly, and he had the mortification of having many thouſand witneſſes to his unhappy and ſhameful end.

The king accepts the government of the South-Sea company.

The king had always ſhewn a great regard for the South-Sea company, and was pleaſed to be a proprietor in their ſtock. The company, to expreſs their gratitude, deſired leave to chuſe him for their governor in the following addreſs:

'The general court of the South-Sea company, crave leave to acknowledge, with the greateſt ſenſe of gratitude, the many marks of your royal favour, which the company have received, ever ſince your majeſty's happy acceſſion to the crown; and in particular, the honour done them in becoming a proprietor in their ſtock.

They therefore do, in the moſt humble and dutiful manner, beſeech your majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to grant them the further honour of uſing your royal name for their governor in the enſuing election.'

The king, agreeing to their requeſt, ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, acquainting them, that, having condeſcended to permit himſelf to be choſen governor of the South-Sea company, he recommended it to the houſe to conſider of proper methods to remove any difficulties that might ariſe on that occaſion. Immediately a bill was brought in, and paſſed both houſes, enabling the king to be governor, and exempting him from taking the uſual oaths.

On

On the 3d of February, the king was unanimouſly choſen governor by the whole company, conſiſting of fifteen hundred and eighty-three perſons. At the ſame time were choſen a ſub-governor and deputy-governor. As every thing is influenced by party in England, the Whigs of the company had formed their plan, to chuſe under the king Mr. Samuel Shepherd and Sir Theodore Janſen; but the Tories laid their meaſures ſo well, that Sir James Bateman, one of that party, was elected ſub-governor, by a majority of nine hundred and eighty-three againſt ſix hundred, and the Whigs were forced to be ſatisfied with chuſing Mr. Shepherd for deputy-governor. Geo. I. 1717-18.

One of the principal ſubjects of debate, this ſeſſion, was the bill for regulating the land-forces, and puniſhing mutiny and deſertion. As the court had occaſion for their whole ſtrength to carry this bill, care was taken that all the abſent members ſhould be ſummoned, ſo that the houſe, when the bill was brought in, was more numerous than had been known for many years paſt. The debate ran chiefly upon the power of Courts-martial, to puniſh mutiny and deſertion with death. Mr. Hutchinſon began with urging, That a Court-martial was never allowed of in England in a time of peace, as being inconſiſtent with the rights and liberties of free people; and moved, that the offences committed by the ſoldiers be cognizable and puniſhed by the civil magiſtrate. Mr. Hutchinſon was ſeconded by Mr. Harley, who, to ſhew the danger of a ſtanding army, governed by martial law, quoted, with great commendation, a book written by a noble member of that houſe, intitled, 'An Account of Denmark.' Upon this the lord Moleſworth (author of that book) endeavoured to ſhew, that this was not a parallel caſe: That the preſent poſture of affairs in Great Britain was very different from the ſtate of things in Denmark at that juncture; and that, the commons having already declared it neceſſary to maintain ſtanding forces, it was no leſs neceſſary to keep thoſe forces within the bounds of duty and diſcipline by the ordinary rules of martial law, as was ever practiſed in all civilized nations. General Lumley, and ſome others, were of Mr. Hutchinſon's opinion; and, on the other hand, Sir Joſeph Jekyll was for keeping up the martial law, at leaſt, a year longer. But the main diſpute was between Mr. Craggs and Mr. Walpole. After they had done ſpeaking, Mr. Lechmere, who had been hitherto ſilent, roſe up and ſpoke with great weight, particularly in anſwer to what Mr. Walpole, as well as Mr. Hutchinſon, had advanced, that a court-martial, Debates on the mutiny and deſertion bill. Pr. H. C. Pr. H. L.

Geo. I. 1717-18. martial, in time of peace, was altogether unknown in England. He ſhewed, on the contrary, that the court of admiralty, which is allowed in times of peace, as well as of war, has an equal power in relation to ſeamen, with a court-martial in relation to ſoldiers.

When the debate was over, and the queſtion put, Whether courts-martial ſhould puniſh mutiny and deſertion with death, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of eighteen voices only, two hundred and forty-ſeven againſt two hundred and twenty-nine. So that there were four hundred and ſeventy-ſix members in the houſe, beſides three Whigs, and ſix or ſeven Tories, who happened to be ſhut out when the queſtion was put. The abbot du Bois, the French miniſter, having deſired to be preſent at this debate, he was admitted incognito, a favour which, that day, had been refuſed to ſeveral peers.

When the bill came to be read the laſt time, and the queſtion put for paſſing it, there were a hundred and eighty-ſix votes for it, and but a hundred and five againſt it. This great majority was aſcribed to Mr. Walpole's voting for it, and his having declared to his friends, 'That, though, in the debate about the bill, he was for having mutiny and deſertion puniſhed by the civil magiſtrate, yet he had ſtill rather thoſe crimes ſhould be puniſhed by martial law than not at all.' The bill, having paſſed the commons, was ſent up to the lords.

Debates in the houſe of lords about the mutiny bill. Pr. H. L.

When the bill came before the lords, it occaſioned very warm debates, and many ſpeeches were made on both ſides, of which theſe are ſome of the moſt remarkable (e). The lord

(e) When the bill was read the ſecond time in a very full houſe, the earl of Oxford began with ſaying, 'That, as long as he had breath, he would ſpeak for the liberties of his country; and that he was not only againſt this bill, becauſe he thought a martial court inconſiſtent with the rights and privileges of Engliſhmen, but alſo againſt keeping up ſo great a number of forces; which, being altogether uſeleſs in a time of profound peace, could not but raiſe juſt apprehenſions, that ſomething was intended againſt our happy and ancient conſtitution.' To which it was anſwered, * That the nation had the happineſs to be governed by a prince, who, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, had convinced every body, that he deſired no more troops than what were abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety and tranquillity of his dominions: That whoever would impartially and ſeriouſly conſider the preſent circumſtances

* By the lord Stanhope.

lord Harcourt ſpoke againſt the bill, and urged, among other things, 'That the parliament, that is, the repreſentative of the

Geo. I. 1717-18.

ſtances of affairs, muſt own, that the number of troops, that were kept ſtanding was very ſmall: That it could not be denied, that the pretender had a great many friends both at home and abroad, who watched all opportunities to foment and take advantage of our inteſtine diviſions: That, on the other hand, Great Britain ſtood guarantee for the neutrality of Italy, which was then threatened with an invaſion: And therefore it was matter of prudence, as well as of neceſſity, to keep up a competent force, both to ſuppreſs any inſurrection at home, or to repel any inſult from abroad; and to make good our engagements for maintaining the repoſe of Europe. Hereupon a late miniſter † ſaid, He was ſurprized to hear, that the noble lord, who ſpoke laſt, was not better acquainted with ſome matters of fact; but that he thought himſelf obliged to inform the houſe, That, by the treaty concluded and ſigned at Utrecht in March 1713, between the miniſters of Great Britain and France, the late queen, of glorious memory, was guarantee for the neutrality of Italy, and the iſlands in the Mediterranean, only during the evacuation of Catalonia, and till the concluſion of a general peace: For the truth of which, his lordſhip appealed to his colleague in that negotiation. He added, that, ſince that time, the ſtate of things was quite altered, and thoſe in the miniſtry could beſt tell, what engagements had been entered into, either with the emperor or France. Hereupon it was thought neceſſary to know the contents of thoſe new treaties; and therefore it was moved, to addreſs his majeſty, that the ſame might be laid before the houſe: Which addreſs was agreed to, but was never preſented.

On the 20th of February, it was moved, 'That it be an inſtruction to the committee, that they do provide that no puniſhment ſhall be inflicted at any court-martial, which ſhall extend to life or limb.' Some reaſons were given for ſupporting this motion; but it was anſwered, that ſuch a clauſe would render the bill ineffectual, baniſh all manner of diſcipline from the army, and conſequently render it entirely uſeleſs. Hereupon there aroſe a warm debate, which laſted from two o'clock in the afternoon, till ſeven in the evening.

† Earl of Strafford.

Herein it was endeavoured to be ſhewn, That ſo numerous a force, as was allowed by that bill to be maintained in time of peace, was not only dangerous in itſelf to a free nation, but was yet rendered more dangerous, by their being governed by martial law; a law unknown to our conſtitution, deſtructive of our liberties, and not endured by our anceſtors. To which it was anſwered, That, among the ancient Romans, the wiſeſt people in the world, and the greateſt

Geo. I. 1717-18. the whole nation, were ever extreme jealous of the legiſlative power, with which they are veſted; and that the lords, in a particular manner, ought to be tender of it; becauſe it is a branch of their prerogative to be the ſupreme court of judicature; but that by this bill, whereby the king was enabled to eſtabliſh courts-martial, with power to try and determine any offences ſpecified in the articles of war, the parliament veſted a ſole legiſlative power in the crown, which was communicated and delegated to a council of war. That this bill ſets aſide all other laws, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, in

teſt lovers and aſſerters of public liberty, martial laws and diſcipline were invigorated by decrees of the ſenate, and were in force in times of peace as well as in times of war. And replied to, in ſubſtance, that it was much better to attend domeſtic than foreign examples; whereupon were produced ſeveral inſtances drawn from the hiſtory of Great Britain, that a ſtanding army, in time of peace, was ever fatal, either to the prince or to the nation. But hereunto was urged, that thoſe, who are veſted with the legiſlative power, ought not, on all occaſions, to govern themſelves by precedents, but rather, by the preſent ſituation of affairs, becauſe it is very difficult to find examples perfectly agreeing with the various circumſtances of times: That it was judged, the number of troops, which the commons had thought fit to keep ſtanding, was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity and ſafety both of the government and nation; and therefore it was no leſs neceſſary to make a law to keep that army within the rules of duty and diſcipline, unleſs they would render uſeleſs thoſe very forces which muſt be owned to be neceſſary. Hereunto ſomewhat was again ſuggeſted, about the danger of a ſtanding army made ſubject to martial law; but it was maintained, on the contrary, that the forces then on foot were neceſſary both for the ſupport of the government, and the protection of our allies; that their lordſhips ought to conſider, that, when the late rebellion broke out, they had double the number of regular troops, and yet the government was obliged, not only to ſend for ſome regiments from Ireland, but alſo for a body of auxiliary troops from Holland; and that, ſince the ſaid forces were neceſſary, the bill in queſtion, which was only to render them uſeful, was no leſs neceſſary. A lord hereupon, among other things, ſaid, That, before the noble peer, who ſpoke laſt, was born, he had ſeen the time, when the nation was in danger of loſing their liberties by a ſtanding army; and then his lordſhip endeavoured to ſhew, that the power of life and death, which by that bill was given to a court-martial, was unneceſſary, unuſual, and unjuſt. After this followed the ſpeeches of lord Harcourt and the lord Carteret, as above in the context.

relation

relation to the ſoldiery; and gives courts-martial a larger juriſdiction than ſeemed neceſſary for maintaining diſcipline in the army; ſuch juriſdiction extended not only to mutiny, deſertion, and breach of duty, but alſo to all immoralities, and other offences, which might be committed by any officer or ſoldier, towards any of his fellow-ſubjects, whereby the law of the land might either be obſtructed, or ſuperſeded by a court-martial. That the officers conſtituting a court-martial did, at once, ſupply the place of judges and jurymen, and ought therefore to be upon their oath, upon their trying any offence whatſoever; whereas it is provided by this bill, that they ſhall be ſworn, upon their trying ſuch offences only as are puniſhable by death. That martial courts aſſume to themſelves an arbitrary and unprecedented authority, of which they had a remarkable inſtance, an enſign of the guards having been ſentenced to death without being heard, which was contrary to Magna Charta, and to the birth-rights and privileges of Engliſhmen; and therefore they ought to reſtrain ſo dangerous a power.' On the other hand, the lord Carteret ſaid, 'That he had maturely conſidered the affair now in agitation, not as a perſon in a public ſtation, but as a private unprejudiced man; and that he was convinced in his judgment and conſcience, that it is neceſſary both for the ſupport of the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, and the ſecurity of the nation, to keep up the forces now on foot; and that he was confirmed in his opinion, by conſidering what thoughts the pretender and his friends had of this matter, and reflecting, that they have nothing more at heart, than to procure the diſbanding of thoſe forces that have ſuppreſſed the late unnatural rebellion. That he doubted not, but the whole body of the nobility that made up that auguſt aſſembly, was inviolably attached to his majeſty king George: That his majeſty had alſo the beſt part of the landed and all the trading intereſt; that as to the clergy he would ſay nothing——but that it was notorious, that the majority of the populace had been poiſoned, and that the poiſon was not yet quite expelled. That the dangers which ſeemed to be apprehended from the preſent army may be chimerical, or, at leaſt, eaſily remedied in any ſubſequent ſeſſion of parliament; whereas the dangers with which the nation is threatened from the pretender and his friends, in caſe there were no army to oppoſe them, are real, and the miſchiefs that might enſue, upon the ſucceſs of their deſigns, irreparable. That, if there had been ſuch a ſtanding force as we now have, timely to ſuppreſs the tumults and riots which were raiſed ſoon after his majeſty's acceſſion

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to

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to the throne, in all probability there had been no open rebellion; that, on the other hand, if there had not been troops ready at hand to aſſiſt the civil power, in ſuppreſſing the late riotous aſſemblies of the woolcombers and weavers in the counties of Devon and Somerſet, there had by this time been another rebellion. That the mentioning Magna Charta was, in his opinion, entirely foreign to the preſent debate: That the thing now in queſtion, and that wherein they were immediately concerned, was to ſecure and ſupport the government, and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, againſt vigilant, bold, and reſtleſs enemies; and that they had the more reaſon to be upon their guard, in that the trumpeters of ſedition and rebellion had again forcibly intruded into ſeveral pulpits in Scotland.'

Objections being raiſed againſt the preamble of the bill, wherein it was ſuggeſted, that the number of ſixteen thouſand three hundred and forty-ſeven men was neceſſary, it was moved, that the number ſhould be reduced to twelve thouſand. But this motion was rejected; as was alſo another, for leaving out the clauſe, which enabled the king to conſtitute articles of war. After this, the whole bill was agreed to, and paſſed by a majority of eighty-eight againſt ſixty-one. However, ſeveral lords entered their proteſt (f).

The

(f) As ſoon as the parliament broke up, the ſpeakers againſt the mutiny bill publiſhed their ſpeeches, for which they were ſeverely cenſured by the author of the Critic, and their ſpeeches boldly examined. The king alſo, ſoon after the end of the ſeſſion, ordered articles to be publiſhed for the regulation and government of the army, purſuant to the power lodged in him by the act. The ſubſtance of the articles is as follows:

I. All officers and ſoldiers (not having juſt impediment) ſhall diligently frequent divine ſervice, in ſuch places as ſhall be appointed for the regiment, troop, or company to which they belong; and ſuch as either wilfully or negligently abſent themſelves from divine ſervice or ſermon, or elſe, being preſent, do behave themſelves undecently or irreverently during the ſame, if they be officers, they ſhall be ſeverely reprehended at a court-martial; but, if private ſoldiers, they ſhall, for every ſuch firſt offence, forfeit each man 1 s. to be deducted out of their next pay; and for the ſecond offence ſhall forfeit 1 s. and be laid in irons for twelve hours; and, for every like offence afterwards, ſhall ſuffer and pay in like manner; and the money ſo forfeited ſhall be applied to the relief of the ſick ſoldiers of ſuch troop or company, to which the offender does belong.

II.

The affair of the forfeited eſtates cauſed likewiſe great debates. A bill was brought in for veſting the forfeited eſtates in

Geo. I. 1717-18.

A bill about the forfeited eſtates. Pr. H. C.

II. If any ſutler, in any of our forts, garriſons, camps, barracks, or guards, ſhall, during divine ſervice or ſermon, preſume to ſell any beer, brandy, wine, or other liquors, or any kind of victuals, or other merchandize, he ſhall be delivered over to the civil magiſtrate, to be puniſhed according to law.

III. Whoſoever ſhall uſe any unlawful oath or execration (whether officer or ſoldier) ſhall incur the penalties expreſſed in the firſt article.

IV. If any officer or ſoldier ſhall preſume to blaſpheme the holy and undivided Trinity, or the perſons of God the Father, God the Son, or God the Holy Ghoſt, or ſhall preſume to ſpeak againſt any known article of the Chriſtian faith, he ſhall be delivered over, by the commanding officer, to the civil magiſtrate, to be puniſhed according to law.

V. If any officer or ſoldier ſhall abuſe or prophane any place dedicated to the worſhip of God, or ſhall offer violence to any chaplain of the army, or any other miniſter of God's word, he ſhall be liable to ſuch penalty or corporal puniſhment, as ſhall be inflicted on him by a court-martial.

VI. If any officer or ſoldier ſhall preſume to uſe any traiterous or diſreſpectful words againſt the ſacred perſon of his majeſty, his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, or any of the royal family, or ſhall behave himſelf with contempt or diſreſpect towards the general, or other commander in chief of the forces, or ſpeak words tending to his hurt or diſhonour, he ſhall be puniſhed according to the nature of his offence, by the judgment of a regimental or general court-martial.

VII. If any officer or ſoldier ſhall excite, cauſe or join in any mutiny or ſedition, in the company, troop, or regiment to which he belongs, or in any other company, troop, or regiment in his majeſty's ſervice, or on any party or poſt, where the duty is done by detachment from ſeveral regiments, or otherwiſe, in the army, he ſhall ſuffer death, or ſuch other puniſhment as a general court-martial ſhall inflict.

And if any officer, non-commiſſion officer, or ſoldier, ſhall hear an words tending to mutiny, or ſedition, or, being any way privy thereto, do not immediately uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs the ſame, as alſo to diſcover it to his ſuperiors, if any officer, he ſhall be caſhiered; if a non-commiſſion officer or ſoldier, he ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed at the diſcretion of a court-martial.

VIII. If any officer or ſoldier ſhall refuſe to obey the lawful orders of his ſuperior officer, he ſhall be puniſhed with death, or otherwiſe, as a general court-martial ſhall think fit.

X. All officers and ſoldiers who have received pay, or have been duly liſted in our ſervice, and ſhall deſert the ſame, either in

Geo. I. 1717-18. in Great Britain and Ireland in truſtees, to be ſold for the uſe of the public; and for giving relief to lawful creditors, by determining

in the field, upon a march, in quarters, or in garriſon, and be convicted thereof before a general court-martial, ſhall ſuffer death, or ſuch other puniſhment, as by the ſaid court ſhall be inflicted.

XII. If any officer or ſoldier ſhall perſuade or adviſe any other officer or ſoldier to deſert our ſervice, he ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment, as ſhall be inflicted by the ſentence of a general court-martial.

XVI. If any officer, non-commiſſion-officer, or ſoldier, ſhall be accuſed of any capital crime, or of any violence or offence againſt the perſon, eſtate, or property of any of our ſubjects, which is puniſhable by the known laws of the land; the commanding officers of every regiment, troop, or company, are hereby required to deliver over ſuch accuſed perſon to the civil magiſtrate, ſo ſoon as applied to; and are alſo to be aiding and aſſiſting to the officers of juſtice, in the ſeizing and apprehending ſuch offender, in order to bring him to trial, under pain of our higheſt diſpleaſure.

XIX. No officer or ſoldier ſhall uſe any reproachful or provoking ſpeeches or geſtures to another, upon pain of impriſonment, and aſking pardon of the party offended, in preſence of his commanding officer.

Nor ſhall any officer or ſoldier preſume to ſend a challenge to any other officer or ſoldier to fight a duel, upon pain of being caſhiered, if he be an officer; or ſuffering the ſevereſt corporal puniſhment, if a non-commiſſion officer or private ſoldier.

And if any officer or non-commiſſion officer, commanding a guard, ſhall wittingly and knowingly ſuffer any perſon whatever to go forth to fight a duel, he ſhall be puniſhed as above: And all ſeconds alſo, and carriers of challenges, in order to duels, ſhall be taken as principals, and puniſhed accordingly.

All officers, of what condition ſoever, have power to part and quell all quarrels, frays, and other diſorders, though of another company, troop, or regiment; and to command officers to arreſt, and ſoldiers to priſon, until their proper officers be acquainted therewith.

And whoever ſhall refuſe to obey ſuch officers, (though of inferior rank) or draw his ſword upon him, ſhall be puniſhed as a general court-martial ſhall appoint.

Nor ſhall any officer or ſoldier upbraid another for refuſing a challenge, ſince, according to theſe our orders, they but do the duty of ſoldiers, who ought to ſubject themſelves to diſcipline; and we do acquit and diſcharge all men who have quarrels offered, or challenges ſent to them, of all diſgrace or opinion of diſadvantage in the obedience hereunto; and whoſoever ſhall upbraid them, and offend in this caſe, ſhall be puniſhed as a challenger.

XXI.

termining the claims; and for the more effectual bringing into the reſpective exchequers the rents and profits of the eſtates — Geo. I. 1717-18.

XXVI. Every non-commiſſion officer and ſoldier, who ſhall inliſt himſelf in our ſervice, ſhall, at the time of his ſo inliſting, or within a month afterwards at the fartheſt, be taken before a juſtice of peace by the inliſting officer, or the officer commanding the troop or company into which he is liſted, and ſhall there take the following oath:

'I Swear to be true to our ſovereign lord king George, and to ſerve him honeſtly and faithfully in defence of his perſon, crown, and dignity, againſt all his enemies and oppoſers whatſoever, and to obſerve and obey his majeſty's orders, and the orders of the generals and officers ſet over me by his majeſty.

'So help me God.'

XXVIII. All officers and ſoldiers are to behave themſelves orderly in quarters and on the march; and whoever ſhall commit any waſte or ſpoil, either on walks of trees, parks, warrens, fiſh-ponds, houſes, or gardens, corn-fields, incloſures, or meadows, or ſhall maliciouſly deſtroy any property whatever belonging to any of our ſubjects, or belonging to any perſon whatever, unleſs by order of the then commander in chief of our forces, to annoy rebels, or other enemies in arms againſt us, he or they, that ſhall be found guilty of offending herein, ſhall (beſides ſuch penalties as they are liable to by law) be puniſhed according to the nature and degree of the offence, by the judgment of a regimental or general court-martial.

XXIX. No officer ſhall demand billets for quartering of more than his effective men, nor quarter any women or children in the houſe aſſigned him for the quartering of officers and ſoldiers, without the conſent of the owner; nor ſhall take money for freeing of landlords from quartering of officers or ſoldiers, under pain of being caſhiered for it.

XXX. Every officer commanding a regiment, troop, company, or party, whether in ſettled quarters, or on the march, ſhall ſee his own quarters, and the quarters of every officer and ſoldier under his command, paid, according to the rates ſpecified in the act of parliament now in force.

And, upon every payment to be made in quarters, the ſaid officer ſhall give public notice thereof to the landlords, in order to ſee them ſatisfied as aforeſaid: And in caſe any ſuch regiment, troop, company, or party, ſhall be ordered to march, before money may be come to the hands of the commanding officer as aforeſaid, he is hereby required, before his departure out of any town or village, to make up the accounts with all perſons concerned in money due to them for quartering of officers and ſoldiers, for what time ſoever he ſhall have happened to

Geo. I. eſtates till ſold. This bill was attended with warm debates
1717-18. in both houſes, which, though they did not obſtruct its paſſage,

remain there; and grant to every ſuch party a ſigned certificate for the ſame, therein ſpecifying the name of the regiment, troop, or company ſuch officers or ſoldiers do belong to, under pain of being caſhiered for it, upon proof of having wilfully offended herein.

XXXI. On marches, the commanding officers are to apply to the proper magiſtrates for the carriages neceſſary for the ſervice, and to pay for them according to the act of parliament in that behalf, taking care not to abuſe, nor to ſuffer any under their command, to beat or abuſe the waggoners, or other perſons attending ſuch carriages, nor to put more than twenty hundred weight on any wayne or waggon ſo furniſhed to them by the country.

And whatever officer ſhall be convicted of offending herein, or of refuſing to grant certificates in caſe of failure of money, as in the preceding article, ſhall, by the judgment of a general court-martial, be caſhiered, or otherwiſe puniſhed, according to the degree of his offence.

XXXII. All officers commanding in garriſons, in quarters, or on marches, ſhall keep good order, and redreſs all ſuch abuſes or diſorders as may happen to be committed by any officer or ſoldier under their command; And if on complaint made to any ſuch commanding officer, of beating of landlords, or extorting of more from them than they are obliged by law to furniſh; of ſoldiers diſturbing of fairs or markets, or committing of any other kind of riots, to the diſturbing or diſquieting our people; he, the ſaid commander, who ſhall refuſe or omit to ſee juſtice done on the offender, and reparation made to the party injured, ſo far as part of the offender's pay can enable him, he ſhall, upon proof thereof, be puniſhed by a general court-martial, as if he himſelf had perſonally committed the crimes or diſorders complained of.

XXXVII. If any officer ſhall protect any perſon from his creditors, otherwiſe than is allowed by the preſent act of parliament; or any one who does not actually ſerve in the ranks, and conſequently do all the duties of a ſoldier, (according to the true intent and meaning of the ſaid act) he ſhall be caſhiered for it.

XLIV. In caſe any officer, non commiſſion officer or ſoldier, be accuſed of any violence or offence againſt the perſon, eſtate, or property of any of our ſubjects, puniſhable by any of our civil courts or magiſtrates, the officer, to whom ſuch accuſation is brought, ſhall not proceed to the trial of ſuch offender or offenders by a court-martial, within the ſpace of eight days, unleſs at the deſire of the perſon or perſons injured; and in caſe no application be made to the commanding officer in quarters, during the ſpace of eight days, by the perſon or perſons injured, the offender or of-

vage, produced ſome very equitable clauſes. The time of claiming was prolonged, and twenty thouſand pounds ſterling was reſerved, out of the ſale of the eſtates in Scotland, for erecting ſchools, and eight thouſand for building barracks (a). Geo. I. 1717-18.

Before

offenders may be tried by a court-martial for any offence mentioned in theſe articles; provided that, within the ſpace of the ſaid eight days, the perſon injured hath not proceeded to the proſecution of ſuch offender before a civil court or magiſtrate, and notice given thereof to the officer, commanding in the quarters where ſuch offence ſhall be committed.

XLV. Theſe our rules and articles are to be obſerved by, and do in all reſpects regard our troops and regiments of horſe and foot guards, as well as our other forces.

XLVI. The aforegoing rules and articles ſhall be read and publiſhed at the head of every regiment, troop, and company, muſtered or to be muſtered in our ſervice, once every two months at fartheſt, and are to be duly obſerved by all officers and ſoldiers in our ſervice; and alſo by our companies of gunners, and other military officers of our trains of artillery, with ſuch alterations only as relate to the payment of ſoldiers quarters and carriages, which in the kingdom of Ireland are to be regulated by the lord-lieutenant thereof, and in our iſlands, provinces, and garriſons beyond the ſeas, by the reſpective governors of the ſame, according as the nature of the thing ſhall require: And notwithſtanding it is expreſſed in the 16th article of theſe our rules and orders, that every commanding officer is required to deliver up to the civil magiſtrate all ſuch perſons (under his command) as ſhall be accuſed of any crimes which are puniſhable by the known laws of the land; yet in our garriſon of Gibraltar, iſland of Minorca, forts of Placentia and Annapolis-Royal, where our forces now are, or in any other place beyond the ſeas, to which any of our troops may hereafter be commanded, and where there is no form of our civil judicature in force, the governors or commanders reſpectively are to appoint general courts-martial to be held, who are to puniſh criminals by their ſentence, as has been practiſed heretofore, and authoriſed by former articles of war.

(a) There was alſo a debate in the houſe of commons about the trade with Sweden, which had been interrupted by a proclamation. The merchants having preſented a petition for opening the trade, Mr. Jackſon (late reſident at Stockholm) was called in and aſked by Mr. Craggs, whether he was of opinion, That, if the trade were opened with Sweden, our merchants would be upon a better foot than they are at preſent? Mr. Jackſon anſwered, That, in his opinion, the contrary would happen: For now, that the Swedes are diſtreſſed for

Geo. I. 1717-18. Before the session ended, the king sent a message to the commons, which was read by the speaker, as follows:

'His

The king's message to the commons. Pr. H. C.

want of our commodities, particularly corn and salt, they are inclined to facilitate to us, underhand, the purchase of their iron; whereas, if the prohibition of trade with them was taken off, they would immediately provide themselves with what they want; and, knowing at the same time, that there are amongst us a set of men, who make it their study and business to embarrass the government, the court of Sweden would be more stiff than ever, and render the purchase of their iron more difficult to us.' Some members of the house being offended at Mr. Jackson's reflection on a sett of men (by which it was plain he meant the Tory-party) cried out, Custody, Custody: But the more moderate contented themselves with putting him upon explaining himself. Hereupon Mr. Jackson replied, That he meant the merchants, who presented unreasonable petitions. This being by some looked upon rather as an aggravation than an excuse, the cry of Custody, Custody, was repeated; but Mr. Walpole brought him off, by suggesting, 'That that gentleman had lived so long in a despotic government, where petitions and representations of that nature are accounted capital crimes, that he had forgot the rights and privileges of his countrymen; and therefore moved, that his unguarded expressions might be excused;' and, nobody opposing Mr. Walpole, Mr. Jackson withdrew. Then the petitioners and some other merchants being called in and farther heard, they represented, among other particulars, 'That, since the prohibition of trade with Sweden, they bought Swedish iron of the Dutch, 4l. per ton dearer than before; and that whereas the English were formerly about 30000l. per annum gainers by the trade with Sweden, they now lost about 90000l.' But this was contradicted by Mr Craggs, who suggested, That the exports from Stockholm for England had never amounted to 120000l. in one year; and therefore the difference of the profit and loss could not come up to this last sum. After some other speeches, the debate was adjourned till that day month, before which the session ended.

There was another debate about a bill for erecting Hospitals and Workhouses in Bristol, in which there was a remarkable clause, abrogating the Sacramental Test in the case of the guardianship of the charities. However, the bill passed with the clause.

A bill, directing that St. Giles's church should be rebuilt, instead of one of the fifty new churches, occasioned a debate in the house of lords, and was opposed by some of the bishops, as a misapplication of the money granted for pious uses. They also proposed that the words of Pious Memory should be added in the preamble after the queen's

name;

'His majeſty being at preſent engaged in ſeveral negotiations of the utmoſt concern to the welfare of theſe kingdoms, and the tranquillity of Europe; and having lately received information from abroad, which makes him judge that it will give weight to his endeavours, if a naval force be employed where it ſhall be neceſſary, does think fit to acquaint this houſe therewith; not doubting, but that, in caſe he ſhould be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the ſea-ſervice, the houſe will, at their next meeting, provide for ſuch exceeding.' Geo. I. 1717-18.

This meſſage was well received, and it was unanimouſly reſolved to preſent an addreſs to the king for his unwearied endeavours to promote the welfare of his kingdoms, and to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe; and to aſſure him, that they would make good ſuch exceedings of ſeamen, as he ſhould find neceſſary to obtain thoſe ends.

On the 21ſt of March, the buſineſs of the ſeſſion being over, the king went to the houſe of peers, and, having paſſed all the bills, ordered the lord chancellor to read the following ſpeech to both houſes:

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I Cannot put an end to this ſeſſion, without returning " my hearty thanks to ſo good a parliament, for the " diſpatch which has been given to the public buſineſs. You " will, I hope, in your private capacities, feel the conve- " nience of an early receſs; and, I am perſuaded, the pub- " lic will receive great benefit, by the ſeaſonable zeal and " vigour of your reſolutions in ſupport of my govern- " ment.

" Nothing can add ſo much to the credit and influence of " this crown, both at home and abroad, as the repeated in- " ſtances of your affection to me. This ſteadineſs and re- " ſolution of yours, will, I hope, enable me to procure, " againſt your next meeting, ſuch treaties to be concluded, " as will ſettle peace and tranquillity among our neigh- " bours.

" If, through the bleſſing of God, my endeavours to this " end prove ſucceſsful, I ſhall have the ſatisfaction to ſilence " even thoſe, who will never own themſelves convinced;

name; but the bill paſſed without any amendment, upon which it was proteſted againſt by five biſhops and ſeveral lords.

Geo. I. 1718. "and to let all the world ſee plainly, that what I have moſt "at heart, is the good and welfare of my people, who "may then be eaſed in their taxes, and enriched by their "trade.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I muſt return you my particular thanks for the ſupplies "you have ſo chearfully granted, and for the late inſtance "of your confidence in me. I promiſe you, that my endea-"vours ſhall not be wanting to make uſe of both to the beſt "advantage, for the good of my people.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The practices which are daily uſed by a moſt reſtleſs "and unhappy ſet of men, to diſturb a government, by "whoſe clemency they are protected, require our utmoſt "attention and vigilance. I muſt therefore recommend it to "you, that, in your ſeveral ſtations and countries, you "will endeavour to quell that ſpirit of diſaffection, which "our common enemies are ſo induſtrious to foment."

Then the lord chancellor prorogued the parliament to the 20th of May; and afterwards, by ſeveral prorogations, to the 11th of November.

Changes in the miniſtry.

About this time there were ſome changes in the miniſtry. Sir Edward Northey was removed, and Mr. Lechmere was made attorney-general in his room. The earl of Sunderland was made preſident of the council, and firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. The other commiſſioners were, Aiſlabie, Wallop, Baillie, and Clayton. Mr. Craggs, and the lord Stanhope (who and lord Cadogan were ſoon after created earls) were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate. The earl of Berkley was placed at the head of the admiralty, with Sir George Byng, Sir John Jennings, Mr. Cockburne, Mr. Chetwynd, Sir John Norris, and Sir Charles Wager. The earl of Holderneſs was made firſt commiſſioner of the board of trade. In April, the lord chancellor Cowper (who had been made an earl) reſigned the great ſeal, and went immediately into the country. Though it had been reported ſome months that he deſired to retire, yet his reſigning his employment at that juncture, was a great ſurprize to the public, and no ſmall grief to all unprejudiced perſons. The judges Tracy, Prat, and Mountague, were made commiſſioners of the great ſeal; but, about a month after, the lord Parker was made high-chancellor, and Sir John Prat chief-juſtice.

The

The great ſcene of action this ſummer was in the Mediterranean. Though the king of Spain had promiſed to ſuſpend all operations, after the conqueſt of Sardinia, and refer his differences with the emperor to the mediation of England, France, and Holland, he rejected all their propoſals for an accommodation, and continued his warlike preparations by ſea and land. By the care and diligence of his prime miniſter, cardinal Alberoni, a formidable armament was ready, by the month of May, at Barcelona, conſiſting of thirty ſhips of the line and frigates, ſeven gallies, four bomb-veſſels, four hundred and forty tranſport-ſhips, forty mortars, fifteen hundred mules, one hundred and fifty thouſand faſcines, three hundred thouſand ſtakes for intrenchments, a vaſt quantity of warlike ſtores, and proviſions for many months. On board this fleet were embarked thirty-ſix battalions, ſix regiments of horſe, four of dragoons, one thouſand artillery men, a hundred and fifty carpenters and other mechanics, a company of ſixty miners, and a brigade of fifty engineers. To furniſh the ſupplies, the receivers of the revenue were ordered to pay in certain ſums to the royal treaſury: The grandees, prelates, provinces and cities, taxed themſelves voluntarily for this expedition, and raiſed regiments at their own expence. Theſe preparations had been the work of more than two years. Geo. I. 1718. Great preparations in Spain.

This powerful fleet ſet ſail the beginning of June: The deſign of it was not known but by the event. It was not doubted, but the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples was aimed at, and all poſſible meaſures had been taken to prevent it. Alberoni had deceived all Europe; for Sicily was what the cardinal intended to attack, and the reaſons which determined him to it were very plauſible.

In the firſt place, Sicily not belonging at that time to the emperor, this expedition ſeemed to give no handle to the courts of London and Paris, ſince, by their late treaties, they had only engaged to aſſiſt the emperor, in caſe his dominions were attacked, and not the duke of Savoy, who was not ſuppoſed to be in danger. In the next place, the cardinal was informed of the duke's inclination to be reconciled with the emperor, and give him Sicily, without any regard to the rights of Spain. Laſtly, Sicily not being in a ſtate of defence, the conqueſt would be eaſy, and prepare the way for the others he intended to make.

During theſe preparations in Spain, king George had ordered (as hath been ſaid) a ſtrong ſquadron to be fitted out in the ſpring. The marquis de Monteleone, the Spaniſh A ſtrong ſquadron fitted out.

am-

Geo. I. 1718. ambaſſador at the court of England, being alarmed at it, repreſented, in a memorial dated the 18th of March, 'That ſo powerful an armament, in time of peace, could not but cauſe umbrage to the king his maſter, and alter the good intelligence that reigned between the two crowns.' The king anſwered, 'It was not his intention to conceal the ſubject of that armament: And he deſigned ſoon to ſend admiral Byng with a powerful ſquadron into the Mediterranean, in order to maintain the neutrality of Italy, againſt thoſe who ſhould ſeek to diſturb it.'

The quadruple alliance.

In the mean time, the negotiations were carried on with all poſſible diligence. The abbot du Bois, in the name of the duke of Orleans, agreed with the Britiſh miniſters at London upon the terms for an accommodation between the emperor and the king of Spain, and had frequent and long conferences on that ſubject with the king. Theſe negotiations produced at length the treaty called at firſt the Triple Alliance between Great-Britain, France, and Holland, and, after the acceſſion of the emperor, ſtiled the Quadruple Alliance. As this treaty is one of the moſt remarkable events of this reign, and an evident proof of the aſcendant which two politic princes in conjunction may have over the reſt, it will not be improper to inſert the plan and principal articles.

The deſign of the negotiation was declared to be, the preſervation of the public tranquillity, by removing the jealouſies which were increaſing between ſome of the princes of Europe. Then were ſettled the terms of a peace between the kings of Spain and Sicily and the emperor. Theſe terms, accepted by the emperor, were followed by a ſeparate treaty of alliance between him and the three powers, who ſo far concerned themſelves in the peace, as to engage to compel, by force of arms, the kings of Spain and Sardinia to accept the conditions offered them.

The terms impoſed on the emperor and Spain were contained in eight articles:

I. For quieting the diſturbances raiſed contrary to the peace of Baden, and the neutrality of Italy, the king of Spain was to reſtore to the emperor, within two months after the ratification of the treaty, the kingdom of Sardinia, and renounce all right and title to the ſame.

II. In conſideration of this, and of king Philip's renunciation to the crown of France for himſelf and poſterity, the emperor was alſo to renounce for himſelf, heirs, and ſucceſſors, all right and pretenſions to any dominions, of which the king

king of Spain was acknowledged rightful poſſeſſor by the treaty of Utrecht. Geo. I. 1718.

II. In conſequence of this renunciation, and becauſe the duke of Orleans had renounced all right to the crown of Spain, on condition the emperor ſhould never ſucceed to that kingdom, his imperial majeſty was to acknowledge Philip V. lawful king of Spain and the Indies, and to give him the titles and prerogatives belonging to him as ſuch.

IV. In return, his Catholic majeſty was to renounce all rights and claims to the dominions of the emperor in Italy or the Netherlands; amongſt which the the marquiſate of Final (yielded to the Genoeſe by the emperor in 1713) was to be comprehended. He was likewiſe to renounce the right of reverſion of Sicily to the crown of Spain, which he had reſerved to himſelf in the treaty of Utrecht.

V. The duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia were to be accounted for ever as male fiefs of the empire, and were to deſcend, in default of the male heirs, to the queen of Spain's eldeſt ſon. As the conſent of the empire was neceſſary, the emperor was to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to obtain it. Leghorn was to remain a free port; and the king of Spain was to yield to his ſon the town Porto Longone, with what he poſſeſſed in the iſland of Elba, as ſoon as the prince of Spain ſhould be in poſſeſſion of Tuſcany. None of theſe duchies was to be poſſeſſed by a prince who ſhould at the ſame time be king of Spain, nor was the king of Spain ever to take upon himſelf the guardianſhip of that prince.

The mediators took ſeveral other precautions. It was never to be allowed, during the lives of the poſſeſſors of Tuſcany and Parma, that any forces of any country whatſoever, whether their own or hired, ſhould, either by the emperor, the kings of France or Spain, or even by the prince appointed to the ſucceſſion, be introduced into any garriſon, city, port, or town of thoſe duchies. But for ſecurity of the ſucceſſion, ſix thouſand Swiſs were to be put into Leghorn, Porto Ferraro, Parma, and Placentia. His Britannic majeſty was ſo convinced of the neceſſity of this expedient, that he offered to lend his own forces till the Swiſs could be raiſed.

VI. The next article was of great importance, and was that with which king George and the duke of Orleans purchaſed (as may be ſaid) at the expence of Spain and Savoy, the aid the emperor was to furniſh in defence of the order of the ſucceſſion ſo favourable to them. By this article, the king of Spain, for the ſake of the public tranquillity, was to con-

Geo. I. 1718. consent, that the emperor should be put in possession of Sicily, and renounce the right of reversion of that kingdom settled by the instrument of cession, and the treaty of Utrecht, on condition however of having the reversion of Sardinia instead of it.

VII. and VIII. The emperor and king of Spain were to defend each other in the possession of their dominions, and to perform the conditions of this treaty within two months after ratification. After which all other points were to be settled at a congress.

The treaty between the emperor and the king of Sicily was of the same nature, only the mediators spoke more like sovereign arbiters from whom there was no appeal. The preamble ran in a very high strain. The mediators began with observing, That the cession of Sicily by the treaty of Utrecht to the house of Savoy, instead of promoting the peace, as was intended, had proved the chief obstacle of the emperor's refusing to accede to that treaty, as all Europe could witness. Wherefore (say the mediators) the powers, by whom the treaty of Utrecht was first set on foot, believe that article, which is not essential to the treaty, may justly be altered, even without the consent of the parties concerned, as it tends to the perfection of the treaty by the emperor's renunciation, and as by the exchange of Sicily for Sardinia the war will be prevented with which Italy is threatened, in case the emperor should attack Sicily, which he has never renounced, and which he has a right to recover after the breach of the neutrality of Italy by the seizure of Sardinia. It is therefore agreed.

I. The king of Sicily shall restore that kingdom to the emperor, within two months, at farthest, after the ratification of this treaty.

II. In return, the emperor shall give to the king of Sicily the island of Sardinia, which he shall enjoy with the title of king; but the reversion, in default of heirs-male, shall be reserved to the crown of Spain.

As there was no proportion between Sardinia and Sicily, it was fit the emperor should seem at least to make some farther satisfaction. To this end, the mediators in the two next articles agreed, that the emperor should confirm to the king of Sicily all the cessions made to him by the treaty of Turin in 1703, on condition, however, that all other claims, which

which he might have by that treaty, ſhould be void. The emperor was likewiſe to acknowledge the right of the houſe of Savoy to ſucceed to the crown of Spain, in caſe of failure of heirs in Philip V. according to the renunciations and treaties of Utrecht. Geo. I. 1718.

But it ſignified little to make theſe regulations, if proper meaſures were not taken for their ſupport and execution. In this the mediators were not wanting. France and the emperor, in conjunction with Great-Britain, promiſed mutual aſſiſtance to put the emperor in poſſeſſion of Sicily, and to maintain the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh crown in the Proteſtant branch, and to exclude the Spaniſh branch from the crown of Spain. To theſe engagements were to be added the particular meaſures that were to be taken, to induce or compel the kings of Spain and Sicily to ſubmit to what had been determined for them, in concert with their enemy.

It was agreed to allow them three months, to conſider, which time was deemed ſufficient to examine the conditions, and declare whether they would accept them, after the example of his imperial majeſty, as unalterable terms to extinguiſh the preſent, and hinder a future war. But, if contrary to the wiſhes of all Europe, theſe two princes, after the expiration of the two months, refuſed to comply, the mediators were to join their forces, and compel them to ſubmit.

It was expreſsly agreed, that, if one of the mediators ſhould be attacked on account of the ſuccours lent the emperor, the others ſhould declare war againſt the aggreſſor, and not lay down their arms, till the emperor was in poſſeſſion of Sicily, and ſecure as to his Italian dominions.

If one of the two kings ſhould accept of the terms, he was to join with the mediators to compel the other to do the like. If the king of Spain refuſed to comply, the emperor was to be aſſiſted in the conqueſt of Sardinia: If the king of Sicily refuſed, the emperor was to be enabled to ſubdue Sicily: If both ſtood out, Sicily was firſt to be attacked, and then Sardinia, the cuſtody of which was to be left to the king of Great-Britain, till the duke of Savoy had agreed to the treaty.

After having ſettled the means of taking Sardinia from Spain, and Sicily from Savoy, the penalties were fixed, in caſe theſe two princes ſhould carry their reſiſtance ſo far, as to make it neceſſary to have recourſe to arms. The emperor was allowed to recover that part of Milan, yielded to Savoy by the treaty of Turin; and it was to be agreed to what other prince the emperor ſhould give the eventual inveſtiture

of

Geo. I. 1718. of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, in excluſion of the queen of Spain's ſons.

To ſhew, however, that nothing but peace was intended, it was agreed, that the emperor (whatever progreſs his arms might make) ſhould be contented with the advantages ſtipulated for him: But, if he could not recover Sicily by arms or treaty, he was to be free from any engagement entered into by this treaty, of conſenting to make peace with the kings of Spain and Sardinia. It was moreover agreed, that the emperor, when in poſſeſſion of Sicily, ſhould renounce all pretenſions to Spain and the Indies, whether king Philip conſented or not to the peace, ſince the guaranty of the mediators would be to the emperor a ſecurity equal to the renunciations of the king of Spain, for Sicily, the Italian dominions, and the Netherlands.

Such was the Quadruple Alliance, by which king George and the duke of Orleans intended to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe: But, contrary to their expectations, it proved the occaſion of all the quarrels and diſputes which afterwards enſued between Great-Britain and Spain.

The States-General, in whoſe name this deciſive treaty was made, did not abſolutely refuſe to ratify it, but under various pretences ſuſpended their conſent. They did not approve of ſuch violent meaſures; And, having no particular intereſt in the quarrel, were willing rather to proceed by fair means (b).

To

(b) A letter from a Swiſs to his friend at Geneva, concerning the part the States-general ought to act, as to the differences between the emperor and Spain, was publiſhed about this time, wherein a brief account is firſt given of what had paſſed in the affair, and then the reaſons why the States are not obliged to enter into any alliance about it.

'Whilſt the emperor (ſays the letter) was in the heat of war with the Turks, the king of Spain, thinking it a favourable opportunity for puſhing his pretenſions, reſolved not to let it ſlip. He armed with all poſſible diligence, and with all the ſecrecy things of that nature are capable of. He cauſed all the men of war he had, to be made fit for the ſervice; new ones to be built, others to be bought; he gathered together all the tranſports he poſſibly could; he reinforced conſiderably his old regiments, raiſed new; and, in ſhort, attacked the iſland of Sardinia, which you know he made himſelf maſter of.

What did the king of Spain do in this interval? Why, he drew

To this treaty were added ſtill more effectual methods: King George offered his mediation to the Grand Seignor for a Geo. I. 1718.

Peace between the emperor and the grand ſultan.

drew up and publiſhed a manifeſto to juſtify his recourſe to arms.

The marquis Beretti Landi (whoſe departure is ſtill lamented here) preſented a memorial to the States-general, wherein, after having exhibited the reaſons which prevailed with the king of Spain to attack Sardinia, he offered, in the moſt obliging manner in the world, in the king his maſter's name, to put all his concerns into their hands, and to accept of them for mediators.

The States-general were, indeed, ſenſible of his Catholic majeſty's generoſity; but conſidering, that it was an affair which did not particularly concern them, and that that mediation might directly or indirectly entangle them in the quarrel, they concluded, that it was not their buſineſs to undertake it at any rate; and thereupon they anſwered the marquis Beretti Landi in very general terms.

What happened afterwards? Why, England and France, acting with the laudable deſign of preventing the diſorders which this kindling war would infallibly be attended with, enter upon meaſures agreeable to ſuch a deſign. In this view, the abbot du Bois was ſent to London; the affair was there canvaſſed; projects of accommodation were formed; care was taken to let the emperor know ſoon what they were; colonel Stanhope was ſent to Madrid, to communicate the propoſals to his Catholic majeſty, or at leaſt to ſound him upon them. But hitherto not one word was ſpoken to the States-general: Far from conſulting them, or hearing their ſentiments of the matter, or acting in concert with them, or deſiring them (in conjunction with themſelves) to contribute to the re-eſtabliſhment of the tranquillity of Europe; far from all this, I ſay, a profound ſilence was kept as to their part; they were carefully deprived of the knowledge of whatſoever was done: In a word, the States-general were not in the queſtion.

But neither was this all; for, after having well examined and debated upon the articles of peace between the emperor and the kings of Spain and Sicily, they were committed to writing, and a treaty of alliance was thereupon concluded between France, England, and the States-general, the chief end whereof was to engage, by all poſſible methods, the emperor and the kings of Spain and Sicily to ſubſcribe to the conditions expreſſed in the ſaid treaty.

This treaty being made between France and England, it was ſent to Vienna, Madrid, and Turin, to be approved and accepted; and then only, after all theſe ſteps, it was propoſed to the States-general.

Thus you have an account, in few words, how all things were tranſacted. I ſhall ſhew you by and by, that their high-

mightineſſes

Geo. I. 1718. a peace between him and the emperor: The mediation was accepted, and a treaty ſigned at Paſſarowitz.

A fleet ordered to the Mediterranean.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the king, as he had declared to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, ordered a fleet ſtrong enough to oppoſe the progreſs of the Spaniards, to ſail for the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir George Byng.

The fleet being ready at Spithead, Sir George Byng went to Portſmouth, where he received his inſtructions, dated the 26th of May (c). Theſe inſtructions were as follows:

The admiral's inſtructions.

I. Whereas the crown of Great-Britain, by the ſeveral treaties made at Utrecht, the 14th day of March 1713, N. S. with

mightineſſes are not any way obliged to enter into the ſaid treaty. For this end, we have nothing to do but to examine whether the terms of accommodation, contained in the ſaid treaty, are reaſonable and equitable, or not; for even ſuppoſing, that they are both the one and the other, I affirm, that the State is not obliged by any engagement to enter into that alliance, and that it is its intereſt not to meddle by any means; and that for ſeveral reaſons.

In the firſt place, as their high-mightineſſes never ſet up as guarantees for the neutrality of Italy, ſo nothing obliges them to make ſteps, in order to reſtore peace there.

Secondly, Since their high-mightineſſes refuſed to accept the mediation which the king of Spain ſo civilly offered them, becauſe they were afraid of bringing themſelves into a ſcrape, they have much ſtronger reaſons to refuſe to come into the treaty above-mentioned, now that the king of Spain appears unwilling to accept it, as it is; for them to act otherwiſe would be to declare themſelves parties, after having refuſed to be mediators, and, without the leaſt neceſſity, to fall out with his Catholic majeſty, of whom, hitherto, they have no manner of reaſon to complain.

In the third place, It is inconteſtably certain, that this ſtate ought, with all imaginable care, to avoid whatever may involve it in a new war.'

'However,' the States-general, after all the endeavours of the Spaniſh ambaſſador to retard the concluſion of the treaty, did at laſt accede to the quadruple alliance on the 22d of December, N. S.

(c) the inſtructions were incloſed in a letter from ſecretary Craggs:

Cockpit, May 27th, O. S. 1718.

SIR,

I incloſe to you his majeſty's inſtructions, as well with relation to your conduct in the Mediterranean, as to the treaty with the Moors.

After what paſſed yeſterday between my lord Sunderland, my

with the emperor and the late moſt Chriſtian king, became obliged to ſee an exact obſervation of the armiſtice and neutrality then eſtabliſhed in Italy, and was guarantee for the full performance of the ſtipulations at that time ſolemnly agreed to on that head: And, whereas, by a treaty made between Us and our good brother the emperor of Germany, at Weſtminſter, the 25th day of May 1716, we ſtand engaged to aſſiſt, maintain, and defend him in the poſſeſſion of all the kingdoms, provinces, and rights, which he then actually enjoyed in Europe: And whereas the Catholic king hath, in an hoſtile manner, invaded the territories belonging to the ſaid emperor, and, by force of arms, hath taken from him the iſland and kingdom of Sardinia, and is ſtill making great and warlike preparations for carrying on his deſigns further againſt the other dominions belonging to his imperial majeſty in Italy, contrary to the tenor of the aforeſaid treaties: And whereas, ſince this unhappy rupture, we, as a friend to both parties, have not ceaſed to employ our beſt offices, in order to accommodate the differences, and put an end to this war, which, if continued, will endanger the public tranquillity of the reſt of Europe: And whereas we have made particular and earneſt inſtances with our good brother the king of Spain, that he would conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, during which the negotiations for peace might be more eaſily and effectually carried on: And whereas his ſaid Catholic majeſty hath appeared to us not averſe to the ſuſpending his further enterprizes, and thereby facilitating our good offices towards a happy accommodation: We therefore, for the better fulfilling the ſeveral engagements we lie under by the treaties aforementioned, and for promoting, in the beſt and moſt effectual manner, the meaſures, that may tend to the bringing about an entire reconciliation and perfect friendſhip between the ſaid parties now engaged in war, and thereby putting a ſtop to the fatal conſequences, which might otherwiſe enſue from theſe hoſtilities, have thought it fit and neceſſary, for the purpoſes aforeſaid, and for the welfare of Europe in gene-

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my lord Stanhope, you and me, when we were together at lord Stanhope's lodgings, there remains nothing for me but to wiſh you a good voyage, and good ſucceſs in your undertakings. I do it very heartily, and am with great truth,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient

Humble ſervant,

J. CRAGGS.

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ral, to ſend a ſtrong fleet of our ſhips of war into the Mediterranean under your command.

II. You are therefore, upon the receipt of theſe our inſtructions, forthwith to proceed to the Mediterranean with our ſaid fleet; and, being arrived in the Streights, you ſhall immediately give notice to the Catholic king, by our miniſter reſiding at his court, of your arrival in thoſe ſeas, and that you are inſtructed, in our name, to promote all meaſures, that may beſt contribute to the compoſing the differences, that are ariſen between him and the emperor.

III. You ſhall from thence, without loſs of time, wind and weather permitting, proceed to Port-Mahon; and, being arrived there, you ſhall by expreſſes give advice of the ſame to the viceroy of the kingdom of Naples, and to the governor of the duchy of Milan, and let them know the purport of your inſtructions, that you are come with our fleet into thoſe parts, to make good our treaties with the emperor, and to hinder the further violation of the ſame by the arms of the Catholic king: And to that end you will hold a correſpondence with the ſaid viceroy and governor during your ſtay in the Mediterranean, and let them know, that you are to take meaſures in concert with them, for preventing any further breach of the neutrality of Italy, which by our treaty we are obliged to ſee preſerved: And, as you may probably at Port-Mahon get the beſt intelligence of the preparations and proceedings both of the imperialiſts and the Spaniards, you will accordingly take ſuch ſtations with our fleet under your command, as may be moſt proper to obſtruct any new hoſtilities, and to put theſe our inſtructions in execution.

IV. And as a ſuſpenſion of arms, and a forbearance of all acts of hoſtility on each ſide, in thoſe parts, is abſolutely neceſſary for the ſetting on foot and concluding the proper negotiations of peace, you are accordingly to make inſtances with both parties to ceaſe from uſing any further acts of hoſtility. But, in caſe the Spaniards do ſtill inſiſt, with their ſhips of war and forces, to attack the kingdom of Naples, or other the territories of the emperor in Italy, or to land in any part of Italy, which can only be with a deſign to invade the emperor's dominions, againſt whom only they have declared war, by invading Sardinia; or, if they ſhould endeavour to make themſelves maſters of the kingdom of Sicily, which muſt be with a deſign to invade the kingdom of Naples; in ſuch caſe you are, with all your power, to hinder and obſtruct the ſame. But if it ſhould ſo happen, that at your arrival, with our fleet under your command, in the Mediterranean,

nean, the Spaniards ſhould already have landed any troops in Italy, in order to invade the emperor's territories, you ſhall endeavour amicably to diſſuade them from perſevering in ſuch an attempt, and offer them your aſſiſtance to help them to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all further acts of hoſtility. But, in caſe theſe your friendly endeavours ſhould prove ineffectual, you ſhall, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ſhips or convoy, or, if it be neceſſary, by openly oppoſing them, defend the emperor's territories from any further attempt. Geo. I. 1718.

V. And whereas we have thought it for our ſervice, to ſend four battalions of our forces on board our fleet under your command, upon your arrival at our town of Port-Mahon, you are to put the ſaid four battalions on ſhore there, to relieve the garriſons in our iſland of Minorca; and you are to take the ſaid garriſons on board your ſhips of war, in order to employ the ſame in ſuch a manner, and according to ſuch inſtructions, as you ſhall receive from us.

VI. And whereas we have thought fit to recall our truſty and well-beloved Charles Cornwall, Eſq; whom we had appointed our plenipotentiary for concluding a peace with the Moors, and have impowered you to renew that negotiation, you are therefore to diſpoſe of the ſhips now under the command of the ſaid vice-admiral Cornwall, and employ the whole ſquadron, or any part thereof, in the manner you ſhall judge moſt proper for promoting the ſeveral reſpective ſervices, wherein you are employed in the Mediterranean.

The admiral ſailed the 4th of June from Spithead with twenty ſhips of the line, two fire-ſhips, two bomb-veſſels, an hoſpital-ſhip, and a ſtore-ſhip. Being got into the ocean, he ſent the Rupert to Liſbon for intelligence, and, arriving on the 30th, N. S. off Cape St. Vincent, he diſpatched the Superbe to Cadiz with Mr. Allix his ſecretary, who carried a letter from him to colonel Stanhope (the preſent earl of Harrington) the king's envoy at Madrid, wherein he deſired that miniſter to acquaint the king of Spain with his arrival in thoſe parts, in his way to the Mediterranean, and to lay before him the inſtructions he was to act under with his ſquadron, of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter. The envoy ſhewed the letter to cardinal Alberoni, who, upon reading it, told him with ſome warmth, 'That his maſter would run all hazards, and even ſuffer himſelf to be driven out of Spain, rather than recall his troops, or conſent to any ſuſpenſion of arms:' adding, 'That the Spaniards were

He ſails from Spithead. June 4.

Geo. I. 1718. were not to be frightened; and he was ſo well convinced of their fleet's doing their duty, that, if their admiral ſhould think fit to attack them, he ſhould be in no pain for the ſucceſs.' Mr. Stanhope having in his hand a liſt of the Britiſh ſquadron, deſired his eminence to peruſe it, and to compare its ſtrength with that of their own ſquadron; which the cardinal took, and threw on the ground with much paſſion. Mr. Stanhope, with great temper, deſired him, 'to conſider the ſincere attention, which the king his maſter had always had to the honour and intereſt of his Catholic majeſty, which it was impoſſible for him to give greater proofs of, than he had done by his unwearied endeavours, through the whole courſe of the preſent negotiations, to procure the moſt advantageous conditions poſſible for Spain, in which he had ſucceeded even beyond what any unprejudiced perſon could have hoped for; and that, though by the treaty of Utrecht for the neutrality of Italy, which was entered into at the requeſt of the king of Spain himſelf; as alſo by that of Weſtminſter the 25th of May, 1716, his majeſty found himſelf obliged to defend the emperor's dominions, when attacked; he had hitherto only acted as a mediator, though, ever ſince the enterprive againſt Sardinia, by his treaties he became a party in the war, and for this year laſt paſt had been ſtrongly called upon by the emperor to comply with theſe engagements; and that even now, when it was impoſſible for him to delay any longer the ſending his fleet into the Mediterranean, it plainly appeared by the admiral's inſtructions, which he communicated to his eminence, and by the orders he had himſelf received, that his majeſty had nothing more at heart, than that his fleet might be employed in promoting the intereſts of the king of Spain; and hoped, his Catholic majeſty would not, by refuſing to recall his troops, or conſent to a ceſſation of arms, put it out of his power to give all the proofs of the ſincere friendſhip he always deſired to cultivate with his Catholic majeſty.' All that the cardinal could be brought to promiſe, was to lay the admiral's letter before the king; and to let the envoy know his reſolution upon it in two days: But it was nine days before he could obtain and ſend it away, the cardinal probably hoping, that the admiral would delay, in expectation of it, in ſome of the ports of Spain, and thereby give time for their fleet and forces to ſecure a good footing in Sicily. The anſwer was, wrote under the admiral's letter, in theſe words; 'His Catholic majeſty has done me the honour to tell me, that the Chevalier Byng may execute

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the orders, which he has from the king his maſter. Eſcurial, 15 July, 1718. Geo. I. 1718.

The cardinal Alberoni.

Mr. Stanhope, ſeeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehenſions to the Engliſh conſuls and merchants, ſettled in the Spaniſh ſea-port towns, adviſing them to guard and ſecure their effects againſt any danger of a breach between the two crowns.

The admiral purſuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the 8th of July, N. S. before he made Cape Spartel, where the Superbe and Rupert rejoined him, and brought him advices of the mighty preparations which the Spaniards had made at Barcelona, and of their fleet ſailing from thence the 18th of June, N. S. to the eaſtward. In paſſing by Gibraltar, vice-admiral Cornwall came out and joined him, with the Argyle and Charles galley. The ſquadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off Cape Malaga, where having compleated their watering in four days, they proceeded to Minorca, where the admiral was to land four regiments of foot, which he carried out from England, in order to relieve the ſoldiers there in garriſon, who were to imbark, and ſerve in the ſquadron. On the 23d of July, N. S. he anchored with the ſquadron off Port-Mahon. Here he received advice, that the Spaniſh fleet had been ſeen, the 30th of June, within forty leagues of Naples, ſteering ſouth-eaſt. Upon which he diſpatched away expreſſes to the gover of Milan, and viceroy of Naples, to inform them of his arrival in the Mediterranean; and, having ſhifted the garriſons of Minorca, he ſailed from thence the 25th of July, N. S. and arrived the 1ſt of Auguſt in the bay of Naples.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the joy of thoſe people, at the long-wiſhed for ſight of a fleet, which alone could aſſure their ſafety. They had been under the greateſt terrors, expecting that the prodigious armanent of Spain would have fallen upon that kingdom. And, though their fears were relieved for the preſent by the deſcent of the Spaniards into Sicily, yet the rapidity, with which they had over-run the greateſt part of that iſland, and a reaſonable ſuſpicion, that the duke of Savoy would not much expoſe his troops to defend the remainder of a country, which, by the terms of the Quadruple Alliance, was to be taken from him, and given to a potentate, whoſe power in Italy he dreaded, made them look for the enemy ſoon

Geo. I. in Naples, where the ſtrong party that had appeared among
1718. the Sicilian nobility for Spain, made them apprehend, that
no leſs a faction would riſe in their favour, upon their inva-
ding that kingdom, where the Germans had but twelve
(ſome ſay eight) thouſand men, and the whole country was
ill provided for defence. The common people indeed were
generally in the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, which was
greatly owing to the prudent government of the marſhal
count Daun, their viceroy, a man endowed with all the qua-
lities fit for that high employment, and the ſame perſon, who
had defended Turin ſo well, when it was beſieged by the
duke of Orleans in 1706, till it was relieved by the duke of
Savoy and prince Eugene. He was of a courteous and af-
fable diſpoſition, but exact and ſteady in the adminiſtration
of juſtice; by which means he had ſuppreſſed the banditti,
who uſed to infeſt the country; and had put a ſtop to the
murders, that were ſo frequent in the city, not ſuffering the
churches to exerciſe their infamous claim of ſanctuary for
ſuch flagitious crimes. He did not indeed affect that ſhew
of grandeur, which the Italians are fond of; but, as his
frugal manner of living freed him from the neceſſity of op-
preſſing them, ſo there was never any complaint of that kind
againſt him. He was very zealous for the intereſts of his
maſter, which he promoted by juſt and wiſe meaſures; and
a certain conformity of manners, wherein he and the admi-
ral reſembled each other, begat ſuch a quick confidence and
friendſhip between them, as helped to carry on the ſervice
of the common cauſe with unuſual harmony and diſpatch.

The fleet ſailing with a gentle gale into the bay of Naples,
conſiſting of twenty-one ſail of the line of battle, moſt of
them great ſhips, and three of them bearing flags, afforded
ſuch a ſpectacle, as had never been ſeen in thoſe parts be-
fore. The whole city was in a tumult of joy and exultation.
The ſhore was crowded with multitudes of coaches and peo-
ple; and ſuch an infinite number of boats came off, ſome
with proviſions and refreſhments, others out of curioſity and
admiration, that the ſea between the fleet at anchor and the
ſhore was literally covered. The viceroy being incommod-
ded with the gout, ſent colonel count Hamilton to make
his compliments to the admiral, and to let him know the
feeble condition he was in; but that, nevertheleſs, he in-
tended to come off, and make him a viſit. The admiral re-
turned the civility by his firſt captain, who, waiting on the
viceroy, told him, the admiral was ſenſible of the honour he
intended him; but deſired he would not give himſelf the

trouble

trouble, eſpecially as he was ill; and that he would immediately wait on his excellency. The admiral going aſhore, attended by the flag-officers and captains in their boats, was ſaluted, at his landing, by all the cannon round the city and caſtles, and was carried to the duke de Matalone's palace, which had been prepared for his reception during his ſtay at Naples. From thence he was conducted to court through an infinite throng of people, with the greateſt acclamations of joy, and all the honours and ceremonies paid to a vice-roy; where entering into conference with count Daun, he learnt, that the Spaniſh army, conſiſting of about thirty thouſand men, commanded by the marquiſs de Lede, had landed the ſecond of July, N. S. in Sicily, and had ſoon made themſelves maſters of the city and caſtles of Palermo, and of great part of the iſland; that they had taken the town of Meſſina, and were then carrying on the ſiege of the citadel; that the viceroy did not know, how far the Piedmonteſe garriſon was to be depended on; but that they muſt ſoon be obliged to ſurrender, if not relieved. That the laſt letters he had received from Vienna gave hopes, that the king of Sicily might be entered, by this time, into a particular alliance with the emperor, having deſired the aſſiſtance of his troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel. The next morning the viceroy viſited the admiral, and, renewing their conference on the meaſures to be taken in that conjuncture of affairs, it was agreed, that the viceroy ſhould ſend general Wetzel with two thouſand German foot in tartans to Meſſina, to relieve the citadel and fort St. Salvador; and, as the admiral was directed by his orders to obſtruct any attempts of the Spaniards on Sicily, he conſented to take thoſe troops under his protection; and, accordingly, the tranſports being got ready, he ſailed with them the 6th of Auguſt, N. S. from Naples, and arrived the 9th in view of the Faro of Meſſina.

Here the admiral pauſed. He ſaw with concern a new war rekindled in Europe by the ambition of Spain: He weighed with deep conſideration the conſequences of his inſtructions, which made a rupture with that nation unavoidable, if they perſiſted in their enterprize on Sicily; and being ardently deſirous of trying every method of negotiation, before he proceeded to the extremity of his orders, he diſpatched captain Saunders, his firſt captain, to Meſſina, with a letter to the marquiſs de Lede, acquainting him, That the king, his maſter, being engaged by ſeveral treaties, to preſerve the tranquility of Italy, had honoured him with the

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Geo. I. 1718. command of a ſquadron of ſhips, which he had ſent into thoſe ſeas; and that he came fully impowered and inſtructed to promote ſuch meaſures as might beſt accommodate all differences between the powers concerned. That his majeſty was employing his utmoſt endeavours to bring about a general pacification, and was not without hopes of ſucceſs. He therefore propoſed to him to come to a ceſſation of arms in Sicily for two months, in order to give time to the ſeveral courts to conclude on ſuch reſolutions, as might reſtore a laſting peace.' But he added, 'That, if he was not ſo happy to ſucceed in this offer of ſervice, nor to be inſtrumental in bringing about ſo deſirable a work, he ſhould then hope to merit his excellency's eſteem in the execution of the other part of his orders, which were, to uſe all his force to prevent farther attempts to diſturb the dominions his maſter ſtood engaged to defend.' The next morning the captain returned with the general's anſwer, 'That it would be an inexpreſſible joy for his perſon to contribute to ſo laudable an end as peace; but, as he had no powers to treat, he could not of conſequence agree to any ſuſpenſion of arms, even at the expence of what the courage of his maſter's arms might be put to; but ſhould follow his orders, which directed him to ſeize on Sicily for his maſter the king of Spain.' That he had a true ſenſe of his accompliſhed expreſſions; but his maſter's forces would always be univerſally eſteemed in ſacrificing themſelves for the preſervation of their credit, in which caſes the ſucceſs did not always anſwer the ideas that were formed.

The Spaniſh fleet defeated by admiral Byng. Hiſt. Reg. Corbet.

The admiral had received intelligence, that the Spaniſh fleet departed from Paradiſe (which is a road at the entrance of the harbour of Meſſina) the day before his arrival off the Faro, which made him conclude, that they were retired to Malta; and therefore, upon receiving the marquiſs de Lede's anſwer, he immediately ſailed, with intention to come with his ſquadron before Meſſina, in order to encourage and ſupport the garriſon in the citadel; but, as he ſtood in about the point of the Faro towards Meſſina, he ſaw two of the Spaniſh ſcouts in the Faro; and being informed at the ſame time by a felucca, which came off from the Calabrian ſhore, that they ſaw from the hills the Spaniſh fleet lying by, the admiral altered his deſign, and ſending away general Wetzel with the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war, he ſtood, through the Faro with his ſquadron, with all the ſail he could, after their ſcouts, imagining they would lead him to their fleet, which accordingly they did; for

for before noon he had a ſight of their whole fleet lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſail of men of war, ſmall and great, beſides two fire-ſhips, four bomb-veſſels, ſeven gallies, and ſeveral ſhips laden with ſtores and proviſions, commanded by the admiral Don Antonio de Caſtaneta, and under him four rear-admirals, Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock. On the ſight of the Engliſh ſquadron, they ſtood away large, but in order of battle. The admiral followed them all the reſt of that day, and the ſucceeding night, with ſmall gales north-eaſterly, and ſometimes calm, with fair weather. The next morning early, the 11th of Auguſt, N. S. the Engliſh being got pretty near up with them, the marquiſs de Mari, rear-admiral, with ſix Spaniſh men of war, and all the gallies, fire-ſhips, bomb-veſſels, and ſtore-ſhips, ſeparated from their main fleet, and ſtood in for the Sicilian ſhore; upon which admiral Byng detached captain Walton, in the Canterbury, with five more ſhips after them; and, the Argyle and Canterbury getting within gun-ſhot of the headmoſt ſhip, about ſix in the morning, the Argyle fired a ſhot to bring her to; which ſhe not minding, the Argyle fired another, and the Canterbury, being ſomewhat nearer, fired another; upon which the Spaniſh ſhip fired her ſtern-chace at the Canterbury; and then the engagement began. The admiral purſuing the main body of the Spaniſh fleet, the Orford, captain Falkingham, and the Grafton, captain Haddock, came up firſt with them about ten o'clock, at whom the Spaniards fired their ſtern-chace guns. The admiral ſent orders to thoſe two ſhips not to fire, unleſs the Spaniards repeated their firing; which they doing, the Orford attacked the Santa Roſa of ſixty-four guns, and took her. The St. Carlos of ſixty guns ſtruck next, without much oppoſition, to the Kent, captain Matthews. The Grafton attacked warmly the Prince of Aſturias of ſeventy guns, formerly called the Cumberland, in which was rear-admiral Chacon; but the Bredah, captain Barrow-Harris, and the Captain, captain Archibald Hamilton, coming up, Haddock left that ſhip much ſhattered for them to take, and ſtretched a-head after another ſhip of ſixty guns, which had kept firing on his ſtar-board bow, during his engagement with the Prince of Aſturias. About one o'clock the Kent, and ſoon after the Superbe, captain Maſter, came up with, and engaged the Spaniſh admiral of ſeventy-four guns, who, with two ſhips more, fired on them, and made a running fight till about three; and then the Kent bearing down upon him, and under

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(a) Captain Walton was one, whoſe natural talents were fitter for atchieving a gallant action, than deſcribing one; yet his letter on this occaſion, carries in it ſuch a ſtrain of military eloquence, that it is worth inſerting here:

SIR,

"We have taken, and deſtroyed all the Spaniſh ſhips, and veſſels, which were upon the coaſt, the number as per margin."

I am, &c.

Canterbury, off Syracuſe, Aug. 16, 1718.

G. WALTON.

The

The admiral, having thus received a full account of the whole tranſaction, diſpatched away his eldeſt ſon, Mr. Byng, to England; who, arriving at Hampton-Court in fifteen days from Naples, brought the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported, and upon which the king had already written a letter to the admiral with his own hand (b). Mr. Byng met with a moſt gracious reception from the king, who made him a handſome preſent; and ſent him back with plenipotentiary powers to his father to negotiate with the ſeveral princes and ſtates of Italy, as there ſhould be occaſion, and with his royal grant to the officers and ſeamen of all the prizes taken by them from the Spaniards. Geo. I. 1718. The admiral's proceedings after the battle.

The conduct of the Spaniards in the action of Paſſaro, did not anſwer the vigour of the reſolutions they had taken before it. Upon notice of the approach of the Engliſh ſquadron, they held a conſultation, in which the queſtion was not, Whether they ſhould fight or retreat, but in what ſtation they ſhould expect them? Whether go out from Meſſina to meet them, or paſs through the Faro to the ſouthward, and, lying by in order of battle, receive them there? Which latter opinion prevailed. But, when the admiral came up near to them, they ſoon abandoned their order of battle, and falling into confuſion and uncertainty, whether to reſiſt or fly, by doing neither they became an eaſy prey, and the Engliſh might be rather ſaid to have made a ſeizure, than to have gained a victory. There was indeed ſome diſproportion in the ſtrength of the two fleets; but the inequality was not ſuch, as deterred the Spaniards from a reſolution of fighting, though it was but ill ſupported afterwards in the execution. But this juſtice is due to the admiral Caſtaneta, and to rear- Remarks on the conduct of the Spaniards. Corbet.

(b) The letter was in French, and may thus be tranſlated:

Monſieur le chevalier Byng,

'Though I have not yet heard from you directly, I am informed of the victory which the fleet has gained under your command, and I was unwilling to delay the ſatisfaction that my approbation of your conduct might afford you. I thank you for it, and deſire you to expreſs my ſatisfaction to all the brave people who have ſignalized themſelves on this occaſion. Secretary Craggs has orders to inform you more at large of my intentions, but I was pleaſed to aſſure you myſelf that I am,

Monſieur le chevalier Byng,

Your good friend.

Hampton-Court, Aug. 23, 1718.

GEORGE R.

admiral

Geo. I. 1718. admiral Chacon, that they made as good a defence with their own ſhips, as could be expected, and the former was wounded in both legs. It was reported, that, at a conſultation of the Spaniſh admirals, rear-admiral Cammock gave his opinion, that they ſhould remain at anchor in the road of Paradiſe, ranging their ſhips in a line of battle, with their broadſides to the ſea; which meaſure would certainly have given the Engliſh admiral infinite trouble to attack them. For the coaſt is ſo bold, that the largeſt ſhips could ride with a cable aſhore; and further out, the currents are ſo various and rapid, that it would have been hardly practicable to get up to them, but impoſſible to anchor or lie by them in order of battle. Beſides, they lay ſo near the ſhore, and could have received ſuch aſſiſtance of ſoldiers from the army, to man and defend them; and the annoyance, which the Spaniards might have given from the ſeveral batteries they could have planted along the ſhore, would have been ſuch, that the only way of attacking the ſhips ſeemed to be by boarding and grappling with them at once, to prevent being caſt off by the currents, which would have been a hazardous undertaking, wherein the Spaniards would have had many advantages, and the Engliſh admiral have run the chance of deſtroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he ſucceeded, very dear (c).

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(c) Mr. Corbet, in his account of the expedition to Sicily, inſerts here the following digreſſion concerning the affairs of the Spaniards:

The counſels of Spain were, at this time, under the management of two Italians, the queen and the abbot Alberoni, whom ſhe had raiſed to the dignity of cardinal and prime miniſter. They had vaſt deſigns in their view, and by ſecret intrigues with the king of Sicily, and other Italian princes and ſtates, had laid no leſs a ſcheme, than to exterminate the houſe of Auſtria and the imperial power out of Italy. And it was thought to be owing to the doubts they had of the ſincerity of the king of Sicily, that the ſtorm fell firſt upon his dominions, which was intended elſewhere. The armament they fitted out was ſuitable to the greatneſs of the undertaking; never any nation ſent to ſea an army ſo numerous, ſo well appointed, and ſo provided with all neceſſaries for a diſtant expedition; the leaſt implement was not forgotten. All which was owing to the indefatigable care of don Joſeph Patinho, a man of great abilities, who went in the expedition, and had the abſolute direction and management of the whole enterprize, except the military command. The world was amazed to ſee Spain exerting a vigour, ſhe had not ſhewn for above a century paſt. Some of the principal priſoners, and Caſtaneta

Admiral Byng, having collected his ſhips after the action, put into Syracuſe, the 19th of Auguſt, N. S. where he found cap- Geo. I. 1718.

ſtaneta himſelf, aſſured the admiral, that they intended, the ſummer following, to have at ſea fifty ſail of the line of battle; which the great preparations in the ports of Biſcay, and other ports of Spain, made very probable. Thoſe in Biſcay, which were one man of war of ſeventy guns, and two of ſixty, newly built, with an incredible quantity of timber, pitch and tar, and other naval ſtores, for building more, were all deſtroyed by an Engliſh ſquadron, aſſiſted by a detachment which the duke of Berwick ſpared from his army, at the ſollicitation of colonel Stanhope the Engliſh miniſter, who contrived the deſign, and, ſerving as a voluntier in the enterprize, principally contributed to the execution of it.

It ſhould ſeem but ill policy in a court, intent on ſuch mighty deſigns, to provoke and irritate, without cauſe, a nation, the moſt capable in the world of thwarting and defeating them. And yet they ſeemed to make it a ſtudied point to vex and diſtreſs the Engliſh by all manner of ways in their commerce, inſomuch that their trade with Spain was almoſt ruined and loſt. They demanded arbitrary and heavy duties from the Engliſh factories reſiding in their ports, from which the treaties expreſsly exempted them; and, upon refuſal of payment, their houſes were ſurrounded by ſoldiers, their warehouſes and cheſts broke open, and their goods ſold at public outcry. The royal officers uſed them with ſuch injuſtice and inſolence, as if they knew, they made their court by doing ſo. Every poſt brought complaints to the Engliſh miniſter at Madrid, of new grievances and oppreſſions. The memorials delivered to that court for redreſs were numberleſs, without the leaſt regard had to them. When any tranſportation of troops was intended, they immediately embargoed all the Engliſh merchant-ſhips in their ports, compelling their maſters, with great circumſtances of ſeverity, to enter into their ſervice, impriſoning them, in common goals, if they refuſed, and obliging them to unload their cargoes, though periſhable, and conſigned to other markets. They proceeded ſo far in their unjuſt treatment, that their cruizers brought into the ports of Spain whatever Engliſh merchant-ſhips they met with in the open ſea, though bound to Italy or other parts, and compelled them to unload their cargoes and enter into their ſervice. Such, as were not uſed by them for tranſports, had their ſeamen taken away to ſerve in their men of war. Rear-admiral Cammock preſſed no leſs than ſixty for his own ſhip, and one of the maſters, endeavouring to keep his men, had both his ears cut off. The battle of Paſſaro was fortunate to thoſe poor people, for, when the iſſue of it was known, forty-five Engliſh tranſports made their eſcape from Meſſina to Reggio, ſeveral of them

Geo. I. 1718. captain Walton and his prizes. Syracuſe was at that time blockcd up by a detachment of the Spaniſh army, into which city count Maffei, the duke of Savoy's viceroy, had retreated with difficulty from Palermo, and had in the place a numerous garriſon. But the firſt and principal point of the Spaniſh general was to get Meſſina into his hands, as the ſafeſt port for their fleet, and the moſt proper place to facilitate and ſecure the conqueſt of the reſt of the iſland, and from whence they deſigned to tranſport their numerous horſe, and the greateſt part of their foot, over to Calabria, and to have carried the war into the kingdom of Naples. The citadel of Meſſina was defended by a Piedmonteſe garriſon, commanded by the marquiſs d'Andorno; but the duke of Savoy, being unable to ſupport the ſiege, had ſollicited the emperor for his aſſiſtance, and a convention was made between the viceroy of Naples and the count de Bourge, reſident of Savoy, whereby the viceroy was to ſend a detachment of German troops, to be admitted into the citadel on joint and equal terms of command; for which ſervice baron Wetzel was diſpatched away with two thouſand foot, as has been before related. But the ſucceſs of the Engliſh fleet had raiſed ſuch a confidence in the garriſon, of their ſecurity againſt any attempts from the Spaniards, that the reſident endeavoured to elude an agreement, the neceſſity of which he thought no longer ſubſiſted, pretending want of power to make ſuch a conceſſion without an equivalent, but that he would write to his court for further orders. This coming to admiral Byng's knowledge, he repreſented in ſtrong terms to count Maffei, the unfairneſs of ſuch a proceeding, and how contrary it was to what he himſelf had agreed to, in their conference together the day before, upon that ſubject. That ſuch a diſagreement, at a time when the citadel was ſo vigorouſly attacked by the enemy, might be a means of their taking it, which the reputation of the Engliſh fleet would not ſuffer him to be an idle ſpectator of; and therefore, if he was reſolved to ſtay till he had inſtructions from the court of Turin, he ſhould likewiſe ſend to his court for farther orders; and, in the mean time, would retire from the iſland to ſome other place, to refreſh his men,

them laden with military ſtores red to go; but ſome choſe to and proviſions; and, their ma- ſtay, and enter into the empe- ſters applying to the admiral, he ror's ſervice, to tranſport his granted them a convoy to the troops from Genoa and Naples ports in Italy, where they deſi- to Sicily.

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and refit his ships, till he should receive new directions from England. This had such an effect upon the viceroy, that he gave immediate orders for putting the agreement in execution, and for admitting the German troops into the citadel. This point being adjusted, the admiral (having sent away vice-admiral Cornwall, with such of his ships as wanted refitting, and all the prizes, to Port-Mahon, with orders not to suffer the least embezzlement to be made, but to preserve every thing entire, till the king's pleasure should be known) sailed himself, on the 23d of August, N. S. from Syracuse, and arrived, the 26th, at Reggio, where general Wetzel informing him, that he hourly expected a reinforcement of four thousand men from Naples, which, with those he had with him, and the garrison in the citadel, would make about nine thousand men, and, upon their arrival, he should form a project for raising the siege of the citadel, if the admiral would stay to countenance and protect him with his fleet; he readily consented, knowing the extreme importance of not letting Messina fall into the hands of the enemy, and being directed by fresh orders from England to do all he could to prevent it. But, those forces proving insufficient for the execution of the intended project, the general contented himself with supplying the citadel from time to time with fresh troops from Reggio; notwithstanding which, the Spaniards pushed on the siege with so much vigour and success, that the governor surrendered the citadel by capitulation, on the 29th of September, N. S. to the great surprize and dissatisfaction of the Germans. The Piedmontese part of the garrison was transported by sea to Syracuse, and the Germans to Reggio.

Geo. I. 1718.

Admiral Byng receiving advice, that rear-admiral Cammock with three Spanish men of war, and as many frigates, which had escaped from the battle, was at Malta, and that a rich English merchant-ship, homeward bound from Turkey, was detained in the port, and in some danger; as likewise five Sicilian gallies, which had taken refuge there ever since the arrival of the Spanish fleet in Sicily; he stood over to that island, where he learnt, that rear-admiral Cammock had sailed from thence five days before with four ships, which he had cleaned there. The marquis de Rivaroles, general of the Sicilian gallies, coming off to the admiral, made great complaints of the partiality and ill usage of that government, in suffering him to be exposed to daily affronts from the Spaniards, and prayed his protection and assistance to get away from thence; upon which the admiral sent his first captain

with

Geo. I. 1718. with his compliments to the grand maſter, and deſired, that thoſe gallies might have free liberty to come out to him. The grand maſter ſent off three great croſſes of the order to the admiral, and, with much politeneſs, gave him all the aſſurances poſſible of freedom for the gallies to do what they pleaſed; upon which the admiral ſent word to the marquiſs to come out. But he returning an anſwer, that the Spaniſh ſhips had laid themſelves in the way to ſtop his paſſage, and threatened to ſink him, if he offered to ſtir, the admiral ſent to the grand maſter a ſecond meſſage, that if he ſuffered the neutrality of the ports to be violated, or any ill treatment to be given to the gallies, he ſhould take the meaſures, that would be neceſſary on that occaſion; but the grand maſter proteſting, that no violence ſhould be uſed, and that he would be anſwerable for it, the admiral ſent again to the marquiſs to come out, aſſuring him, that, if the Spaniards offered the leaſt obſtruction, he would aſſiſt him to deſtroy them in the very port. But, the marquis continuing under great perplexity and terror, the admiral, tired with his delay, ſent him word, that he was well ſatisfied of the honour of the grand maſter in preſerving the privilege of the port; and therefore, if he would not make uſe of the preſent opportunity, he ſhould ſuſpect, that his fears were affected, and uſed only as an artifice to ſtay there, and would give himſelf no farther trouble about him; and accordingly weighed, in order to depart; but this meſſage wrought ſo much upon the marquiſs, that he immediately haſtened out with his gallies, without any obſtruction from the Spaniards; but they were in ſo miſerable a condition, that the admiral was forced to lend them ſeamen and pilots to navigate them, and caulkers to ſtop their leaks. The Turkey ſhip came out likewiſe, and joined the admiral, who ſent the gallies under a convoy to Syracuſa; and, having ſeen the Turkey merchantſhip clear of danger, he arrived the 2d of November, N. S. in the bay of Naples, from whence he ſent rear-admiral Delaval, with two eighty-gun ſhips and a fire-ſhip, home to England. Here the count de Luzan, ſon-in-law to the marquiſs de Rialp, ſecretary of ſtate at Vienna, brought the admiral a gracious letter from the emperor, written with his own hand, and his picture ſet round with large brilliant diamonds.

The taking of Meſſina was a point of great conſequence, as it made the Spaniards maſters of all Sicily, except Syracuſa, Trapani, and Melazzo (where the duke of Savoy had ſtill garriſons) and as it deprived the Engliſh fleet of a port

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to winter in, there being no other good harbour in thoſe parts. The emperor ſaw before him a difficult taſk, to get poſſeſſion of an iſland, which the quadruple alliance had deſigned for him. The duke of Savoy had only the three aforementioned towns to deliver up, which he ſcrupled doing without the promiſed equivalent; and the emperor had it not to give him: But, though the emperor had gotten theſe places, the recovery of the reſt of the iſland was to be a work of conqueſt. The Spaniards had an army well appointed, well paid, and the affections of the people on their ſide. They would have little feared the enterprizes of the Germans, if the ſea had been neutral between them. Geo. I. 1718.

The duke of Savoy finding himſelf under circumſtances of difficulty, the Spaniards, on the one hand, taking moſt of his towns in Sicily from him, and the emperor, on the other, by virtue of the quadruple alliance, demanding his evacuation of the reſt, whilſt the iſland of Sardinia, allotted to him by the ſame treaty, remained in the hands of the enemy; and having jealouſy, that, when the imperialiſts had obtained their iſland, he ſhould be left to get the other as he could, and deſiring to have ſome reaſonable ſecurity for the one, before he parted with his intereſt in the other, a convention was made between thoſe princes at Vienna (monſieur de St. Saphorin, the king's miniſter, aſſiſting) dated the 29th of December, 1718, whereby it was agreed to form an army for an expedition to Sardinia as ſoon as poſſible, towards which the emperor was to furniſh ſix thouſand five hundred foot, and ſix hundred horſe, at his own expence, and the duke of Savoy was entirely to evacuate Sicily, and join five thouſand men of his troops from that iſland to act with the imperialiſts on that ſervice; and in the mean time, till they could be tranſported from Sicily, they were to co-operate with the Germans againſt the common enemy: This treaty of convention was ſent to Naples for the viceroy, the duke of Savoy's miniſter, and admiral Byng, to conſult together of the beſt means to put it in execution. The buſineſs hung long perplexed with difficulties on the part of the miniſter of Savoy, from a jealouſy and diſtruſt of the Germans; but the admiral interpoſing, and removing by degrees all ſcruples, an agreement was at laſt concluded and ſigned between them, upon which the miniſter of Savoy delivered to the viceroy his maſter's orders to count Maffei to evacuate the towns in his poſſeſſion to the imperialiſts. But the expedition againſt Sardinia did not go on, as will be ſhewn hereafter.

Geo. I. 1718. The winter being now ſet in, the viceroy and admiral Byng held frequent conſultations together, about the farther operations againſt the enemy. It was judged abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the poſt of Melazzo, which had been long blockaded, and was now beſieged by the Spaniſh army; both ſides making this their principal point during the winter, the one holding their footing in the iſland by means of this place; the other, by taking it, to ſhut them out. All the troops from Reggio, and ſome horſe from Naples, being got into the town, under the command of the generals Caraffa and Veterani, it was reſolved, in a council of war held the 14th of October, to ſally out upon the enemy. Accordingly, the next morning by break of day, they marched out in two columns, the firſt conſiſting of ſix, and the other of five battalions, and attacked the Spaniſh intrenchments, which they carried, after an engagement of four hours, and got poſſeſſion of their camp in the center and on the left, with three pieces of cannon. But, the ſoldiers falling to plunder, the Spaniards rallied on their right; and the marquis de Lede coming up at the ſame time with freſh troops from Meſſina, who had lain ſhort the night before, they attacked the Germans in their turns, and drove them back into their camp, under the walls of the town, whoſe artillery protected their retreat, and prevented a greater ſlaughter. In the action, about twelve hundred men were killed and wounded on each ſide, and general Veterani was taken.

Melazzo is an ill fortified town, on the north ſide of the iſland of Sicily, not far diſtant from the Faro, ſtanding on a neck of land, which runs out into the ſea like an iſthmus. Caraffa being recalled to Naples, baron Zumjungen arrived at Melazzo the 27th of November, N. S. to command the forces; and being followed by the generals Wachtendonck and Seckendorf, with large ſupplies of troops from Italy, and the place being too ſtrait to contain them, they carried their intrenchments out of the town, within leſs than piſtol-ſhot of thoſe of the Spaniards; ſo that, neither ſide being able to advance farther, both lay all the winter in an unwholeſome ſituation, it being low bad ground, and the trenches filled with water in rainy, and by the ſea in blowing weather; ſo that great numbers of men periſhed on both ſides. The Germans had no proviſions but what came from time to time in ſmall imbarkations from Calabria, and other ports of Naples. Rear-admiral Cammock, who was got with his ſquadron into Meſſina, and the inhabitants of the iſland of Lipari, who are eſteemed

eſteemed bold mariners, and have many armed veſſels, lay in the way of intercepting thoſe ſupplies; and the leaſt diſappointment muſt have ſtarved the garriſon, for their conſumption was very great, and they had no magazines. It was very hard ſervice, unknown and aſtoniſhing to the pilots of that country, to employ ſhips cruizing in thoſe dangerous ſeas, during the rigour of the winter. For, when the weſterly or northerly winds blow, there is ſo little ſea-room in that narrow ſtation, and the currents ſet in ſo ſtrong upon the Calabrian ſhore, accompanied with a vaſt rolling ſea, that it is extremely difficult for ſhips to work to windward, or indeed to hold their own, and avoid ſtanding on a lee-ſhore. The admiral had appointed a ſquadron, under the command of captain Walton, to cruize upon this ſtation, to hinder rear-admiral Cammock from coming out of the Faro, and to ſecure the paſſage of the veſſels with proviſions for the German camp. It chanced to prove ſuch tempeſtuous weather, that no proviſions had arrived in a month at Melazzo, and captain Walton was blown off from his ſtation, and had not been ſeen or heard of in ſix and twenty days. Rear-admiral Cammock took hold of this opportunity to get out of Meſſina, the moment the weather abated, and, appearing before Tropea with Engliſh colours, ſent a letter a-ſhore to the governor, under a fictitious name of one of the Engliſh captains, acquainting him, that he was come thither by admiral Byng's orders, to convoy the imbarkations with proviſions to Melazzo, and preſſed him to diſpatch them away, the place being in the utmoſt diſtreſs. Had this ſtratagem ſucceeded, it would have intirely ruined the emperor's affairs in Sicily; but the governor happening to be a wary man, and obſerving the letter to be written on Genoa paper, from that ſingle circumſtance conceived a ſuſpicion, which made him refuſe to ſend the imbarkations out to him. In the mean time, the admiral, being made ſenſible of the extremities the Germans were reduced to, had no other way left, than to fill four men of war (juſt arrived at Naples from Port-Mahon) with proviſions, directing their captains to attempt, at all hazards, to get to Melazzo, which three of them did with much difficulty and danger (the fourth being diſabled by bad weather) and came providentially to the relief of the garriſon, at a time they muſt otherwiſe have ſurrendered to the enemy, or periſhed by famine. A few days after, captain Walton recovered his ſtation, upon the ſight of whom, rear-admiral Cammock retired into Meſſina.

Geo. I. 1718.

Geo. I. 1718. Melazzo being reſcued from danger, and reinforced daily with freſh ſupplies of men and proviſions, the Spaniards, deſpairing to take the place, turned the ſiege into a blockade, and worked hard in fortifying their own intrenchments, in order to keep the Germans pent up in the town, and obſtruct the deſcent of the army expected in the ſpring.

The admiral having made a proper diſpoſition of ſhips in different ſtations round the iſland, to keep the ſea open to the Germans, and ſhut to the Spaniards, was preparing to depart with the reſt, that had ſuffered by bad weather, to refit at Port-Mahon, when the viceroy intreated him to aſſiſt at a conference to be held at the palace, where he met the general Caraffa, Wetzel, and the marquis de Fuencalada, general of the Neapolitan gallies. The viceroy opened it by acquainting them, 'That, a truce with the Turks being concluded, prince Eugene was ſending from Hungary a body of about ſix thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand foot, which, added to the troops in Melazzo, was thought a ſufficient number for the conqueſt of the iſland. That they would probably arrive at Naples in the beginning of March, and he ſhould be glad to know their ſentiments of the propereſt place for their landing in Sicily, and touched on ſeveral propoſitions about it, as at Syracuſa or Taormina, on the eaſt-ſide of the iſland, or at Patti on the north-ſide, not far weſtward from Melazzo.' General Caraffa objected to the landing at Syracuſa, 'as it would be a means of prolonging the war: That the place was too diſtant from Melazzo; and Auguſta and Catania lying in the way, the ſiege of thoſe places would coſt more time and men, than could be ſpared, beſides the garriſoning them afterwards. That their march from thence lay for the moſt part over barren mountains, amongſt a diſaffected people, where they ſhould find no ſubſiſtence but what they carried with them; and that paſſing afterwards through narrow defiles into the plain of Melazzo, where the enemy lay, was to attack them at too great a diſadvantage: And therefore he concluded for ſeeking the enemy as ſoon as poſſible, and for that end to land as near to them as might be.' General Wetzel, being next to ſpeak, preferred the landing at Syracuſa, 'as it would be a work of eaſe and ſafety, and done without interruption: That it would probably draw ſome of the enemy's force that way, and ſo relieve the troops in Melazzo: That it would expoſe the army too much to land in the neighbourhood of the enemy, who, ſeeing them approach from the ſea, would eaſily gueſs at the

place

place they deſigned to land, and, leaving a guard in their camp, march a ſufficient body of troops to oppoſe the deſcent, which was a difficult and tedious work in itſelf, eſpecially with regard to the debarking the horſe.' Caraffa aſking him, how long he thought the enemy might be marching to the landing-place, aftey they knew where it would be, and Wetzel allowing eight hours, Caraffa replied, the foot could be all landed in that time, and formed into proper order to receive the enemy, and the landing the horſe might be afterwards a work of leiſure. But Wetzel adhered to his opinion. The general of the gallies next, in a very long diſcourſe, 'excuſed himſelf from giving any opinion upon a ſubject that related to the land-ſervice, and, referring himſelf to what the two generals had ſaid before him, concluded, that great caution ought to be taken, which ever opinion ſhould be followed.' The admiral gathering from their diſcourſe, that part of the expected troops were to imbark at Fiume and Trieſte, and to come round by ſea to Reggio, and probably paſs on through the Faro, to Naples, told them, 'That land-forces ſhould be truſted to the ſea as little as poſſible, eſpecially in the early and uncertain ſeaſon: That, if they landed at Manfredonia on the Atlantic ſide, the traject would be ſhort, and their march more certain to their rendezvous at Naples.' He then went on to deliver his opinion, 'That the troops they expected were not ſufficient to recover the iſland from the enemy. That it was a great error to hold the Spaniards in contempt, whoſe behaviour hitherto in Sicily had given no reaſon for it. That they were become uſed to arms and hardſhips, and the Germans would find them like other men. That, according to a calculation he had made, when thoſe troops ſhould be joined to the forces in Melazzo, they would not be able, after leaving the neceſſary garriſons in the towns, which the duke of Savoy was to deliver up, to bring into the field a greater number than what the Spaniſh army was reported to be; and that, without a conſiderable ſuperiority, little ſucceſs was to be expected in a country, where the ill-will of the people towards them, and their inclination to the Spaniards, were ſo very evident, that they were to hope for no aſſiſtance, but expect every diſtreſs from them.' He added, 'That they were not to look upon the enemy as a mouldering army, for, notwithſtanding the care of his cruiſers, they received frequent recruits from Spain and Sardinia, and even from Italy, in open veſſels and boats, which was not always in his power to prevent. And beſides, the marquis de Lede had lately raiſed

Geo. I. 1718.

Geo. I. 1718. four regiments of foot, and one of horſe, in the iſland itſelf. The viceroy acknowledged the force of the admiral's reaſoning, but lamented the diſtance of the court of Vienna, which hindered them from ſeeing into, and conſidering enough theſe difficulties, and who purſued only one maxim, that, if they ſent men, they ought to conquer. The admiral propoſed, that an officer ſhould be ſent to Vienna, to repreſent the poſture of affairs to that court in a better light than they ſeemed to view them in, and to bring back their final reſolutions concerning the operations of the war; and count Hamilton was pitched upon for that purpoſe.

The conference being ended, the admiral took his leave of the viceroy, and ſet ſail the 3d of February for Port Mahon, to refit his ſhips, and put them in a condition to go on early with the operations of the campaign, leaving his eldeſt ſon at Naples to manage his correſpondence with the viceroy, and to inform the court of England of all occurrences in thoſe parts.

Complaints of Spain. The defeat of the Spaniſh fleet made a great noiſe, and England was upbraided with it as inconſiſtent with the rules of good faith, for the obſervance of which ſhe had always been ſo famous.

Cardinal Alberoni, in his letter to the marquis de Monteleone at London, called it an Unworthy Action. 'His majeſty (ſays the cardinal) approves of the juſtneſs of your expreſſions (a), to expoſe the breach of faith of that miniſtry, in

(a) Soon after the news of the action in the Mediterranean, the marquis de Monteleone wrote a letter to Mr. ſecretary Craggs, to which the cardinal here refers. The letter begins thus:

SIR,

'The news that is ſpread in the world of admiral Byng's having attacked the Spaniſh fleet, and obtained conſiderable advantages over them, obliges me naturally not to act in any affair, till I receive orders and inſtructions from the king my maſter, concerning an action ſo ſurpriſing and unexpected, and that even ſeems to agree but very little with the declarations made to the court of Madrid by the ſaid admiral; ſince they gave to underſtand, that the Engliſh fleet would proceed no farther than as a guarantee to defend the dominions of the archduke, in caſe they were invaded.

'Nevertheleſs, as I cannot doubt in the leaſt but that your excellency makes ſerious reflections on the juſt reſentments which the king my maſter, and all the Spaniards, muſt needs

in relation to the over-haſty proceedings of admiral Byng, when nothing was pretended to but a mediation, to facilitate the Geo. I. 1718.

needs have, to ſee themſelves thus aſſaulted and abuſed, with ſo much animoſity, by a nation to whom they have ſhewn the moſt favour, and ſee them act contrary to reaſon, politics, and even againſt their own intereſt, to increaſe the exorbitant power of the Germans in Italy. I can only diſpenſe with my not acquainting your excellency with the good and generous intentions of the king my maſter, that were communicated to me by his letters of the 20th of Auguſt, N. S. as alſo the orders he gave concerning the arrival of the fleet of Mexico at Cadiz, which in ſilver and other effects is valued at nine millions of crowns.

His majeſty informs me, that notwithſtanding admiral Byng's declaration, and the intimation that has been given him of the articles lately ſigned, whereof I ſend a copy to your excellency, and that although the ſaid declaration and articles rather denote an obvious deſign of making war, than that of maintaining a perfect underſtanding between the two nations, and undertaking an impartial mediation; yet it is reſolved not to make the leaſt change in any thing that relates to trade; that the effects arrived in the ſaid flota ſhall be delivered as before to thoſe to whom they belong; and, in a word, that it is his majeſty's will and intention that the treaty of peace and commerce ſhould be religiouſly obſerved, and that the Engliſh ſhould continue to enjoy all the advantages and grants that were given them heretofore.

This laſt and ſo ſingular inſtance of his majeſty's juſtice and moderation ought not certainly to have been prevented by the ſaid event, of which he muſt have received the news a few days after he had given ſo evident a mark of his favourable diſpoſitions towards the Engliſh nation.

The articles mentioned in this letter were delivered by earl Stanhope to the court of Madrid, a day or two after the action of Syracuſa, and were as follows:

I. That the Catholic king ſhall have three months to accept of the treaty, reckoning from the day it was ſigned.

II. That, if his Catholic majeſty does not accept of the ſame within the ſaid term of three months, then the confederates ſhall ſupply the emperor with ſuch forces as are ſtipulated in the treaty of alliance.

III. That if, in conſequence to the aſſiſtance given to the emperor, the king of Spain ſhould declare or make war with any one of the confederates, either by invading his dominions, or ſeizing his ſubjects, ſhips, or effects, then the other confederates ſhall immediately declare and make war againſt his Catholic majeſty, and ſhall carry on the ſame till ſuch time as ſatisfaction ſhall be given to their wronged ally.

IV. That in caſe his Catholic majeſty ſhould refuſe to ac-

Geo. I. 1718. the project of peace, or, at moſt, to defend the territories actually in the poſſeſſion of the archduke in Italy, when my lord Stanhope was in Spain, at a ſmall diſtance from the court, to propoſe projects of peace and a ſuſpenſion of arms. In truth (added he) no impartial perſon can hear, without ſurprize, that the fleet of his Britannic majeſty did, without any provocation, neceſſity, or pretence, and forgetting the title of peaceful mediator, which his maſter aſſumes, attack the fleet of Spain, only to fruſtrate the expedition againſt Sicily, after having been at Naples to concert with count Daun ſo baſe an action; received great ſums of money, by way of ſuppoſed arrears; and finally, after having come near to Meſſina, and ſent truſty officers to confer with the commanders of the king's army, and to aſſure them, that he would commit no act of hoſtility.'

The beſt part of Europe (continued the cardinal) is impatient to hear how the Britiſh miniſtry can juſtify ſo raſh a violence. He ſaid, the preſerving the neutrality of Italy was a weak argument, ſince every one knew, that neutrality had long been at an end, and that the princes, guarantees of the treaty of Utrecht, were entirely free, not only by the ſcandalous breaches of the Auſtrians, in the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca, but alſo becauſe the guaranty was no longer binding, than till a peace was made with France. He reproached the Britiſh miniſtry for reviving and ſupporting the neutrality, not by an amicable mediation, but by open force, and by artfully abuſing the confidence and ſecurity of the Spaniards. In proof of what he advanced, he obſerved, that admiral Byng, ſtruck with remorſe of his unjuſt conduct, alledged, in his account of the engagement, contrary to the truth, 'that the Spaniſh ſhips drew up firſt, in a line of battle, and fired upon the Engliſh.' If he had no deſign to attack them, Why did he purſue them from the Faro to Syracuſa?

cept of the ſaid treaty, the confederates ſhall unanimouſly diſpoſe of his expectations on the dominions of Tuſcany and Parma, in favour of ſome other prince.

V. That the emperor ſhall not act within the ſaid term of three months, upon condition that the king of Spain does not act on his ſide; but that, if his Catholic majeſty, inſtead of accepting the ſaid treaty, ſhould within the ſaid term act any hoſtilities, which might prevent the execution of any diſpoſition of the ſaid treaty, then the allies ſhall immediately, and without waiting the expiration of the ſaid term, ſupply the emperor with ſuch forces as are therein ſtipulated.

Why did he ſend four of the prime ſailors of his fleet to come up with them? Geo. I. 1718.

On the contrary, Mr. ſecretary Craggs, in his anſwer to the marquis de Monteleone's letter (referred to by the cardinal) ſaid, that it appeared by the admiral's account that the Spaniards began the hoſtilities: That the action might well be expected by his Catholic majeſty, and therefore ought not to have ſurprized him, ſince admiral Byng, by his letter of the 20th of June, O. S. plainly informed him of his inſtructions, to which a haughty anſwer was returned, bidding him follow his orders (b).

Whether hoſtilities were begun by the Engliſh or by the Spaniards, or whatever irregularities there were in the proceedings on either ſide, the action was not only deciſive, but neceſſary to diſconcert the cardinal's projects, which tended to no leſs than the involving all Europe in a war, the flames whereof had been ſo lately extinguiſhed. This is ſufficient to juſtify, in the eyes of true politicians, a ſlight breach of faith, ſuppoſing there had been any. The cardinal could never recover this ſhock; his complaints and invectives, to which he had recourſe, could not reſtore his deſigns, and

(b) As to the favours ſhewn the Engliſh in regard to their trade, (mentioned in Monteleone's letter) Mr. Craggs ſaid, he had the king's commands to repeat the following grievances:

1. Impoſts have been laid on our merchandizes, directly contrary to our treaties of commerce with the crown of Spain.

2. Several kinds of goods have been prohibited, which are expreſsly allowed by the ſame treaties.

3. The ſchedules for their annual veſſels have been denied the South-Sea company, contrary to the expreſs letter of the treaty; without any better reaſon given for it, than that it was not for the convenience of the court of Madrid to grant them.

4. Our merchant-ſhips have been ſeized in all the ports of Spain. The Spaniſh men of war and privateers have brought them in by force; have obliged them to take out their cargoes, and, to their inexpreſſible loſs, have conſtrained them to tranſport the troops, horſes, ammunition, &c. for this very expedition which has diſordered the affairs of all Europe. I am even aſſured, what I can ſcarce believe, that owners of theſe veſſels, for endeavouring to ſtruggle with ſuch unheard of proceedings, have had their ears cut off: And that the firſt thing done by the Spaniards, upon their entering Meſſina, was to thruſt the king's conſul into priſon. He then deſires him to examine how inconſiſtent theſe things are with the favourable declaration he had made for the trade of Great-Britain.

ſerved

Geo. I, 1718. ſerved only to throw him from that high ſtation, where chance much more than merit had placed him. But, before his fall, he made thoſe two princes very uneaſy, whoſe ſuperior genius had defeated his projects.

CHAP. III.

The fourth ſeſſion of king George I's *parliament—debates about an addreſs—repeal of the ſchiſm-bill—war declared againſt Spain—Alberoni's practices diſcovered in France—Inveſion from Spain—laid before the parliament—the Spaniards land in Scotland, and are defeated—the peerage-bill—debated and dropped—the parliament is prorogued—the king goes abroad—makes peace with Sweden—affairs in the Mediterranean—progreſs of the French againſt Spain—negotiations with Spain—Alberoni diſgraced—Spain accedes to the quadruple alliance—the king's interceſſion for the Proteſtants of Germany—parliament of Ireland meets—and of England—peerage-bill rejected—bill for ſecuring the dependency of Ireland—South-Sea ſcheme—the Royal and London Aſſurance companies erected—parliament prorogued—particular alliance with Sweden—alliance with Pruſſia—the czar's memorial—anſwer to it—reconciliation in the royal family—negotiations with Denmark—the czar refuſes the mediation of England.*

AS king George had ſeveral reaſons for aſſembling the parliament, he fixed the day of meeting by proclamation to the 11th of November. He not only wanted to have the ſteps he had taken approved, but alſo to be authoriſed to ſupport them. Beſides, he was acquainted with the enterprizing genius of cardinal Alberoni, knew he breathed nothing but vengeance, and was preparing ſome deſign in favour of the pretender, as appeared by ſome expreſſions which had dropped from him. He was not ignorant

rant that too many were ready for a second rebellion, which perhaps might succeed, unless proper measures to prevent it were taken. All these considerations induced him to have a speedy recourse to the parliament. Geo. I. 1718.

On the day appointed, the king came to the house of peers, and opened the session with the following speech; which was read by the lord chancellor to both houses; The fourth session of the first parliament of king George.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" SINCE your last recess, I have, by the blessing of " Almighty God, concluded such terms and conditions " of peace and alliance between the two greatest princes of " Europe, as will, in all human appearance, induce others " to follow their example, and make any attempts to disturb " the public tranquility, not only dangerous, but impracti- " cable.

" These engagements, I am persuaded, will be so much " the more agreeable to all my good subjects, as they bind " the contracting powers to support the succession to these " kingdoms in my family, to which some were not at all, " and others not so fully bound by any former treaties.

" During the whole course of these negotiations, a most " strict regard has been had to the interests of Spain, and " better conditions have been stipulated for that king, than " were insisted upon in his behalf, even at the treaty of U- " trecht. But the war in Hungary (which, by our media- " tion, is since happily ended) having tempted the court of " Spain unjustly to attack the emperor, and the hopes they " have since conceived of raising disturbances in Great-Bri- " tain, France, and elsewhere, having encouraged them to " believe, that we should not be able to act, in pursuance of " our treaties, for the defence of the dominions invaded by " them, nor even to the support of those other essential and " necessary conditions of the treaty of Utrecht, which pro- " vide against the great monarchies of Europe being at any " time hereafter united under one sovereign; they have not " only persisted in such a notorious violation of the public " peace and tranquility, but have rejected all our amicable " proposals, and have broke through their most solemn en- " gagements for the security of our commerce.

" To vindicate therefore the faith of our former treaties, as " well as to maintain those which we have lately made, and to " protect and defend the trade of my subjects, which has in " every branch been violently and unjustly oppressed, it be- " came

Geo. I. 1718. "came neceſſary for our naval forces to check their progreſs. "It was reaſonable to hope, that the ſucceſs of our arms, "the repeated offers of friendſhip, which I have never ceaſed "to make in the moſt preſſing manner, and the meaſures "taken in concert with the emperor and the moſt Chriſtian "king to reſtore the public tranquillity, would have pro- "duced a better diſpoſition in the court of Spain; but I "have received informations, that, inſtead of liſtening to "our reaſonable terms of accommodation, that court has "lately given orders at all the ports of Spain, and of the "Weſt-Indies, to fit out privateers, and to take our "ſhips.

"I am perſuaded, that a Britiſh parliament will inable "me to reſent ſuch treatment, as becomes us; and it is with "pleaſure, that I can aſſure you of the ready and friendly "reſolution of our good brother the regent of France, "to concur and join with me in the moſt vigorous mea- "ſures.

"The firm confidence I repoſe in the affection of my "people, together with my earneſt deſire to eaſe them of "every charge not abſolutely neceſſary, determined me, im- "mediately after the exchange of the ratifications of our "great alliance, to make a very conſiderable reduction of "our land-forces; nor could I better expreſs, than by ſo "doing, how little we apprehend the attempts of our ene- "mies to diſturb the peace of my kingdoms, even though "Spain ſhould think fit to continue ſome time in war. Our "naval force, employed in concert with our allies, will, I "truſt in God, ſoon put a happy end to the troubles, which "the ambitious views of that court have begun, and ſecure "to my ſubjects the execution of the many treaties in force "relating to our commerce.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I muſt deſire you to grant me ſuch ſupplies, as will ina- "ble me to carry on the ſervice of the year. I have given or- "ders to have the proper eſtimates laid before you, whereby "you will perceive, I have reduced the expence as much as "our circumſtances can well admit. I have the pleaſure to "obſerve to you, that the funds appropriated for ſinking "the public debts, have anſwered above expectation. I "muſt, however, recommend to you to conſider of proper "methods for improving them, by preventing the frauds "and abuſes daily committed in the public revenues; not- "doubt-

" doubting, in all your proceedings, you will have that re- Geo. I.
" gard to the inviolable preſervation of the public credit, 1718.
" which may quiet the minds of all thoſe, that have truſted
" to parliamentary engagements.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" There never was a time when your unanimity, your
" vigour and diſpatch, were more neceſſary to ſo many good
" ends, as thoſe we have now in view. I have done my
" part. It remains with you to give the laſt finiſhing to this
" great work, our friends and our enemies, both at home
" and abroad, are waiting the event of your reſolutions.
" And I dare promiſe myſelf, that the firſt have nothing to
" apprehend, nor the other to hope from your conduct in
" this important juncture, who have, during the whole
" courſe of my reign, given ſuch lively proofs of your zeal
" and affection to my perſon, and of your love to your
" country."

How plauſible and important ſoever this ſpeech might be, it occaſioned great debates. The addreſſes that were to be preſented, drew the attention of both parties: On the manner in which they ſhould be expreſſed, depended, as it were, the operations of the ſeſſion.

Debates on an addreſs of thanks. Pr. H. L. Pr. H. C.

The king was no ſooner withdrawn, but the lord Carteret moved for 'an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, for his care in preſerving the public peace, and the balance of power in Europe: For the conſiderable reduction of the land-forces; and for having obtained further ſecurities of the ſucceſſion in his family: As alſo to congratulate the ſeaſonable ſucceſs of his naval forces; and to aſſure him, that the houſe would ſupport him in the purſuit of thoſe prudent and neceſſary meaſures he had taken to ſecure the trade and quiet of theſe kingdoms, and the tranquillity of Europe.' The lord Carteret was ſeconded by the lord Tenham; but ſeveral lords excepted againſt the congratulating the king upon the ſeaſonable ſucceſs of his naval forces, and the promiſe to ſupport him in the purſuit of thoſe prudent and neceſſary meaſures he had taken, becauſe it was, in effect, to approve a ſea-fight, which might be attended with dangerous conſequences, and give the ſanction of that auguſt aſſembly to meaſures, which, upon examination, might appear either to claſh with the laws of nations or former treaties, or to be prejudicial to the trade of Great-Britain. That, according to the conſtant

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Geo. I. 1718. uſage of that houſe, they ought to proceed with the utmoſt caution and matureſt deliberation, in an affair, wherein the honour, as well as the intereſt of the nation, were ſo highly concerned. And lord Strafford inſiſted, 'That, before they approved the ſea-fight, they ought to be ſatisfied whether the ſame happened before or after the ſigning of the quadruple alliance; and therefore moved for an addreſs, that Sir George Byng's inſtructions might be laid before the houſe.'

To this it was anſwered by earl Stanhope, 'That there was no manner of occaſion for ſuch an addreſs, ſince, by his majeſty's command, he had already laid before the houſe the treaties, of which the late ſea-fight was a conſequence; and, in particular, the treaty for a defenſive alliance between the emperor and his majeſty, made at Weſtminſter the 25th of May, 1716; and the treaty of alliance for reſtoring and ſettling the public peace, ſigned at London the 22d of July, O. S. After this, he accounted at large for the juſtice and equity of thoſe treaties, which were calculated to preſerve, reſtore, and ſettle the peace of Europe, by rendering the treaty of Utrecht effectual, particularly in preventing the union of the two great monarchies of France and Spain under one ſovereign, and ſecuring the ſucceſſion of theſe kingdoms in his majeſty's family. At the ſame time he ſhewed, how the court of Spain had violated the treaty of Utrecht, and acted againſt the public faith, in attacking the emperor's dominions, while he was engaged in a war againſt the enemies of Chriſtendom; and in what manner they had rejected his majeſty's friendly offices, and repeated offers of mediating an accommodation between the emperor and his Catholic majeſty. To which purpoſe he gave the houſe an account of his late journey to, and negotiations in, Spain. He added, that it was high-time for Great-Britain to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order to protect and ſecure the trade of the Britiſh ſubjects, which had been violently oppreſſed by the Spaniards: To which purpoſe ſeveral letters were read. He concluded with obſerving, that both with relation to Sir George Byng's inſtructions, and in all other reſpects, in this whole affair, his majeſty had acted by the advice of his privy-council: That he was one of that number: And he thought it an honour to have adviſed his majeſty to theſe meaſures, becauſe he was perſuaded they entirely agreed with the honour and intereſt of his country: That he doubted not, but, upon the ſtricteſt examination, thoſe meaſures would be approved by all true Engliſhmen, and that he was ready to anſwer for them with his head.'

This

Aikman pinx. In the Collection of Sr. Anthony Wescomb Bar. J. S. Müller sculp.

Geo. I. 1718.

This speech made a great impression on the whole assembly; and though several peers still urged, that the making war, before the declaring of it, was a manifest violation of the laws of nations; and others raised less material objections; yet, after a five hours debate, it was carried for the address, as moved by the lord Carteret, by eighty-three votes against fifty. The principal speakers on the court-side were, the lords Carteret and Tenham, and the earls of Sunderland and Stanhope; and, on the other side, the dukes of Bucks, Devonshire, and Argyle; the earls of Nottingham, Cowper, Orford, and Ilay, the lords North and Grey and Harcourt.

In the mean time the same affair was debating in the house of commons. The lord Hinchinbroke moved, that the house, in an address of thanks, should declare their intire satisfaction in those measures, which the king had already taken for strengthening the Protestant succession, and establishing a lasting tranquillity in Europe; and particularly in relation to the crown of Spain; and their resolution to enable him, in concurrence with his allies, not only to resent the injuries, that crown had already done to our commerce, in breach of the treaties subsisting between the two nations, but to support him in the most effectual manner, in such further measures, as he shall judge necessary to compleat the public tranquility in Europe, and to check the growth of that naval power which must otherwise prove dangerous to the trade of these kingdoms, and to the repose of Europe. This motion was attended with a very warm debate (c). The opposing side chiefly objected to the words 'intire satisfaction in these measures which his majesty had already taken.' In order to have these words left out of the address, it was alledged, 'that it was unparliamentary and unprecedented, on the first day of a session, to enter upon particulars, That the business in question being of the highest importance, Peace or War, deserved the maturest deliberation. That, before they approved the measures that had

(c) The speakers for the motion were, the lord Hinchinbroke, the lord Tyrconnel, Sir David Dalrymple, Mr. Lechmere, Mr. secretary Craggs, Mr. Smith, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Sir Gilfrid Lawson, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Pelabie, Mr. Boscawen, Mr. Bladen, and serjeant Mead; against the motion were, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Heysham, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Snell, Mr. Hungerford, Mr. Herne, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Cowper, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, the lord Molesworth, and general Ross.

been

Geo. I. 1718. been taken, they ought to examine the treaties, and the reaſons, on which thoſe meaſures were founded, which muſt needs take up ſome time; and therefore they ought, for the preſent, according to their uſual cuſtom, to content themſelves with returning his majeſty thanks for his moſt gracious ſpeech, with general aſſurances of their zeal and affection for his perſon and government; and then appoint a day to take the ſpeech into conſideration.' To this it was anſwered, 'That, though all applications from this houſe to the throne differed according to the various circumſtances of affairs, yet there were not wanting precedents to ſupport the expreſſions excepted againſt, of which ſome inſtances were produced. That the meaſures, which had been taken, were grounded on treaties, that had been laid before them, and which might be examined into as ſoon as the houſe thought fit. But that it was neceſſary, at this critical juncture, when the eyes of all Europe were fixed on this parliament, early to come to a vigorous reſolution, which would not fail having its due weight abroad.' This was warmly oppoſed by Mr. Walpole, who urged, 'That it was againſt the common rules of proceeding in that houſe, to approve a thing before they knew what it was: That he was thoroughly convinced of, and as ready as any perſon in that auguſt aſſembly, to acknowledge his majeſty's great care for the general peace of Europe, and the intereſt of Great-Britain: But that the giving ſanction, in the manner propoſed, to the late meaſures, could have no other views than to ſcreen miniſters, who were conſcious of having begun a war againſt Spain, and who would now make it the parliament's war. He concluded with obſerving, that, inſtead of an intire ſatisfaction, they ought to ſhew their intire diſſatisfaction with a conduct, that was contrary to the laws of nations, and a breach of ſolemn treaties.' Upon this, Mr. Craggs gave the houſe an exact account of the meaſures, which the king and his miniſters had purſued for reſtoring and ſecuring the tranquillity of Europe; and ſaid, in particular, 'That, upon that view, a treaſy of defenſive alliance between his majeſty and the emperor had been ſigned in May 1716, and by that very gentleman, then in high ſtation, who now excepted againſt theſe meaſures. That, at the ſame time, his majeſty ſincerely deſired and endeavoured to maintain a perfect friendſhip with the king of Spain, and had even propoſed a defenſive alliance to him, before he made one with any other power. That, notwithſtanding the engagements his majeſty was under to guaranty the neutrality of Italy, and to defend the emperor in

in the poſſeſſion of his dominions, which, upon the invaſion of Sardinia, might have juſtified his majeſty's aſſiſting him againſt Spain, yet the king choſe rather to act as a friendly mediator, and, in concert with the regent of France, endeavoured to find out means of reconciling the intereſts of the emperor and the king of Spain, as the only way to put a ſtop to the war, that threatened Italy, and in which all Europe might be involved. That the Catholic king was often ſollicited by the Britiſh miniſters at Madrid, to concur with his majeſty's good intentions, and to give ſuch inſtructions to the Spaniſh miniſter here, as would put it in his majeſty's power to ſtand up for the intereſts and advantages of Spain in the enſuing negotiations. That the Catholic king having declined to concert meaſures with Great-Britain, and demanding, in general, ſatisfaction for the breaches he pretended the emperor had made upon the treaty of Utrecht, the balance of power in Europe, and the ſecurity and liberty of the princes and ſtates of Italy; all that his majeſty, with the regent's aſſiſtance, could do, was to obtain of the emperor ſuch conditions, as were thought moſt agreeable to his Catholic majeſty; namely, an abſolute renunciation of the monarchy of Spain and the Indies, and a very conſiderable ſettlement in Italy for a prince of Spain, particularly the great duchy of Tuſcany. That, as the emperor's pretenſions to Sicily were the principal reaſons of his oppoſing the treaty of Utrecht, from which he could not afterwards be brought off by the treaty of Baden, it became neceſſary, towards an accommodation, to diſpoſe of that iſland in favour of his imperial majeſty, of whom, upon that conſideration, his majeſty and the regent of France obtained the diſpoſition of Sardinia in favour of the king of Sicily. That theſe were the principal articles of the treaty of alliance, for reſtoring and ſettling the public peace, commonly called the Quadruple Alliance, which was a long while depending, and at laſt ſigned here, on the 22d of July 1718. That, in order to ſupport the views of this treaty, and to add weight to the endeavours to reſtore the tranquillity of Europe, his majeſty acquainted the commons, towards the end of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, that he intended to employ a naval force, when it ſhould be neceſſary; whereupon this houſe unanimouſly reſolved to return his majeſty their thanks for his unwearied endeavours to promote the welfare of his kingdoms, and to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe, and to aſſure his majeſty, that they would make good ſuch exceedings of men for the ſea-ſervice, of the year 1718, as his majeſty, in his royal wiſ-

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wiſdom, ſhould find neceſſary to obtain thoſe deſirable ends *. That this unanimous reſolution undoubtedly implied an entire ſatisfaction in the meaſures his majeſty was, at that time, concerting for preſerving the tranquillity of Europe; and, if an action has ſince happened, and in conſequence of thoſe meaſures, this cannot, with any juſtice, be called the war of the miniſters, but the war of the parliament. That, however, it was not with deſign of making war, but only of reſtoring peace, that his majeſty ſent a ſtrong ſquadron into the Mediterranean. That, purſuant to this view, as ſoon as Sir George Byng reached the coaſt of Spain, he wrote a letter to that king, deſiring him to accept his majeſty's mediation, and to deſiſt from the hoſtilities already begun; offering him his ſervice, either to withdraw his troops, or even to aſſiſt him, in caſe the emperor ſhould not conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, which the admiral propoſed, while an accommodation ſhould be negotiated. That the Spaniards having with haughtineſs rejected his majeſty's repeated amicable projects, and not only perſiſted in the violation of the public peace, by the invaſion of Sicily, but likewiſe broke through the moſt ſolemn treaties for the ſecurity of our trade, it became neceſſary for his majeſty's naval forces to check theſe inſolent and violent proceedings, as well to maintain the faith of his majeſty's engagements, and prevent the conſequences of this war, as to protect and defend the trade of the Britiſh ſubjects, which labours under the heavieſt hardſhips and difficulties.' And this particular was confirmed to the houſe by colonel Bladen, who produced a liſt of many merchant-ſhips taken or detained by the Spaniards. Several members on the oppoſing ſide, having, like Mr. Walpole, made ſolemn profeſſions of their duty and affection to the king, and of their readineſs to acknowledge his care and conſtant endeavours for the ſecurity and welfare of his people, and the tranquillity of Europe; diſtinguiſhed between his majeſty and his miniſters, and ſhewed an unwillingneſs to approve the meaſures purſued by the latter, till the treaties, on which theſe meaſures were founded, had been fully and maturely examined. Mr. Craggs readily admitted of the diſtinction between the king and his miniſters; adding, 'That he obſerved, with a great deal of pleaſure, how unanimous they were all for the king; and that he ſhould be extremely ſorry, if the miniſters ſhould be the occaſion of any delay in the houſe's expreſſing their duty and affection to him.' That, he owned, miniſters were not infallible: That he had the honour to be one of his majeſty's ſervants, and had gone

* See Page 561.

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as great lengths as any in the meaſures that had been taken; but that he was poſitive, that, in the courſe of this whole affair, nothing had been done, that was not intirely conſiſtent with the faith of treaties, and the honour and intereſt of the nation. That he durſt promiſe, both for himſelf and the reſt of the miniſters, that, if the houſe came into this vote, which he thought of the higheſt importance at this critical juncture, no manner of advantage would be taken of it to palliate any faults, which, through human frailty, might have been committed; and that, for his own part, he was ready to undergo the ſevereſt examination, whenever the houſe ſhould think fit to inquire into the conduct of the miniſtry.' This ſpeech had great weight with the majority of the houſe; and Mr. Craggs was ſo ſtrongly ſupported, that the addreſs, as moved by the lord Hinchinbroke, was at laſt carried by two hundred and ten voices againſt one hundred and fifty-five. And, on the 13th of November, the commons, as well as the lords, preſented their addreſs to the king. Geo. I. 1718.

A ſupply granted. Pr. H. C.

The commons, purſuant to their addreſs, immediately voted a ſupply. They allowed for the ſea-ſervice thirteen thouſand five hundred ſailors at 4 l. a month each, amounting to 702,000 l. Twelve thouſand four hundred thirty-five men were voted for the land-ſervice, whoſe pay amounted to 526,964 l. 11 s. 8 d. Theſe ſums, with what was voted for making good deficiencies, for the ordinary of the navy, and other things, amounted in all to 2,257,581 l. 19 s. This ſupply was raiſed by a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound, the malt-tax, and a lottery for 500,000 l. The bills for the land and malt-tax were preſented, and both paſſed in one day, a diſpatch not to be parallelled in any parliament ſince the revolution.

Repeal of the Schiſm and Occaſional bills.

The king, judging by the diſpoſition of the parliament, that it would be a proper time to execute a deſign, he had long been meditating, reſolved to attempt it this ſeſſion. Ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne he had aſſured the Church of England of his protection, but at the ſame time declared for a juſt toleration, by removing the odious diſtinctions between Churchmen and Non-conformiſts. In the former ſeſſion he had plainly enough diſcovered his intention; but the proſecution of it was prevented, by the miſunderſtanding among the Whigs. The Diſſenters, beſides the Occaſional and Schiſm bills, lay under the weight of the Sacramental Teſt. As they had been zealous aſſerters of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, they expected to be reliſved from theſe burdens as ſoon as that ſucceſſion took place. To that end conſultations had been held

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the laſt year, but without any effect *. The affair was now reſumed, and debated by the Diſſenters in many meetings, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom. The majority in theſe meetings were for a general repeal of the acts that they thought hardſhips upon them, or leaving matters as they ſtood. But they were aſſured that the king had preſſed the affair to the utmoſt with the miniſters, and that the lord Sunderland ſaid, 'It was impracticable, and to attempt a repeal of the Teſt 'would ruin all (a).' Upon this the Teſt was given up, after aſſurances that the Teſt-act ſhould alſo be repealed in a more proper time. Earl Stanhope therefore was to move for a repeal of the Occaſional and Schiſm Acts paſſed in the latter end of the reign of queen Anne. Accordingly, on the 13th of December, he told the houſe of lords, that, in order to unite the hearts and affections of the well-affected to the preſent eſtabliſhment, he had a bill to offer under the title of 'An act for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt in theſe 'kingdoms,' which he deſired might be read. The bill was read, importing in ſubſtance a repeal of the acts againſt Occaſional Comformity, and the growth of Schiſm, and of ſome clauſes in the Corporation and Teſt Acts. Many of the peers were ſurprized at the bringing in this bill at a time, when none but ſuch as were in the ſecret expected any ſuch thing; and earl Stanhope having moved, that it might be read a ſecond time, it occaſioned a long debate. The author of the bill endeavoured to ſhew 'the equity, juſtice, reaſonableneſs, and advantage, of reſtoring Diſſenters to their natural rights, and of eaſing them of theſe ſtigmatiſing and oppreſſive laws that had been made againſt them in turbulent times, and obtained by indirect methods, for no other reaſon, than becauſe they ever ſhewed their zealous and firm adherence to the Revolution and Proteſtant Succeſſion:' Urging, 'that this deſirable union of all true Proteſtants, as it would certainly ſtrengthen the Proteſtant intereſt, ſo would it rather be an advantage, than any prejudice to the Church of England by law eſtabliſhed, which would ſtill be the head of all the Proteſtant churches; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury become

* See Note, p. 542.

(a) The king told the lord Barrington (a Diſſenter) 'that, if there were any hopes of carrying the whole, he would not be againſt it; but, if there were no hopes, as he was aſſured by his miniſters, he believed the Diſſenters were too much his friends, to inſiſt upon a thing which might be infinitely prejudicial to him, without doing them any good; but on the contrary, a great deal of hurt.'

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the patriarch of all the Proteſtant clergy.' He was ſeconded and ſupported by the earls of Sunderland and Stamford, and ſome other lords; But the dukes of Bucks and Devonſhire, the earls of Nottingham, Aylesford, Oxford, Cowper, and the lord North and Grey, either ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the bill, or endeavoured to put off the ſecond reading to a long day. It was alledged in general, 'that this bill, if paſſed into a law, inſtead of ſtrengthening, would certainly weaken the Church of England, by plucking off her beſt feathers, inveſting her enemies with power, and ſharing with them the civil and military employments, of which Churchmen only are now in poſſeſſion.' The duke of Devonſhire, in particular, ſuggeſted, 'That it was irregular to bring in a bill of ſo great conſequence, without previouſly acquainting the houſe.' But it was readily anſwered by earl Stanhope, 'That his grace had forgot, that about two years before, he had brought in himſelf, in the ſame manner, a bill of much greater conſequence;' meaning the bill for ſuſpending the act for Triennial Parliaments. The earl of Nottingham ſaid, among other things, 'That the Church of England is certainly the happieſt church in the world, ſince even the greateſt contradictions contribute to her ſupport; for nothing could be more contradictory, than a bill, which is ſaid to be calculated to "ſtrengthen the Proteſtant intereſt, and the "Church of England," and which, at the ſame time, repeals two acts, that were made for her farther ſecurity.' After which he gave his reaſons againſt the repealing thoſe laws. Earl Cowper made alſo a long ſpeech againſt ſome parts of the bill, and, among other things, ſaid, 'That he had no manner of prejudice againſt the Diſſenters, but rather a tender regard for them: That as he had been bred in, ſo he had ever communicated with, the Church of England, which he believed to be the beſt Proteſtant church, and the moſt agreeable to the primitive pattern of Chriſtianity. But that, however, if he had happened to be at Geneva, he would not have ſcrupled to have communicated with the Proteſtants there. That he was for giving the Diſſenters as much eaſe as was conſiſtent with the ſafety of the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and would readily give his vote for the repealing of the Schiſm act; but that he could not but oppoſe that part of the bill now laid before them, whereby part of the Teſt and Corporation acts were effectually repealed with relation to the Diſſenters, becauſe he looked upon thoſe acts as the main bulwark of our excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate, and therefore would have them

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Upon that day, the bill was read a ſecond time, and a motion made for committing it; but, this being oppoſed by the earl of Nottingham, and ſome other peers, the earl of Cholmondeley ſuggeſted, That, before they proceeded any further in an affair, wherein the Church was ſo nearly concerned, he thought it very proper to have, in the firſt place, the opinion of that venerable bench, pointing to the biſhops. This being unanimouſly aſſented to, the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſtood up, and declared againſt the bill, for which he gave his reaſons, importing in ſubſtance, 'That the acts, which by this bill were to be repealed, are the main bulwark and ſupporters of the eſtabliſhed Church. That he had all imaginable tenderneſs for all the well-meaning conſcientious Diſſenters; but he could not forbear ſaying, that ſome among them made a wrong uſe of the favour and indulgence that was ſhewn them upon the Revolution, though they had the leaſt ſhare in that happy event: And, therefore it was thought neceſſary for the legiſlature to interpoſe, and put a ſtop to the ſcandalous practice of Occaſional Conformity, which was condemned by the ſobereſt part of the Diſſenters themſelves. And, as to the act againſt Schiſm, though it may carry a face of ſeverity, yet it ſeemed needleſs to repeal it, ſince no advantage had been taken of it againſt the Diſſenters ever ſince it was made.' The archbiſhop of York (Sir William Daws) ſpoke on the ſame ſide, and ſaid, 'That the arguments uſed the other day for this bill, had no more weight with him, than they had with his brother of Can-

Canterbury. He urged in particular, the danger of truſting the Diſſenters, the open and avowed enemies of the Church, with power and authority; and endeavoured to account for the acts againſt Occaſional Conformity and Schiſm, by ſaying, they were never to be gained by indulgence.' To that purpoſe he quoted a paſſage out of a treatiſe, intitled, 'A 'Perſuaſive to Lay Conformity,' written by Dr. Hoadly biſhop of Bangor, who, as he ſaid, had, ſince the writing of that book, embraced and maintained other principles. The biſhop of Bangor anſwered the archbiſhop of York, particularly with relation to the paſſage quoted out of his treatiſe. He ſaid, 'He was ſo far from having altered his principles, that, both before and after he had been promoted to the ſtation he held in the Church, he had endeavoured to bring over the Diſſenters; but that he ever was of opinion, that gentle means are the moſt effectual for that purpoſe. After this, he ſhewed at large the unreaſonableneſs and ill policy of impoſing Religious Teſts, as a qualification for civil or military employments, which abridges men of their natural rights, deprives the ſtate of the ſervice of many of its beſt ſubjects, and expoſes the moſt ſacred inſtitutions and ordinances to be abuſed by profane and irreligious perſons. He alſo endeavoured to prove, that the Occaſional and Schiſm acts were, in effect, perſecuting laws; and that, by admitting the principle of Self-Defence, and Self-Preſervation, in matters of religion, all the perſecutions of the Heathens againſt the Chriſtians, and even the Popiſh inquiſition, may be juſtified. As to the power, of which ſome clergymen appeared ſo fond, and ſo jealous, he owned, that the deſire of power and riches is natural to all men; but that he had learned both from reaſon and the Goſpel, that this deſire muſt be kept within due bounds, and not intrench upon the rights and liberties of their fellow-creatures and countrymen.'

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After theſe and ſeveral other ſpeeches of the biſhops (b), the debate was adjourned to the next day, when, after ſome clauſes

(b) Dr. Smalridge, biſhop of Briſtol, urged, 'That the late king William having recommended, to both houſes from the throne, "That they would "leave room for the admiſſion "of all Proteſtants, that were "willing and able to ſerve;" and a clauſe having been thereupon offered to be inſerted in a bill depending in the houſe of lords, "to take away the ne"ceſſity of receiving the ſacra"ment, to make a man capa"ble

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" ble of enjoying any office, " employment, or place of " truſt;" the clauſe was rejected by a great majority, as well as another clauſe (offered alſo to be inſerted in that bill) " to prevent the receiving the " ſacrament of the lord's ſup- " per upon any other account " than in obedience to the holy " inſtitution thereof:" Adding, that ſoon after the lords addreſſed king William, " That " he would maintain the Church " of England as by law eſta- " bliſhed." All which he applied to the preſent caſe, and ſo voted againſt the bill. He was anſwered by the biſhop of Glouceſter, who, among other things, endeavoured to remove the imputation of hypocriſy caſt upon the Diſſenters. The biſhop of Lincoln made an hiſtorical deduction of the affair, and commended the zeal of a noble earl, when ſecretary of ſtate, in promoting a comprehenſion, according to king William's deſire. He alſo took notice, that religion was ever uſed by crafty men as a blind and pretence to carry on political deſigns; and he remembered, in particular, in the late reign, 'That, while our arms was victorious abroad, the Church was in danger at home; but no ſooner was a ſtop put to that glorious war, than the Church was in a flouriſhing condition.' The earl of Nottingham, who was meant by that prelate, and who was the promoter of the Occaſional Bill, and had oppoſed the bill now in queſtion, thought proper to juſtify his conduct, by ſaying, he was in thoſe days but a young man, and had wanted opportunities to know the Diſſenters, whom he had ſince found to be an obſtinate ſort of people, never to be ſatisfied. After which he entered into the merits of the bill, and voted againſt it. The biſhop of London did the ſame, and urged, 'That, in all wiſe governments, all offices and places of truſt are in the hands of thoſe of the national church; which his lordſhip confirmed by what is practiſed in Sweden.' The biſhop of Rocheſter ſpoke alſo on the ſame ſide, and ſaid in ſubſtance, 'That he was not in the houſe at the firſt reading of this bill, but that the laſt ſeſſion of parliament he foreſaw from the bill about an almshouſe at Briſtol, and the bill for applying part of the fund for the building of new churches, to the rebuilding of an old one (St. Giles's) both which he oppoſed, that ſomething of this nature would be attempted. That he was ſorry he had been a prophet, ſince, in his opinion, this bill overturned the foundation of the ſecurity of the Church. That this bill even ſtruck at the act of uniformity, which was confirmed by the act of union, and ſo was levelled againſt the Church of Scotland, as well as againſt the Church of England. For which reaſon he hoped, thoſe peers, who repreſented the nobility of Scotland, would be againſt this bill, particularly a noble lord, who was too great an enemy to prieſtcraft, to ſuf-

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third time, paſſed the houſe, and was ſent down to the commons, where it was alſo warmly debated, but at laſt carried by — Geo. I. 1718.

ſer himſelf to be aſſembly-ridden. He concluded with obſerving, that we live in a changeable country; and that the hardſhips, which the Diſſenters now bring upon the Church, may one day or other be ſeverely, and with more juſtice, retaliated upon them.' Hereupon Dr. Kennet, the new biſhop of Peterborough, ſpoke ſtrenuouſly for the bill, and refuted moſt of the arguments uſed on the other ſide. He ſaid, in ſubſtance, That he did not deſign to reflect on any of his brethren for ſpeaking againſt this bill, becauſe he ſuppoſed they did it out of a ſincere zeal for the Church: That, for his own part, he did not believe this bill to be againſt the Church, but rather for its advantage and ſecurity; and therefore he was for it: That he obſerved from hiſtory, that the Church was moſt ſafe and flouriſhing, when the clergy did not affect more power than falls to their ſhare, and were tender of the rights and liberties of their fellow-ſubjects; but that, when the clergy promoted arbitrary meaſures and perſecutions, as ſome did in king Charles the Firſt's reign, they firſt brought ſcandal and contempt upon the clergy, and, at laſt, ruin both upon the church and ſtate.' Then he ſhewed the abuſe of the word 'Church,' which in a true ſenſe is venerable; and illuſtrated the matter by the words 'Holy,' and the 'Temple of the Lord,' which were ſacred among the Jews; but, when thoſe words came to be abuſed ſo far as to countenance rebellion, as in the caſe of Dathan, Corah, and Abiram, and other wicked practices, then they rather become words of execration. That, in like manner among us, the words 'Church;' and the 'Church's danger,' had often been made uſe of to carry on ſiniſter deſigns; and then theſe words made a mighty noiſe in the mouths of ſilly women and children; but that in his opinion the Church, which he defined to be a 'ſcriptural inſtitution upon a legal eſtabliſhment,' was founded upon a rock, and could not be in danger as long as we enjoyed the light of the Goſpel, and our excellent conſtitution.' After this he gave his reaſons for his being for the bill, and animadverted upon three things, which had been advanced by other prelates; 1. "That the Diſſenters got "more than the Church by the "revolution, though they had "the leaſt ſhare in it." For he ſhewed, "they only got a toleration, which they might have had under king James, if they would have complied with his meaſures, whereas the Church ſecured all ſhe now enjoys, which would have been irrecoverably loſt, had not the revolution happened. 2. "That "the Churchmen, and even "the clergy, ſhewed more affection to the preſent government than the Diſſenters during the late rebellion." To which

Geo. I. by a majority of two hundred and twenty-one against one
1718. hundred and seventy. (c)

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which he answered, 'That by the laws, which by this bill were to be repealed, the Dissenters were then under an incapacity to serve the government, which evinced the necessity of this bill: And as for a clergyman, who had given signal proofs of his zeal for the government in the North, that it was well known he was never rewarded for it, but rather disregarded ever since by his neighbours. 3. As to what had been suggested, "That all offices "and places of trust ought to "be in the hands of those of "the established church," his lordship said, he hoped they should never draw precedents from Sweden. He concluded with returning thanks to the lay lords for bearing so long and so patiently with that bench, leaving the issue of this debate to their judgments; and only taking notice, that as the wisdom of Solomon never more eminently appeared than in discovering the true mother of their child, so their lordships might easily know the reason, why some persons spoke with so much tenderness for the acts, which by this bill were to be repealed.' Dr. Gastrel, bishop of Chester, was of the contrary opinion, and, in particular, excepted against a clause in the bill, whereby a punishment or censure was to be inflicted on such clergymen, as should refuse to administer the sacrament to any that desired to receive it; which, he said, was against the canons of the Church.

(c) Sir William Thompson having urged against the Schism-Bill, that it deprived parents of their natural right of educating their children as they pleased, Mr. Shippen answered, 'It was somewhat strange to see so able a lawyer inconsistent with himself: For, when the twelve judges were consulted in a case relating to a great family, he was of the opinion of ten of them, that children may be taken from their parents, and educated as the good of the nation required.' To this Sir William readily replied, 'That, as he never was consulted, so had he never declared his thoughts, in that nice case hinted by that gentleman, and therefore he could not, with any colour of justice, be said to have changed his opinion: But that the member who taxed him with it, and who thereby declared against the opinion of the ten judges, if he would be consistent with himself, must now be for the bill that repeals the Schism Act, which restored parents to their natural right.'

The lord Guernsey proposed the inserting a clause, that any person, when he came to take the abjuration oath, in order to his qualification, should acknowledge, that the Old and New Testaments were given by divine inspiration, and profess his belief of the ever-blessed Trinity. But this motion was rejected. Pr. H. C.

It was observed, that the archbishop Wake had protested against

The manner in which the king had, in his ſpeech, mentioned Spain, and his ſaying, that he was perſuaded a Britiſh parliament would enable him to reſent ſuch treatment, were plain intimations of his intention to declare war againſt that crown. On the 17th of December, the king ſent a meſſage to the commons to acquaint them, that all his endeavours, as well as thoſe of the king of France, to procure redreſs for the injuries done to his ſubjects by the king of Spain, to the unſpeakable detriment of their trade, or even to obtain a diſcontinuance of his unjuſt hoſtilities, having proved ineffectual, he had found it neceſſary to declare war againſt Spain. Geo. I. 1718. War declared againſt Spain.

After the reading of this meſſage, it was moved for an addreſs, to aſſure the king, that they would with the greateſt chearfulneſs, and the utmoſt vigour, aſſiſt and ſupport him in the war, till Spain was reduced to accept of reaſonable terms of peace, and agree to ſuch conditions of trade and commerce as the nation was juſtly entitled to by their ſeveral treaties. Mr. Shippen and ſome others excepted againſt the motion, or againſt ſome expreſſions in it, which occaſioned a warm debate. They alledged, they did not ſee the neceſſity of declaring war againſt Spain, but were rather inclined to believe, the grievances complained of by the merchants might be amicably redreſſed. Mr. Stanhope aſſured the houſe, that he had preſented, at leaſt, five and twenty memorials to the court of Spain upon that ſubject, without any ſucceſs. Mr. Methuen endeavoured to account for the dilatorineſs of the court of Madrid in the diſpatch of commercial affairs, occaſioned by the different regulations in the ſeveral provinces and ports of Spain; which might be the reaſon why the grievances had not been redreſſed ſo ſoon as might have been expected. It was alſo ſuggeſted, that the miniſters had ſhewn no great concern for the trade and intereſt of the nation, ſince it appeared, by the anſwer from a ſecretary of ſtate to the marquiſs de Monteleone's letter, that they would have paſſed by the violations of the treaties of commerce, provided Spain had accepted the terms of the Quadruple Alliance; and that his majeſty did not ſeek to aggrandize himſelf by any new acquiſition, but was rather inclined to ſacrifice ſomething of his own, to procure the general quiet and tranquillity. That no-body could yet tell how far that ſacrifice

againſt paſſing the very bill, the repeal of which he now oppoſed, as did alſo the earl of Nottingham, the duke of Devonſhire, and ſome others.

was

Geo. I. 1718. was to extend; but certainly it was a very uncommon piece of condeſcenſion (d). Mr. Horatio Walpole made alſo a long ſpeech, wherein he found fault with the treaty of Quadruple Alliance, particularly as to the diſpoſition of Sicily, in favour of the emperor, which was a breach of the treaty of Utrecht. Mr. Walpole, his brother, likewiſe exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of attacking the Spaniſh fleet before a declaration of war. They were anſwered by Mr. Craggs; and Sir Joſeph Jekyll cloſed the debate with ſaying: 'That ſome weeks before, when this affair was firſt mentioned in the houſe, he was ſhy of giving his opinion, becauſe he had not then examined the ſeveral ſteps that had been taken in it; but that now he was fully convinced, that, if there was any injuſtice, it was on the ſide of the king of Spain; and that the conduct of his majeſty and his miniſters was entirely agreeable to the law of nations, and the rules of juſtice and equity. Was it juſt, added he, in the king of Spain to attack the emperor's dominions (Sardinia) while he was engaged in a war with the Turks, without any declaration of war? Was it juſt in the ſame prince to invade the dominions of one of our allies, the king of Sicily, without the leaſt provocation? And was it not juſt in his majeſty to vindicate the faith of his treaties, and to defend and protect the trade of his ſubjects, which had been violently oppreſſed?' After theſe ſpeeches, the addreſs was carried by a majority of a hundred and ſeventy-eight againſt a hundred and ſeven, and preſented the next day.

Earl Stanhope brought the ſame meſſage to the houſe of peers, and, the like addreſs being moved for, it was carried without a diviſion.

The declaration of war was publiſhed with the uſual ſolemnities, but not with the ſame acclamations as when war was proclaimed againſt France in the two former reigns. The declaration was well drawn, and began with an artful turn, which ſeemed to intimate as if the action of Syracuſa had been a conſequence of the ill ſucceſs of Mr. Stanhope's negotiations at Madrid. For after the king had mentioned his being guarantee of the neutrality of Italy, his engagement to defend the emperor's dominions, and the king of Spain's invaſion of Sardinia: 'We did ſend (ſays he) our fleet into the Mediterranean this laſt ſummer, with a full and

(d) By the Sacrifice was meant the ceſſion of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, which, it was reported, the regent of France had offered to the king of Spain, in caſe he would accede to the Quadruple Alliance.

earneſt

earneſt intention to make uſe of its appearance there for ſet- Geo. I.
ting on foot negotiations of peace towards reconciling the 1718.
parties engaged in war, and thereby preventing the many
calamities that muſt enſue therefrom. And whereas we did
likewiſe, to teſtify our moſt ſincere inclinations to peace,
ſend our right truſty and right well beloved couſin and coun-
ſellor, James, earl Stanhope, one of our principal ſecretaries
of ſtate, to Madrid, with full power and commiſſion to offer
our moſt hearty endeavours for re-eſtabliſhing the quiet of
Europe, and for cultivating and improving the friendſhip of
the king of Spain. And whereas, notwithſtanding all the
inſtances we could poſſibly make, all the tenders of amity
and affection we could uſe, our plenipotentiary returned
without the leaſt hopes of peaceable diſpoſitions in the court
of Spain, and our admiral in the Mediterranean, finding alſo
no tendency to amicable meaſures, was obliged to aſſiſt and
protect the emperor's dominions by force, which were in im-
minent danger by the further invaſion of the kingdom of
Sicily, and by the great fleets and armies which the king of
Spain had in thoſe parts.'

To ſhew that the war was not purely on the emperor's account, the declaration ſet forth the ſeizing of the effects and perſons of the Engliſh, in violation of treaties and antient privileges; and then touched upon the true motives of the war, the diſabling the king of Spain to unite the crowns of France and Spain, or to aſſiſt the pretender. Theſe were juſt motives, which though perſonal to king George and the duke of Orleans, yet were of the utmoſt concern to the nations they governed.

Cardinal Alberoni was not idle whilſt meaſures were taken to cruſh him. He raiſed troops, fitted out ſhips, put the coaſts in a poſture of defence, ſent ſuccours to Sicily, and provided for the ſafety of Sardinia. But, what efforts ſoever Spain might make, he was ſenſible of the impoſſibility to reſiſt the three moſt powerful ſtates of Europe combined againſt him. To efforts therefore he joined plots and intrigues to ſupport his undertakings. He began with the duke of Orleans, believing, if he could remove him, the forces of France would be at his diſpoſal, at leaſt they would not be employed againſt him; and king George, deprived of ſo powerful an ally, would be obliged to moderate his zeal for the emperor's intereſts. Intrigues of Spain.

The plot was eaſy to be laid, and was ſo well conducted, that the ſucceſs ſeemed infallible. France abounded with male-contents, and the regent had many enemies, who Alberoni's practices diſcovered in France.

either

Geo. I. 1718. either wiſhed his removal, or the execution of the late king's will. Theſe male-contents, in order to be ſupported, had recourſe to the Spaniſh court, where the reſentment againſt the duke of Orleans procured them a favourable hearing. The prince de Cellamare, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Paris, was ordered to treat with them. The plot was ſoon formed; biſhops, magiſtrates, nobles, prieſts, monks, officers, and governors, were ready for the undertaking, and were numbered among the conſpirators. The project was to ſeize the regent in ſome party of pleaſure, which he frequently made about Paris with his miſtreſſes; the king's perſon was at the ſame time to be ſecured, and proper orders were to be iſſued to the governors of the provinces and towns to aſſemble the parliaments, for ſettling the government, whilſt the ſtates of the kingdom ſhould meet, and make a final determination of matters. Many papers were kept in a readineſs to juſtify theſe undertakings, and incourage the people to ſupport them.

The mines were charged and ready to ſpring, when the affair was diſcovered. The firſt advice came from king George, who warned the regent of ſome attempt contriving againſt his perſon and government. This notice, though general only, was of great uſe. The duke of Orleans and the abbot du Bois were very vigilant. Several perſons were ſuſpected, particularly the duke and ducheſs of Maine, and the Spaniſh ambaſſador, all whom were narrowly watched, till the whole affair was diſcovered by the following accident. The prince de Cellamare, for the greater ſafety, entruſted his diſpatches to the abbot de Portocarrero, nephew of the cardinal of that name, and to one of the ſons of the marquiſs de Monteleone. Theſe gentlemen (with only Sir Joſeph Hodges who paſſed for an Engliſh lord) ſet out from Paris in a poſt-chaiſe. They had not gone above two leagues before the chaiſe broke down in a ſlough. The poſtillion obſerved, the abbot ſhewed much more concern for his portmanteau than for himſelf, and heard him ſay, he would not have loſt it for a hundred thouſand piſtoles. The poſtillion, having conducted them to the firſt ſtage, returned to Paris, and gave immediate notice to the government, of what he had ſeen and heard. Upon which they were purſued and overtaken at Poictiers. Their perſons were ſeized, and the portmanteau ſent to Paris, wherein were found two letters which plainly diſcovered the plot. The prince de Cellamare was put under a guard, and his papers were ſealed up with his and the regent's ſeals, to be delivered to the perſons the

king

king of Spain ſhould ſend to receive them. A few days after the prince was conducted to the frontiers of the kingdom. The marquiſs de Pampadour and ſeveral other perſons of note were impriſoned. The duke of Maine was ſent priſoner to the citadel of Dourlens in Picardy, and the ducheſs to the caſtle of Dijon in Burgundy. The cardinal de Polignac was ordered to his abby of Auchin, that place being allowed him for his priſon. Geo. I. 1718.

Alberoni's intrigues againſt king George.

On the 29th of December, war was declared at Paris againſt Spain. The declaration was accompanied with a long manifeſto, ſhewing the cauſes of rupture between France and Spain, and concluding with the following paragraph, in relation to cardinal Alberoni's plot: 'We now ſee with horror what it was that made the miniſter of Spain inacceſſible to all projects of peace. He would thereby have ſeen all the odious plots which he formed againſt us prove abortive: He would have loſt all hopes of laying this kingdom deſolate, of raiſing up France againſt France, of having the management of rebels among all the orders of ſtate, of kindling a civil war in the boſom of our provinces, and, in fine, of becoming to us the ſcourge of heaven, by putting in execution thoſe ſeditious projects, and 'ſpringing that mine which was (according to the words of the ambaſſador's letter) to ſerve as a prelude to the conflagration.' What a recompence is this to France, for the treaſures and blood of which ſhe has been ſo profuſe for the ſake of Spain!'

To ſupport the reaſons alledged in the manifeſto, armaments were prepared in France and England. The beginning of January, an army of thirty-ſix thouſand men were on the march towards Spain. Ships of war were fitted out for ſeveral expeditions. The barrenneſs of the country where the war was to be carried, occaſioned great expences, eſpecially for proviſions. The duke of Orleans was at ſome loſs for a general: Marſhal Villars, to whom he offered the command, refuſed it, affirming he would never draw his ſword againſt the houſe of Bourbon, but the duke of Berwick, not being ſo ſcrupulous, accepted of the command.

Cardinal Alberoni's intrigues were not confined to France, he had formed the ſame deſigns againſt king George. The Pretender was treated with, who readily came into the cardinal's views to annoy his enemy. The duke of Ormond repaired to Spain the latter end of the year, and meaſures were taken to ſtir up their friends in Great-Britain, and engage them to ſupport the deſigns of Spain.

The

Geo. I. 1718-19. The pope was doubtleſs in the ſecret, and his affection for the chevalier de St. George hindered him from conſenting, that he ſhould be expoſed, till it was ſeen what ſucceſs the firſt attempt might have. He ſuffered him, however, to go into Spain. The Pretender was watched, and there was need of addreſs to eſcape the vigilance of the Germans, who were ſpread over the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. He had lately left Urbino, where he reſided, and was come to live at Rome: He went from thence on a ſudden, and cauſed it to be reported, that he was gone to Bologna. He ſent thither the earls of Mar and Perth, with one Paterſon, who was to paſs for their maſter. This artifice was attended with the expected ſucceſs: All three were arreſted at Voghera by the imperialiſts, but preſently after releaſed. As for the Pretender, he came to Nettuno without any accident, and embarked for Cagliari, from whence he came to Roſes in Catalonia, the beginning of March.

Invaſion from Spain. He was magnificently received at Madrid, where he entered in one of the king's coaches, attended by the guards, and was conducted to the palace of Buen-Retiro. On the morrow he was viſited by the king, the queen, the prince of Aſturias, and the great officers of the crown, and complimented by them as king of Great-Britain. Upon his arrival, the ſquadron, which had been fitting out ſome time for this expedition, ſailed from Cadiz towards England, conſiſting of ten men of War and tranſport-ſhips, with ſix thouſand regular troops on board, moſtly Iriſh, with arms for ten or twelve thouſand men. The duke of Ormond was the conductor of this undertaking, with the title of captain-general of the king of Spain: He was to publiſh, in the proper places, a declaration in that king's name, wherein he ſaid, that for many very good reaſons, he had reſolved to ſend part of his land and ſea-forces into England and Scotland, to ſerve as auxiliaries to king James: What had confirmed him in his reſolution, was the certain advices he had received, that many of the two nations, notwithſtanding their ſtrong inclination to acknowledge that prince for their ſovereign, durſt not openly declare for him, becauſe they did not ſee him ſupported by any of the ſtates of Europe, who had either power or will to aſſiſt them: That, to remove this difficulty, and others that might ariſe, he declared he was determined to uſe all his power for the reſtoration of a prince, in a country belonging to him by undeniable right: That he hoped providence would favour ſo juſt a cauſe; but, that the fear of ill ſucceſs might not hinder any perſon from declaring readily for him,

he

he promiſed a ſecure retreat in his dominions, to all that ſhould join him, and, in caſe they were forced to leave their country, he declared, that every ſea or land officer ſhould have the ſame rank as he enjoyed in Great-Britain, and the ſoldiers ſhould be received and treated like his own. Geo. I. 1718-19.

Theſe preparations had not been ſo ſecret, but the king had received timely notice to take the neceſſary precautions: The duke of Orleans, in return for the ſame favour, had acquainted him with all he could diſcover. A proclamation was publiſhed againſt the duke of Ormond, and the other lords that were with him, with a reward of 5000l. for ſeizing the duke, and of 1000l. for each of the reſt, and of 500l. for every gentleman.

As the rumour of the invaſion increaſed, ſome forces were ordered into the north and into the weſt of England: The States-general had notice to have two thouſand men ready to tranſport into England when occaſion required; and were, at the ſame time, deſired not to ſuffer the ſuſpicious embarkations of ammunition and men that were making at Amſterdam, which they agreed to, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the Spaniſh miniſters to the contrary. Above all, the naval armament againſt the Spaniſh ſquadron was haſtened; and, upon the repeated advices of the regent, the king came to the houſe of peers, and ſaid, That he had given orders to the lord-chancellor to declare to both houſes a matter of the greateſt importance. Upon this, the lord-chancellor read the following ſpeech: Preparations againſt it. The king acquaints the parliament with the intended invaſion.

'My lords and gentlemen,

'HAVING received from our good brother and ally the moſt Chriſtian king, repeated advices, that an invaſion was ſuddenly be attempted from Spain againſt my dominions, in favour of the Pretender to my crown, I have judged it convenient to make you acquainted with it, and ſhall, on my part, take all the neceſſary meaſures to defeat the deſigns of our enemies.

'Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

'This attempt, if it proceed, muſt engage me in ſome farther expences by ſea and land than proviſion has been made for. I muſt therefore recommend it to you, that I be inabled in ſuch a manner, as you ſhall judge convenient,

Geo. I. 1718-19.

'to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for our ſecurity; and you 'may depend upon it, that I ſhall upon this, and all other 'occaſions, have as much regard to the eaſe of my people, 'as ſhall be conſiſtent with their ſafety.

'My lords and gentlemen,

'The many proofs, I have had of the affection and loyalty 'of this parliament, leave me no room to doubt of your 'ſteady and vigorous perſeverance in ſupport of my perſon 'and government upon this occaſion.'

This ſpeech had all the effect the king could expect or deſire. Both houſes aſſured him of their ſupport; and the commons deſired him to augment his forces by ſea and land, in ſuch manner as he ſhould think fit, promiſing to make good any increaſe of expence on that account. With theſe aſſurances of the parliament, the king had the ſatisfaction to ſee his allies exert their zeal in his defence. The States ſent over the two thouſand men; and the marquiſs de Prié, governor of the Auſtrian Netherlands, ſix battalions of imperialiſts. The duke of Orleans offered no leſs than twenty battalions, but it was not thought proper to accept his offer.

The deſigns of the Spaniards defeated.

Theſe precautions taken by the king were very juſt, but, as it happened, they proved needleſs. The Spaniſh fleet came with a fair wind as far as Cape Finiſterre, when a violent ſtorm aroſe, which laſted two days and two nights. The fleet was intirely diſperſed, and diſabled from purſuing their courſe. The admiral's ſhip, of ſixty-four guns, having loſt all her maſts, made for the coaſt of Spain, as did all the reſt in the beſt manner they could. By this ſtorm the men and horſes were for the moſt part rendered unſerviceable.

Some Spaniards land in Scotland.

Though the Spaniſh ſquadron miſcarried, two frigates arrived at Kintail in Scotland. Theſe frigates ſailed from Port-Paſſage the latter end of February, and came to Kintail the 16th of April, without having ſeen any of the Spaniſh fleet in their way. They brought with them the earl's of Seaforth and Mariſchal, and the marquiſs of Tullibardine, with three hundred and ſeven Spaniards, being a detachment of twelve men in a company of Don Pedro de Caſtro's regiment of foot, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel, with ſix captains, ſix lieutenants, and as many enſigns. They brought alſo arms for two thouſand men. The lieutenant-colonel was aſſured there were ten thouſand men in arms ready to

join

join him, but very few appearing, he kept the frigates two days, reſolving to go off again, but he was at laſt prevailed with to let them ſail. The two earls and the marquiſs, who had ventured themſelves with ſo ſmall a force, went with the Spaniards and joined the rebels. After this junction, they poſſeſſed themſelves of Donan-Caſtle, and put in it a garriſon of fifty men; but captain Boyle, in the Worceſter, and ſome other ſhips, came before the place, and took the garriſon priſoners. In the mean time, general Wightman was ordered by the lord Carpenter, to march with the forces under his command in queſt of the rebels. He marched from Inverneſs the beginning of June, and, having halted one day at the head of Lochneſs, came up with them at a place called the Paſs of Glenſhill, which they gave out they were reſolved to defend; but, upon the approach of the king's troops, they immediately deſerted it, and retired to another paſs called Strachell, where they were more advantageouſly poſted. The general, having viewed their ſituation, made the following diſpoſition for the attack: On the right were poſted all the grenadiers under the command of major Milburn, being about a hundred and fifty in number, who were ſuſtained by Montague's regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Laurence, and a detachment of fifty men, commanded by colonel Harriſon; the reſt of the regiment being in garriſon at Inverlochy. Theſe were ſupported by Haffel's Dutch regiment, and four companies out of Amerongon's. This wing had fifty-ſix of lord Strathnaver's men in the flank, under the command of enſign Mackay; and the whole wing was commanded by colonel clayton, who acted as brigadier upon this occaſion. The left wing conſiſted of Clayton's regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Reading, and had on the flank about fourſcore men of the Monroes, under the command of Mr. Monroe of Calcairn. The dragoons, which were a hundred and twenty in number, commanded by major Robertſon, and had made their march from Inverneſs without the loſs of a ſingle horſe, or the leaſt inconvenience, were ordered to keep the road, having four cohorns placed in their front. The major-general himſelf was poſted in the centre, where every one had free acceſs to him for orders.

Geo. I. 1718-19.

and defeated by general Wightman. June 10.

The rebels forces conſiſted of one thouſand ſix hundred and forty Highlanders, beſides three hundred Spaniards, and a body of five hundred Highlanders, who were poſted on a hill, in order to make themſelves maſters of the baggage of the king's troops, it being always one of their chief aims. From this diſpoſition it is evident, that the king's forces,

Geo. I. 1718-19. actually engaged, did not exceed eight hundred and fifty men, beſides the one hundred and twenty dragoons, and one hundred and thirty-ſix Highlanders. The left wing was ordered to begin the attack; and the rebels always, as they had fired their muſkets, ſkipping off, and never venturing to come to a cloſe engagement, were driven from rock to rock, the king's forces chaſing them above three hours, till they gained the top of the hill, where the rebels were immediately diſperſed. The earl of Seaforth and lord George Murray were wounded. There were twenty-one men killed, and one hundred and twenty-one wounded, officers included, of the king's troops, who lay on their arms all night, in order to bring off the wounded; and marched the next morning to Glenſhill, where about two in the afternoon the Spaniards ſurrendered themſelves priſoners at diſcretion, and delivered up all their arms and ammunition. Their commander ſaid, the earl of Seaforth and all the reſt were ſhifting for themſelves, and believed, they would endeavour to get off as ſoon as poſſible at the ſea-port towns, where they could hope to have friends to let them eſcape. General Wightman acquainted the lord Carpenter, that he had taken two hundred and ſeventy-four Spaniards priſoners, and was making a tour through the difficult parts of Seaforth's country, to terrify the guilty, and preſerve the well affected, and that he had utterly diſperſed the rebels, the chiefs of whom, Seaforth, Tullibardine, Mariſchal, and others, were gone off to the Lewis or Orkney iſlands. Thus ended cardinal Alberoni's enterprize upon Great-Britain (a).

When

(a) A marriage was this year agreed upon for the Pretender, with a daughter of prince Sobieſki, eldeſt ſon of John Sobieſki king of Poland, who had gained ſo much honour by raiſing the ſiege of Vienna. But the court of Vienna thought fit to intereſt itſelf ſo much in preventing this intended marriage, that the princeſs was ſtopped in paſſing through Tirol into Italy, and carried into confinement at Inſpruck. Great application was made to the emperor for her releaſe; but he continued inflexible, and ſeemed the more to extend his authority in this affair, as the whole family of Sobieſki lay under great [illegible] obligations to him, on account of penſions and conſiderable allowances, which they received from him, in acknowledgment of the great ſervices of the late king of Poland to the empire. Prince James Sobieſki, father of this young princeſs, held his ſubſiſtance chiefly at the emperor's pleaſure. On this occaſion he went therefore to Vienna, to make his ſubmiſſion to

When the king ſent the meſſage to both houſes about the Spaniſh invaſion, the lords were debating upon the famous peerage bill (a). This bill, by which the number of peers was to be limited, is ſaid to have been chiefly intended to put a reſtraint on the prince of Wales, when his ſucceſſion ſhould take place; from whom the preſent miniſtry could expect but little favour. Be this as it will, the Whigs had exclaimed againſt the numerous promotion of peers by queen Anne, particularly the creation of twelve peers at once, in order to gain a ſuperiority in the houſe of lords, and, to prevent the like for the future, it was reſolved to bring in a bill to fix the number of peers (b). The perſon by whom this bill was moved

Geo. I. 1718-19.

The peerage bill. Pr. H. C. Pr. H. L.

to the emperor, whom he underſtood to be highly diſpleaſed with him; but his imperial majeſty would be no ways reconciled to him, or agree to a continuance of his cuſtomary allowance upon any other terms, but his intirely breaking off the match.

Whilſt interceſſion was making for her liberty, the princeſs Sobieſki eſcaped from her confinement in the beginning of May, in man's cloaths, and, repairing to Bologna, was there married by proxy to the Pretender, then in Spain. A few days after ſhe went to Rome, where ſhe was very kindly entertained by the pope and ſome of the cardinals. She ſeemed impatient to be conducted to her [illegible] at the hazard of the preſent conjuncture, and the uncertainty of his reſidence, till his projects were brought to ſome criſis, made the pope continue her under his care at Rome. No other opportunity of correſpondence could therefore be obtained but by letters; and, about the latter end of June, an account was brought to England of one Maſſy, who was ſent from Rome with diſpatches from her to the pretender and cardinal Alberoni; and, quickly after, earl Cadogan had notice of a perſon of the ſame name in Holland, with letters and papers of conſequence; whereupon, at his inſtances, Maſſy's longings were ſearched, and his perſon and papers ſecured.

(b) The ſame day this bill was brought in, there was printed and delivered to the lords, a liſt of the peers exiſting at the time of king James IIſt's acceſſion to the crown, and of thoſe who have ſince been advanced to the peerage; as alſo of the ſeveral peers extinct in his and the ſucceeding reigns. By this liſt it appears that,

At the death of queen Elizabeth, the number of Engliſh peers was, — 59

		ext.	add.
K. James I. created	62	17	45
K. Charles I. —	59	21	38
K. Charles II. —	64	53	11
K. James II. —	8	8	0
K. William and Q. Mary, —	30	21	9
Queen Anne —	30	24	6
K. George —	20	10	10
	332	154	119
Extinct	154		
Remains	178		

Geo. I. 1718-19. moved for, was the duke of Somerſet, who on the laſt day of February, repreſented in the houſe of lords, that the number of peers being of late years very much increaſed, eſpecially ſince the union of the two kingdoms, it ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to fix the ſame, both to preſerve the dignity of the peerage, and to prevent the inconveniencies that may attend the creation of a great number of peers to ſerve a preſent purpoſe; of which they had a remarkable inſtance in the late reign. He therefore made a motion for the bringing in a bill to ſettle and limit the peerage in ſuch a manner, that the number of Engliſh peers ſhould not be inlarged beyond ſix above the preſent number, which upon failure of male iſſue might be ſupplied with new creations; and that, inſtead of the ſixteen elective peers, twenty-five ſhould be made hereditary on the part of Scotland, whoſe number, upon failure of heirs male, ſhould be ſupplied by ſome other Scots peer. The duke of Argyle (who was now lord ſteward of the houſhold) ſeconded this motion, which was alſo ſupported by the earls of Sunderland and Carliſle, before they came to any reſolution; and therefore his lordſhip, the earl of Oxford, excepted againſt it, and ſaid, 'as it tended to take away the brighteſt gem from the crown, it was matter of wonder to ſee it ſupported by thoſe, who, by the great employments they enjoyed, ſeemed under the ſtricteſt obligation to take care of the Royal Prerogative. That therefore there muſt be a Secret Meaning in this motion; but for his own part, though he expected nothing from the crown, yet he would never give his vote for lopping off ſo valuable a branch of the prerogative, becauſe this would put it out of the power of the crown to reward merit and virtuous actions.' To this the earl of Sunderland anſwered, 'That though the number of peers were limited, yet the crown ſhould ſtill be the fountain of honour, and preſerve its prerogative of creating new peers.

At the time of debating the bill, the ſtate of the peers was as follows:

The prince of Wales and duke of York	2
Dukes	22
Earls	73
Viſcounts	13
Barons	68
	178
Archbiſhops and biſhops	26
Peers of Scotland	16
	220

upon the extinction of old titles for want of male iſſue, which happened frequently; and that theſe extinctions would give the prince on the throne ſufficient opportunities to beſtow honours upon commoners of diſtinguiſhing merit and abilities.' The debate being adjourned to the ſecond of March, upon that day, earl Stanhope delivered to a full houſe the following meſſage from the king: Geo. I. 1718-19.

'George R.

'His majeſty being informed, that the houſe of peers have under conſideration the ſtate of the peerage of Great-Britain, is graciouſly pleaſed to acquaint this houſe, that he has ſo much at heart the ſettling the peerage of the whole kingdom upon ſuch a foundation, as may ſecure the freedom and conſtitution of parliaments in all future ages, that he is willing, that his prerogative ſtand not in the way of ſo great and neceſſary a work.'

A motion being made for an addreſs of thanks for this meſſage, the earl of Nottingham excepted againſt it, ſaying, It was unuſual for the king to take notice of any thing depending in parliament, before the ſame was laid before him in a parliamentary way. But the duke of Bucks over-ruled this objection, and ſaid, It could not be ſuppoſed, that the king alone ſhould be ignorant of what every body elſe knew; and that ſince his majeſty was pleaſed, for the good of his ſubjects, to ſuffer his prerogative to be reſtrained, they ought readily to accept, and thankfully acknowledge, ſo great and ſo gracious a condeſcenſion. Upon this the addreſs was agreed to, and the debate was put off to the next day; when the earl of Sunderland, in a long ſpeech, ran over the ſeveral changes, that had happened in the peerage ſince the time of queen Elizabeth to this time; urged the neceſſity of limiting the number of peers; and propoſed the duke of Somerſet's ſcheme with relation both to the Engliſh and Scots peers. Earl Cowper, in anſwer to this ſpeech, endeavoured to ſhew, 'That what was intended to be done with relation to the Scots peerage was a manifeſt violation of the treaty of Union, and the higheſt piece of unjuſtice; for it was no leſs than to deprive perſons of their right without being heard, and without any pretence of forfeiture on their part; urging, that the Scots peers, who ſhould be excluded

Geo. I. 1718-19. from the number of the twenty-five hereditary, would be in a worſe condition than any other ſubjects, ſince they would be neither electing nor elected, nor repreſenting, nor repreſented; which could not fail of raiſing dangerous diſcontents amongſt them. That beſides, it would be a breach of truſt in thoſe who repreſented the Scots peerage, wholly to diveſt their principals of a power, with which they had intruſted them only for a few years: And therefore he was of opinion, that the Scots peers ought to have been conſulted, before any ſteps were made in ſo nice and ſo important an affair. Theſe objections were anſwered by the earls of Sunderland, Stanhope, and Cadogan, the dukes of Bucks and Newcaſtle, the biſhop of Gloceſter, and ſome other Engliſh lords, who were ſupported by ſeveral Scots peers, particularly the dukes of Roxburgh and Montroſe, the marquiſs of Annandale and the earl of Ilay. In the firſt place, it was alledged, 'That the ſettling the peerage, in the manner propoſed, was rather a benefit than a diſadvantage to the Scots peerage, whoſe repreſentatives were thereby increaſed by nine, and all made hereditary; And as for thoſe peers, who, for the preſent, would be excluded, they would afterwards have a chance to come in, upon failure of any of the twenty-five: That this regulation could not be looked upon as a violation of the Union, two things only being made unalterable fundamentals of that contract, Religion, and the Proportion of public Taxes: That the conſulting of the Scots peers in this affair, would be altogether improper and unparliamentary, and attended with great inconveniencies. The earl of Ilay in particular repreſented, That the bringing in a number of peers into that houſe, by election, was certainly derogatory to the dignity of that auguſt aſſembly, and of the higheſt tribunal in the united kingdoms: And therefore he had long before wiſhed to ſee this defect in the Union rectified, and the Scots peers freed from that ignominious mark of diſtinction, which made them be looked upon as dependant on the court and miniſtry, and not at liberty to vote like the other members, for the good and intereſt of their country.' The earl of Nottingham, the lord Townſhend, and ſome other peers, declared, 'That they were not againſt the ſettling and limiting the peerage, but only againſt the doing it in ſuch a manner, as, in their opinion, was unjuſt, and might be attended with dangerous conſequences.' But, after a long debate, reſolutions agreeable to the duke of Somerſet's motion

motion were agreed to, and the judges were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill (c). Geo. I. 1718-19.

As

(c) The reſolutions about the Scots peers were theſe ſix:

I. That, in lieu of the ſixteen peers to ſit in this houſe on the part of Scotland, twenty-five peers, to be declared by his majeſty, ſhall have hereditary ſeats in parliament, and be the peers on the part of the peerage of Scotland.

II. That ſuch twenty-five peers ſhall be declared by his majeſty, before the next ſeſſion of parliament.

III. That nine of the ſaid twenty-five ſhall be appointed by his majeſty to have immediate right to ſuch hereditary ſeats in parliament, ſubject to the qualifications requiſite by the laws now in being.

IV. That none of the remaining ſixteen, ſo to be declared by his majeſty, or their heirs, ſhall become ſitting peers of the parliament of Great-Britain, 'till after the determination of this preſent parliament, except ſuch as are of the number of the ſixteen peers now ſitting in parliament on the part of Scotland and their heirs.

V. That if any of the twenty-five peers, ſo to be declared by his majeſty, and their heirs, ſhall fail, ſome one or other of the peers of Scotland ſhall be appointed by his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to ſucceed every ſuch peers ſo failing; and every peer ſo appointed ſhall be one of the peers on the part of the peerage of Scotland, in the parliament of Great-Britain, and ſo, toties quoties, as often as any ſuch failure ſhall happen.

VI. That the hereditary right of ſitting in parliament, which ſhall accrue to the twenty-five peers of Scotland, to be declared by his majeſty, ſhall be ſo limited, as not to deſcend to females.

The reſolutions concerning the Engliſh peers (which were agreed to the next day) were theſe five:

I. That the number of peers of Great-Britain, on the part of England, ſhall not be inlarged, without precedent right, beyond ſix above what they are at preſent: But, as any of the ſaid preſent peers, or ſuch ſix new peers, in caſe they be created, ſhall fail, their number may be ſupplied by new creations of commoners, natural born ſubjects of this kingdom, and ſo, toties quoties, as often as ſuch failure ſhall happen.

II. That no perſon be at any time hereafter created a peer by writ, nor any peerage granted by patent for any longer eſtate than for the grantee, and the heirs male of his body.

III. That there be not any reſtraint on the crown to create any of the princes of the blood peers of Great-Britain, with right to ſit in parliament.

IV. That, whenever any of the lords now ſitting in parliament, whoſe ſons have been called by writ, ſhall die, then it ſhall be lawful for his majeſty, his

Geo. I. 1718-19. As this affair had made a great noiſe, and alarmed, not only the generality of the Scots peers, but alſo many of the Engliſh commoners, a pamphlet, ſaid to be wrote by Mr. Benſon, called the Plebeian, was publiſhed againſt the bill, which was anſwered by Mr. Addiſon, in his paper called 'The Old Whig.' In theſe papers, the chief arguments, on both ſides of that important queſtion, are largely and fully diſplayed (d).

The peerage bill dropped. Whilſt the public was in expectation of the iſſue of this affair, a ſudden ſtop was put to all farther proceedings. Earl Stanhope, when the bill came to be read the third time, made a ſpeech, wherein he obſerved, 'That this bill had made a great noiſe, and raiſed ſtrange apprehenſions: And ſince the deſign of it had been ſo miſrepreſented, and ſo miſunderſtood, that it was like to meet with great oppoſition in the other houſe, he thought it adviſeable to let the matter lie ſtill till a more proper opportunity.' Upon this, the third reading was put off a fortnight, by which means the bill was dropped for this ſeſſion: For the king, four days after, came to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech, which the lord chancellor read to both houſes:

1719. The parliament is prorogued. April 18. P. H. C.

My lords and gentlemen,

"I AM now come to put an end to this ſeſſion, in which "you have ſhewn many great and ſeaſonable proofs of "your duty and affection to my perſon and government, "and of your care for the ſafety and welfare of your fellow-"ſubjects.

his heirs and ſucceſſors, to create a peer to ſupply the number ſo leſſened.

V. That every creation of a peer hereafter to be made contrary to theſe reſolutions ſhall be null and void to all intents and purpoſes.

(d) The Plebeian has the following expreſſions: 'The greateſt traitor to civil ſociety, that ever yet appeared, will be the man, if ſuch a one can be found, who ſhall contend for ſuch a bill, ſhould it be propoſed among the commons, with the aſſurance in his pocket of being a peer, as ſoon as the bill paſſes. And ſhould he ſucceed, which God forbid, that honour, which is to be the reward of ſo baſe a treachery, will be a laſting mark of infamy to the family that bears it, whilſt any notion of honour remains among mankind.'

Mr. Benſon was ſoon after removed from his poſt of ſurveyor-general of his majeſty's works, and was ſucceeded by Sir Thomas Hewet.

"By

" By the bleſſing of God on our endeavours, we have hi- Geo. I.
" therto diſappointed the ill deſigns of our enemies, who 1718-19.
" flattered themſelves with ſucceſs from our unhappy di-
" viſions.

" We perceive, by the raſh and wicked counſels which
" have lately prevailed in the court of Spain, that the deſ-
" perate and extravagant projects of one ambitious man,
" though not capable of giving fears to their neighbours,
" may occaſion to them ſome expence and trouble.

" That court being influenced by counſels odious and
" deſtructive to the Spaniards, who find themſelves neglected
" and oppreſſed, after having endeavoured to foment con-
" ſpiracies and ſeditions both here and in France, and ſtoop-
" ed to practices unuſual, accompanied by manifeſtoes of a
" ſtile unheard of among great princes, has at laſt proceeded
" to acknowledge the pretender.

" As this news has given great ſurprize to all Europe, I
" queſtion not, but it will be received by every good Briton
" with indignation and contempt.

" It is our happineſs, at this juncture, to find ourſelves
" aſſiſted by the greateſt powers in Europe againſt an enemy,
" that has no allies, but thoſe, who would betray the go-
" vernment, under which they live and are protected.

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I thank you very heartily for the ſupplies you have
" granted me this year. The manner, in which you have
" raiſed them, without any new burden to my people, the
" great addition you have made to the fund for ſinking the
" debts of the nation, the diſcharge of the Exchequer bills,
" and the proviſions you have made to pay whatſoever re-
" mains juſtly due to foreign ſtates and princes, are the
" ſtrongeſt proofs of your wiſdom, as well as of your zeal
" for my ſervice and the good of your country. You may
" obſerve, I have hitherto been very cautious of making uſe
" of the power you have given me, to increaſe our forces by
" ſea and land. If our enemies ſhould oblige me to a
" greater expence, it ſhall be employed for your ſervice.
" This is what the truſt you repoſed in me requires at my
" hands, and what I owe to ſo dutiful and affectionate a
" houſe of commons.

" My

Geo. I.
1719.

My lords and gentlemen,

"There being nothing more desirable, at all times, than "a firm union among Protestants, I reflect with satisfaction "upon the law you have passed this session, which will, I "hope, prove effectual to that purpose. As it is a signal "instance of moderation and indulgence in our established "Church, so I hope it will beget such a return of gratitude "from all Dissenting Protestants, as will greatly tend to her "honour and security, both which I shall ever have near at "heart.

"I have always looked upon the glory of a sovereign, and "the liberty of a subject, as inseparable; and think it is the "peculiar happiness of a British king, to reign over a free "people. As the civil rights, therefore, and privileges of "all my subjects, and especially of my two houses of par- "liament, do justly claim my most tender concern; if any pro- "vision designed to perpetuate these blessings to your poste- "rity remains imperfect, for want of time, during this ses- "sion, maturely to discuss and settle matters of so great im- "portance, I promise myself, you will take the first oppor- "tunity to render my wishes for your happiness compleat "and effectual, and to strengthen the union, which is "of so much consequence to the welfare of this king- "dom.

"If the circumstances of my affairs shall allow of my go- "ing abroad this summer, I shall take the same care of your "interests, as if I remained here. The many negotiations, "which will be on foot, to restore the peace of the North, "in which the trade and tranquillity of this kingdom may "be very much concerned, will make my presence there of "great use to these my dominions. And, as in that case I "design, by the blessing of God, to meet you early next "winter, I will only recommend to you most earnestly, "that, laying aside all animosities, you would, in your se- "veral counties and stations, use your utmost endeavours to "preserve the public peace, and see a due execution of the "laws."

After this speech, the parliament was prorogued to the 19th of May; and afterwards, by several prorogations, to the 23d of November (e).

(e) An act passed after the restoration, obliging all mayors and aldermen, &c. at their admission into offices, to sign a declaration

Soon after the prorogation, the king declared his intention of going to Hanover, and appointed for lords juſtices, in his abſence, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord chancellor Parker, the duke of Kingſton, Argyle (now alſo Greenwich) Newcaſtle, Bolton, Marlborough, and Roxburgh, the earls of Sunderland, Berkly, and Stanhope, and ſecretary Craggs. The prince and princeſs of Wales, not being appointed regents, retired into the country, and appeared no more till the king's departure, a few days after which they came to St. James's to ſee the young princeſſes, who kept a levy twice a week: And to them it was, that the lords juſtices, and a numerous appearance of foreign miniſters, nobility, and gentry, made their compliments on the king's birth-day, who was entered into the ſixtieth year of his age. Geo. I. 1719. The king goes to Hanover.

As the king thought his preſence in Germany neceſſary to forward the many negotiations that were on foot, he ſet out the 11th of May, and, after a ſhort paſſage of ſeventeen hours, arrived in Holland. With the king embarked earl Stanhope, the ducheſs of Munſter (now ducheſs of Kendal) and the lord and lady How, with ſome others. The king ſtaid two days at Oſnabrug, and came to Herenhauſen the 18th of May.

The death of the king of Sweden having removed the chief obſtacle to the peace of the North, the king turned his thoughts firſt that way. The new queen, who had ſucceeded her brother, Charles XII. as well as the whole nation, were deſirous of peace; drained of men and money, they were unable to make war: Almoſt the whole army, led by the late king to the fatal expedition of Norway, miſerably periſhed. But it was not ſufficient to give peace to Sweden, it was neceſſary alſo to diſarm her other enemies, and bound their pretenſions. Theſe enemies were the czar, and the kings of Denmark, Pruſſia and Poland. King George, diſpleaſed with the czar, whom he ſuſpected of having en- He makes peace with Sweden.

claration againſt 'The Solemn league and Covenant,' on a conſiderable penalty. As this act was ſtill in force, and all the magiſtrates liable to the penalty of it, becauſe the declaration had been univerſally neglected, on a petition of the lord mayor and aldermen of London, an act paſſed this ſeſſion to repeal it, under the title of 'An Act for quieting and eſtabliſhing Corporations.'

The truſtees of the forfeited eſtates delivered in an account of the value of the eſtates of Papiſts, which had, in purſuance of an act, for that purpoſe, been regiſtered in the ſeveral counties of England, amounting to 375,284l. 15s. 3½d.

tered

Geo. I. 1719. tered into all the projects which had been formed against him, resolved to keep no measures with him. He began with a sincere reconciliation with Sweden, then endeavoured to soften the king of Denmark, and induce the two others to proceed with great moderation, to acknowledge him for a mediator, and join with him, if necessary, to compel the czar to accept of equitable conditions.

The duke of Orleans, in concert with king George, had offered his mediation to Sweden for a reconciliation with that prince. The offer was accepted, and, in July, a provisional treaty was signed, by which a peace was to be concluded as soon as possible, agreeable to the plan, and terms agreed upon with the mediator. This was punctually performed, and in November, the sieur de Bassewitz, minister of his Britannic majesty, as duke and elector of Brunswick, signed the peace with the plenipotentiaries of queen Ulrica.

By this treaty, Sweden gave up for ever, to the royal and electoral house of Hanover, the duchies of Bremen and Verden, with all their rights and dependencies, according to the treaty of Osnabrug, of the 23d of October, 1648, by virtue of which the kings of Sweden had enjoyed them. On the other hand, the elector of Hanover engaged to continue to his new subjects their rights, privileges, effects and religion; and to discharge the engagements of his predecessors in those duchies. Moreover, he obliged himself to pay to the queen of Sweden, a million of rix-dollars, at two payments; the first before the signing of the treaty; the second, five or six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications. He engaged likewise to renew, both as king of Great-Britain, and elector of Hanover, the alliances formerly established with his predecessors and the kingdom of Sweden. Lastly, the treaty of Westphalia was renewed, with a reservation of demanding and accepting the guarantee of the emperor, and, according to circumstances, of some other powers.

At the same time the lord Carteret, ambassador plenipotentiary of Great-Britain to the court of Sweden, was employed to negotiate the confirmation of this treaty of peace, by an alliance between the two crowns, still under the mediation and guarantee of France. But this alliance was not concluded till the next year, as will be related.

These negotiations with the queen of Sweden were not the most difficult; she readily agreed to a peace, and considered it as the ground of her safety, and the end of her miseries. But it was not the same either with the king of Denmark or the czar, who looked upon these negotiations as the ruin

ruin of their ſchemes, and an obſtacle to their conqueſts. As for king Auguſtus, he entered intirely into the views of the king of Great-Britain, and was contented with being acknowledged king of Poland; he did not even require, that the intereſts of his competitor ſhould be abandoned; and conſented, that, in the proviſional treaty, the queen of Sweden ſhould reſerve to herſelf the liberty of demanding for him what ſhe ſhould think proper. Geo. I. 1719.

The king of Pruſſia was a little more difficult; but he complied at laſt, and, accepting the mediation of Great-Britain, granted a ſuſpenſion of arms till the concluſion of the peace.

The king of Denmark had made great preparations for an expedition againſt Sweden, which he was to execute in perſon: He had already had ſome ſucceſs, but of a ſudden he deſiſted, and, conſenting to a ſuſpenſion of arms for ſix months, accepted of the mediation of France and Great-Britain, and, after numberleſs diſputes, gave way to the inſtances of the mediators, and accepted of a ſum of money by way of ſatisfaction for the conqueſts, which he was obliged to reſtore. The czar was the only prince, who would not comply, but ſent his fleet to the Scheuron or Batſes of Sweden, where twelve or fifteen thouſand Muſcovites landed, and made a dreadful ravage. The Engliſh fleet, which, under Sir John Norris, was in thoſe ſeas, to ſupport the negotiations, had orders to treat the Ruſſian fleet, as admiral Byng had done that of Spain; but the czar recalled his fleet, and prevented the blow. Thus ſtood affairs in the North; it is time now to ſee what was done in the Mediterranean this ſummer.

Affairs in the Mediterranean. Corbet.

Whilſt admiral Byng and the viceroy of Naples were waiting for the return of count Hamilton, whom they had agreed to ſend to Vienna, to repreſent the poſture of affairs, and bring back the final reſolutions of that court, concerning the operations of the war, the admiral ſailed to Port-Mahon to refit his ſquadron

Signor

(f) Captain Matthews being left with a ſquadron at Pentamelia, to obſerve rear-admiral Cammock, and hinder his eſcaping out of Meſſina to the ſouthward, had the good fortune to run one of them aſhore, a ſhip of ſixty-four guns, called the St. Roſelia; and another called the St. Pedro, of ſixty guns, was caſt away in Tarento bay. Cammock himſelf, endeavouring to get away to Spain in a ſmall frigate of twenty-two guns, was chaſed the 6th of February by a ſhip of captain Matthews's ſquadron

Geo. I. 1719.

Signor Patinho had hitherto reſided in Meſſina, directing the affairs of the iſland for the intereſt of his maſter with great prudence; but, his preſence being wanted at the court of Spain, he embarked on board a felucca, on the 16th of January in the night, and put to ſea, attended by two gallies. If the darkneſs had continued an hour longer, he would have undoubtedly fallen into the mouths of two of the Engliſh cruizers, which chaſed his gallies into a bay near

Patinho returns to Spain.

dron, and eſcaped with much difficulty in his boat to Catania, but the frigate was taken, with all his effects and papers, among which was a commiſſion from the pretender, appointing him admiral of the white ſquadron.

This unhappy man was a native of Ireland, and, being bred up at ſea, had raiſed himſelf to the poſt of a captain, and ſerved in queen Anne's war, with no bad character. But aſſociating himſelf with thoſe who were enemies to the houſe of Hanover, and becoming obnoxious to the government, on the acceſſion of that family to the crown, he abandoned his country, and entered into the ſervice of Spain, where he was promoted to the rank of a rear-admiral, and ſerved in that poſt in the expedition againſt Sicily. He had never been noted to want courage, but, in the action of Paſſaro, he ran away among the firſt, and eſcaped to Malta, affording an inſtance, how much a conſciouſneſs of guilt and dread of puniſhment depreſſes the heart more than the fear of an enemy. He was a vain boaſting man, with a roving unſettled head, filled with airy ſchemes and projects, without any judgment or diſcretion. He aſſured ſignor Patinho, that he could put moſt of the Engliſh fleet into his hands, in recompence for that which he had loſt; and, in that ſenſeleſs confidence, wrote a letter to the admiral, to let him know, that he had the pretender's commands to aſſure him, if he would bring over the greateſt part of his fleet to Meſſina, or to any port in Spain, he would create him duke of Albemarle, with a royal bounty of one hundred thouſand pounds to ſupport the honour and dignity of that rank; and that every captain ſhould have ten thouſand pounds, and the ſeamen a gratuity of two months wages. That ſignor Patinho would ſatisfy him of the king of Spain's ſecurity for the performance of this agreement, and that nobody elſe but the dukes of Ormond and Mar were in the ſecret. Whether he wrote by direction or not, does not appear, but the letter met with the contempt it deſerved. He likewiſe ſent another letter to captain Walton, with the promiſe of a reward of ten thouſand pounds, a commiſſion of admiral of the blue, and to be made an Engliſh peer, if he would bring his ſhips into Meſſina, which the honeſt captain brought to the admiral, with vehement expreſſions of abhorrence and indignation.

Pa-

Palermo; but the felucca eſcaped, and landed him in Italy; Geo. I.
from whence he proceeded to Madrid, and, by his counſels 1719.
and induſtry, all methods were uſed for ſupporting their army in Sicily with recruits of men, and all neceſſaries of war. The Venetians and Genoeſe, and even the French conſuls in the ports of Italy, notwithſtanding the ſevere prohibitions of the regent, were corrupted to give them all the aſſiſtance poſſible; and, though many veſſels were taken, many eſcaped. As to the French, admiral Byng found himſelf under a difficulty how to treat the ſhips of a nation, that was in ſtrict alliance with England. He made loud complaints of their partiality, till at laſt the regent gave him leave to confiſcate all thoſe he met with in the ſervice of Spain, which put ſome ſtop to their clandeſtine proceedings (a).

Admiral Byng, having refitted moſt of his ſquadron at Port-Mahon, haſtened away from thence with four men of

(a) Mr. Corbet mentions here an inſtance or two of the unfair practice of other nations at this time upon the Engliſh trade, and which, it is apprehended, will always be the caſe, whenever England is engaged in foreign wars. The admiral having intelligence from Genoa, that a privateer of twenty-four guns had been fitted out by French merchants of that place, and was cruizing with a Spaniſh commiſſion off of cape Corſo, and having no ſmall frigates with him, he converted the Loo hoſpital ſhip into a frigate, and, putting twenty guns and one hundred men into her, ſent her, under the command of captain Prothero, in queſt of the ſaid privateer. The captain fortunately met with her off the iſland of Capraia, and after a ſmart engagement took her. She had one hundred and thirty men, moſt French, of whom fifty-ſix were killed, and nineteen wounded, with the loſs only of two men killed in the Loo, and four wounded. The admiral directed the priſoners to be ſent to Thoulon, and delivered into the cuſtody of the intendant; and he wrote to the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, to repreſent thoſe proceedings to the regent, to whoſe juſtice he left the priſoners. Another ſhip was fitted out at Venice, with fifty guns, and two hundred and fifty men, all Venetians, except three Spaniards, and eight Engliſh; and having taken a Spaniſh commiſſion at Malta, which ſignor Patinho had lodged there for her, ſhe went a cruizing on the coaſt of Spain. The admiral being informed of it, ſent the Orford and Rupert after her, the latter of which, meeting with her off Peniſcola, engaged and took her by boarding, having killed ſixty-one men, and wounded twenty-nine, with the loſs only of one man killed and three wounded.

Geo. I. 1719. war the 30th of March, leaving the reſt to follow him, and arrived the 4th of April at Naples, where he hoped to find the army from Hungary arrived, and in a readineſs to embark; but, contrary to his expectations, he ſaw every thing in extreme backwardneſs, partly for want of money.

On the 23d of April, count de Mercy arrived at Naples from Vienna, to take upon him the command of the whole army. He was a native of Lorrain, but brought up in the emperor's ſervice, where he had riſen to the rank of general of the horſe. He was of a tall graceful preſence, with a very ſoldier-like appearance, but had the misfortune of being ſhort-ſighted, almoſt to purblindneſs. He had great ſtrength of body and mind, and was indefatigable in the uſe of both, when neceſſary. He was full of fire, and his converſation abounded with wit and humour. He had great ſkill in courting and careſſing perſons, when he wanted to gain any point, but, at other times, his behaviour diſcovered much haughtineſs. He had an inſatiable thirſt for glory, which was ſeconded by a bold and moſt reſolute temper, always heading his troops himſelf, and ſeemed to have a ſort of paſſion for fighting. He was ſeldom in any action but he was wounded, and was not eſteemed a fortunate officer. He deſpiſed an enemy too much, was impatient for engaging, and had the character of not caring what men he ſacrificed to obtain his purpoſe, when a few days patience might perhaps have ſucceeded as well without it; which opinion made the ſoldiers uneaſy under him, as they were in continual apprehenſions of being led to the ſlaughter. Upon the whole, as he had great parts, and great experience of ſervice, he muſt have made a great general (as he was a complete fine gentleman), if he had had a cooler temper, or could have commanded it better. But, with all his faults, he was certainly in the ſuperior rank of men, of which there needs no better proof, than that he was a favourite of prince Eugene. He was now going to encounter an old ſchool-fellow, in the marquiſs de Lede, who was a Fleming by birth, and a good general under a quite oppoſite character; being as different from the other in perſon, as he was in temper. He was of a low miſſhapen ſtature, not affable nor open in his diſpoſition, but much eſteemed for his judgment and prudence, and was of great military experience too. He was as cautious and circumſpect, as the other was bold and enterprizing; and, in this reſpect, both ſeemed to be in their proper employments, the one in a ſituation of defence, and the other of attack. It was thought, that, in the courſe of this war, he ſlipped

ſome

ſome opportunities, which the overſight, or wants of the Germans, gave him, of acting upon them to advantage; but, he conſidered, that he was in a country, where he was ſhut up from receiving any conſiderable ſupplies of men, while the enemy poured in what numbers they pleaſed, and that any large diminution of his troops might endanger the whole, and therefore made it a principal point to preſerve his army as much as poſſible, and with the advantage of the paſſes, and the affection of the country people, to diſtreſs and diſable his adverſary, which he effected with much ſkill and wiſdom, and maintained the honour of the arms of Spain with great reputation; and at laſt, when the king his maſter was forced by the weight of the alliances againſt him, to relinquiſh the iſland, he brought a gallant army back into Spain (b). Geo. I. 1719.

Whilſt the troops were arriving, and the veſſels to tranſport them were getting ready, admiral Byng aſſiſted at ſeveral conferences with the viceroy of Naples and general Mercy, about the intended deſcent on Sicily. All agreed, that Syracuſa was out of the way, but it was not ſo eaſy to determine, whether it would be beſt to land at Palermo, or near Melazzo. Palermo was judged ſafeſt, and would not only make them maſters of the capital city, but alſo of the fertile province of Mazzara, from whence they might eaſily draw

(b) The city of Naples was at this time full of general officers, and perſons of high quality and diſtinction, and abounded in all the pleaſures of that delightful climate. The viceroy was ſtudious of making the place agreeable to the admiral, as much out of affection as politeneſs. On the feſtival day of St. Januarius, he appointed him a box near his own, to behold that famous ceremony. The blood continued long without liquifying, at the approach of the head of the ſaint. The vaſt concourſe of people began to ſhew ſigns of concern. They firſt fell to praying, afterwards proceeded to groans and lamentations; and at length ſuch a confuſed murmuring and uneaſineſs was perceived amongſt them, that the viceroy, being apprehenſive of ſome ill conſequences, ſent count Hamilton to the admiral, to beg he would not take it ill, if he deſired him to retire, not knowing what effect it might have upon the populace, if they ſhould take it into their heads to attribute the failing of the miracle to the ſaint's being diſpleaſed at his preſence. The admiral had no ſooner quitted his box, and was ſtepping into the viceroy's coach, but he heard a prodigious ſhout of, 'é fatto, é fatto, it is done, 'it is done;' and ſuch joy and exultation appeared in every countenance, as if they had been delivered from ſome terrible calamity.

Geo. I. 1719. provisions and necessaries for the subsistance of the army. But Melazzo was most expeditious, as it would press the enemy closer, and bring matters more quickly to a decision; and this opinion prevailed. But, when they came to examine into the state of their military stores, they were so deficient in a train of artillery, that the admiral yielded to supply them with cannon, powder and ball from the Spanish prizes, rather than suffer time to be lost for want thereof.

Expedition to Sicily.

All things being at length got ready, the army embarked, consisting of ten thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, all choice troops, and the flower of those that had lately served victoriously in Hungary. The admiral sailed from the bay of Baiæ, the 22d of May, N. S. with eight men of war, and above two hundred transports; and, on the 27th in the evening, arrived before Melazzo, from whence general Zumjungen came off, and advised count de Mercy to land in the bay of Patti, about twenty miles westward, the coasts to the eastward being all guarded by the enemy. Upon this, so good a disposition and order was made, that, the next morning early, all the foot landed in less than two hours, and most of the cavalry by three in the afternoon, having only lost two horses in the voyage.

Upon the landing of the imperialists, the marquis de Lede decamped with precipitation, and marched, without halting, to Franca Villa, a strong post, thirty-two miles distant, in a mountainous country, and from whence three roads led to Palermo, Messina, and Syracusa. Count de Mercy arrived, by easy marches, at Melazzo, and found in the Spanish camp some cannon, with ammunition and utensils of war, which the haste of the Spaniards had left behind.

Whilst matters were preparing here for the further operations of the army, count Seckendorf was detached with a body of two thousand five hundred foot, and one hundred and fifty horse, to reduce the islands of Lipari to the emperor's obedience; which he effected, after some resistance, in four days time. This conquest was absolutely necessary to keep open the navigation between Naples and Sicily, which had been disturbed by the armed vessels of those islands. Lipari, the principal island, is said to contain eight thousand inhabitants, a bold people, addicted to pillage, and the best mariners in those parts.

It was now under deliberation, whether the army should go and besiege Messina, or follow the Spaniards, who were strongly

ſtrongly intrenching themſelves at Franca Villa. Meſſina had a numerous garriſon, and was well provided for a long ſiege, which might waſte away the ſummer, whilſt the Spaniards got in the corn, now near ripe, and kept the magazines of the iſland in their poſſeſſion. It was therefore determined to march towards the enemy, and to endeavour to bring them to battle. The haſty retreat they had made from Melazzo animated count de Mercy ſo much, that he did not imagine they would make any great ſtand at Franca Villa, but that he ſhould trample them under foot (which was his expreſſion) when he came up with them. The way to the enemy lay through a barren mountainous country, and it took up ſo much time to get together a few mules and horſes for carriage from Calabria, that the army did not move from Melazzo till the 17th of June, N. S. amounting to about twenty-one thouſand men. They ſuffered a moſt painful march of three days, through wild unknown roads, broken up and rendered almoſt unpaſſable by the enemy, conducted by ignorant guides, and climbing over craggy rocks and precipices, the ſoldiers oppreſſed with the weight of their ammunition, and ſix days bread, which they carried, beſides their arms, with a fiery ſun burning over their heads, and harraſſed and aſſaulted all along the heights and eminences by the armed peaſants of the country, mixed with ſome Spaniſh foot; but arriving, the 19th in the afternoon, on the top of the mountain of Tre Fontane, they diſcovered the enemy incamped below, in the valley of Franca Villa. At the ſight of their camp, a ſhout of joy ran through the whole army, in hopes of coming to a deciſive action, which ſeemed to promiſe favourably to them, it not being imagined, that the enemy could poſt themſelves in a bottom, with ſo much advantage againſt an army deſcending from higher ground upon them. Geo. I. 1719.

The ſituation of the Spaniſh camp was in this manner. The rapid river Cantara, whoſe banks are of a ſteep quick rock, from ſix to eight feet perpendicularly deep, and runs through the valley of Franca Villa, was in their front. Their left was on the riſing grounds about Franca Villa (the town lying behind in their center) and extended to a high mountain, where they had placed ſome armed peaſants, and a few foot. On the other ſide of the river (but joined by a bridge to the town of Franca Villa) was a ſteep rock, with a convent of Capuchins upon it. Here they placed five battalions of their beſt troops, in as many rows of intrenchments cut into the rock, one above the other; and at the point of the The battle of Franca Villa.

Geo. I. 1719. rock was a ſmall battery of two pieces of cannon of three pounders. On their right they had carried on a fortification of large ſtones, like a wall, all along the river, as far as a high rocky hill, which had a convent on the top, advantageouſly fortified, as that of the Capuchins; and, cloſe behind the hill, the ſteep river Caſtiglione runs into the Cantara, by means of whoſe confluence, and the neighbouring mountains being guarded by armed peaſants, the Spaniards were ſecure from any danger in their rear. It was unfortunate to the Germans, that not one deſerter, nor even a peaſant of the country (who were all up in arms in favour of the Spaniards) came over to give them the leaſt information, ſo that they knew little of the ſtrength and advantage of the enemies poſt, till they came to action, and were within muſket-ſhot of their trenches.

Count de Mercy made a diſpoſition for attacking the enemy that evening at three different places. He detached all the firſt line of foot, conſiſting of ſixteen battalions and twenty-three companies of grenadiers, with three hundred Huſſars, under the command of general Zumjungen, to an adjoining hill on the left. He had under him the lieutenant-general Wallis, Wachtendonck, and the prince of Holſtein. Upon that hill general Zumjungen was to ſeparate his men in two bodies, the one under the command of Wallis, conſiſting of eight battalions and eleven companies of grenadiers, being to deſcend on the right, whilſt Zumjungen did the ſame on the left with eight battalions, twelve companies of grenadiers, and the Huſſars. All the horſe and ſecond line of foot, this conſiſting of twelve battalions under lieutenant-general Seckendorf, and the horſe under lieutenant-general count d'Eck, conſiſting of thirty-five ſquadrons, including three companies of horſe-grenadiers, and as many carabineers, were at the ſame time to deſcend from the mountain of Tre Fontane, and join the other bodies below. Before all this could be effected, night came on, which obliged them to put off the attack till the next morning; and at break of day the ſecond line of foot being got down, and meeting with ten or twelve ſquadrons of the enemy in the valley, they obliged them, as they advanced, to retire towards their intrenchments. When the army was got down to the places appointed in the valley, count de Mercy perceiving that the enemy poſſeſſed ſeveral conſiderable poſts on a hill to his right, from whence they would flank him in his attack, he ordered lieutenant-general Seckendorf, and the prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, with ſix battalions, to endeavour to diſlodge

dislodge them from thence, and then to descend and rejoin the army in the general attack, which the generals Zumjungen and Wallis were ordered to defer till they saw Seckendorf engaged, and descending towards them. The hill being very steep and difficult, and the enemy being very advantageously posted, Seckendorf was obliged to make many windings, which took up much time to get up to them. In the mean while the enemy, seeing that detachment, sent more foot thither, which made count de Mercy strengthen him with four battalions more; so that it was four in the afternoon before they all arrived on the top of the mountain. Seckendorf, having his ten battalions together, drove the enemy down from thence to their intrenchments; and, if night had not come on too soon, it was thought he would have been able to have forced his way into their lines, which at that place were weakest, and most easy to be penetrated. At the same time four companies of grenadiers of Wallis's body attacked a post of the enemy on the back of the same hill, and drove them thence, whilst the rest of the grenadiers (being seven companies) sustained by the battalions of the same body, and the regiment of dragoons of Anspach, attacked a small intrenchment, which the enemy had made across the valley, and, having carried it, they advanced on towards the rock of the Capuchins, which they attacked about six in the evening, being reinforced by two battalions of Leffelholtz, which count Mercy had drawn from the left to sustain them. Here was very warm and bloody work, the Germans being exposed to a continual fire from the several trenches of the enemy on the sides of the rock. During this attack, count d'Eck, with the carabineers and horse-grenadiers, followed by the regiments of horse of Liege, Hanover, and Portugal, traversed the valley within half musket-shot of the enemy, and placed himself to the left of Zumjungen, the plain there appearing large enough for the horse to act, and to sustain Zumjungen's attack, and penetrate with him into the enemy's intrenchments. But this motion of the horse crossing Zumjungen in his march, did very much retard his attack, so that it was late before he attacked three casines, which stood near the river, within eighty paces of the enemy's lines, which he took, not without loss of men. Here the prince of Holstein was mortally wounded, and, being left on the field of battle, he sent to the marquis de Ledo, who caused him to be carried into Franca Villa, where he died three days after. While Zumjungen was disposing his troops to attack the intrenchments, by

Geo. I. 1719.

Geo. I. 1719. the way of a mill, which lay on the river oppoſite to the caſſines, he perceived the Heſſian battalions on his right followed by miſtake the two battalions of Leffelholtz to the rock of the Capuchins, which diſappointed his deſign, for it was night before they returned. Count de Mercy animated his troops every where by his preſence and example, heading himſelf the two battalions of Leffelholtz, at the attack of the Capuchins, and after having one horſe killed under him, and two diſabled, he was at laſt himſelf dangerouſly wounded in the reins with a muſket-ball. Night coming on, put an end to the action, and left things undecided, except that the Germans maintained ſome ſmall poſts they had gained, which ſerved to ſtraiten the enemy in their camp. In this action the Germans had eight hundred and forty-ſix men killed, and two thouſand four hundred and forty-nine wounded; amongſt the latter admiral Byng's ſecond ſon very dangerouſly, who ſerved as a volunteer. The Spaniards had one thouſand five hundred killed or wounded.

Count de Mercy, having withdrawn his wounded men in the night, ranged his army in order to renew the attack next morning; but, the action of the day before having convinced the other generals of the ſtrong ſituation of the enemy, and perceiving the ſoldiers extremely diſpirited and dejected with their hardſhips and ill ſucceſs, they, with much difficulty, prevailed upon him not to perſiſt in that reſolution, but, by extending to the left, endeavour to cut off the enemy from Meſſina, and open a communication with the Engliſh convoy, which (according to agreement) was to rendezvous in Schiſo-Bay near Taormina, a ſea-port town, about three hours diſtant from Franca Villa, with the tranſports laden with proviſions, ammunition, baggage, and other neceſſaries, which the army ſtood in extreme need of. Here was a contingency of great hazard and danger, which gave the Germans much fear and uneaſineſs. For it might have happened, that the winds had hindered the convoy from paſſing through the Faro. Or, if they ſhould have gained their paſſage into Schiſo-Bay, Taormina and all that coaſt was poſſeſſed by the enemy, and it was poſſible, that the ſhips might not be able to open a communication with the ſhore. Or ſtill, if both theſe points ſucceeded, the eſtabliſhing a correſpondence between the ſea and the camp, through an hoſtile country, was another work of hazard and difficulty, and a diſappointment, in any one of them, was the inevitable ruin of the whole army, who ſaw themſelves near the end of their proviſions, without any other poſſibility of getting

ing more. But they were ſoon delivered from their fears, Geo. I.
by hearing, that the convoy was ſafely arrived in Schiſo-Bay; 1719.
that the ſailors had taken and deſtroyed a ſmall fort of two guns, which had endeavoured to moleſt their anchoring; and that the guns of the men of war had diſperſed a body of troops which the marquiſs de Spinola had ſent from Meſſina to the ſea-ſide, to oppoſe them. Upon this reviving news, count de Mercy ſent general Wachtendonck, with three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, down to encamp at the ſea-ſide, where the ſhips lay at anchor, and ordered the roads, which were hardly paſſable, to be repaired, under the direction of engineer-general Schmettau; and, having got ſome field-pieces from the ſhips up to the camp, he greatly annoyed the enemy, who lay beneath him. This communication was too important for the marquiſs de Lede not to endeavour to interrupt it; and, amongſt many ſkirmiſhes that daily happened, a party of ſeven hundred Spaniſh horſe fell in with the bread-waggons and mules, that were returning from the ſea-ſide, laden with proviſions for the camp, and guarded only by three hundred horſe. The defence, which the Germans made, was reckoned a gallant action. A ſmall party of foot, that happened to be in the neighbourhood, hearing the fire, and preſently coming up, they put the Spaniards to flight, and conducted the waggons and mules ſafe to their camp.

" When count Mercy parted from admiral Byng at Melazzo, to go in queſt of the Spaniſh army, it was the admiral's deſign to return to Naples, and put things there in motion for an intended expedition to Sardinia, which the duke of Savoy had much at heart, and was no leſs preſſed by the courts of England and France. But reflecting within himſelf, that the impetuous temper of the German general, and the contempt he ſaw he had of the enemy, might poſſibly bring about ſome occaſions, that would want his aſſiſtance, he tarried a few days on the coaſt, in uneaſy expectation of the news of the ſucceſs of their march from Melazzo. The armed peaſants had cut off all communication between Franca Villa and Melazzo; ſo that the firſt miſdoubt he entertained, that things had not gone well, was from hearing the guns firing at Meſſina and at the Faro, and ſeeing great illuminations along the coaſt. Soon after he ſaw the Neapolitan galleys rowing out of the Faro, and their general gave him an imperfect account of the action, but enough to ſatisfy him, that it had not been fortunate; upon which he immediately imbarked two battalions from the garriſon of Melazzo, and about a thouſand recruits, who were juſt arrived there, and ſent them, the ſame day, under a convoy, through the

Faro

Geo. I. 1719. Faro to Schiſo-Bay. In the evening he received letters from count de Mercy, informing him of the particulars of the whole action, with the great difficulties he laboured under, and uncertainty what to do; earneſtly preſſing him to come to the camp, that they might confer and conſult together. Upon this, the admiral ſent his firſt captain with his own ſhip and two others to Naples, by whom he ſent a letter to the viceroy, giving his opinion, that all thoughts of an expedition to Sardinia ſhould be laid aſide for the preſent, and the troops, which could be ſpared from his government, ſent immediately into Sicily, till whoſe arrival all things there would be at a ſtand; and that he had ſent his officers and ſhips to promote that ſervice. He then embarked on board the general of the gallies, laying aſide the ceremony of his flag and character, and, in his way to Schiſo, count de Ligneville came to him in a felucca, bringing freſh letters from count de Mercy, which expreſſed his great impatience to ſee him. Being landed at Schiſo, general Wachtendonck renewed the ſame entreaties, which the admiral's zeal did not want; who, accepting that general's horſes, and forgetting for a while his own ſtation and element, ſet out under a ſtrong eſcort, attended by captain Matthews and his eldeſt ſon, and paſſing through roads ſtrewed with dead bodies of men and horſes, that had fallen in ſkirmiſhes the day before, between the ſea-ſide and the camp, he alighted at count de Mercy's tent in the evening, where a guard of grenadiers being drawn out for his reception, one of them was ſhot through the head by a muſket-ball from the enemy's camp, at the door of his tent, and fell down dead at his feet. He found the general very weak and faint with his wound, the ball ſtill remaining in his reins; but, as he had a magnanimity of ſpirit ſuperior to his condition, it did not hinder them from entering into converſation on the melancholy ſituation of their affairs. The general made great complaints of Zumjungen, to whoſe ſlowneſs in marching, and coming ſo late into action, he attributed his ill ſucceſs. He ſaid, he himſelf was ſtill of opinion to make another attack upon the enemy, rather than decamp and retire; but that his officers in general were againſt it; and in that caſe he ſaw nothing left for them to do, but to go down, and join the forces at the ſea-ſide, and march into the country about Catania and Syracuſa, for their better ſubſiſtance. That he had wrote for two battalions of Savoyards to be ſent to him from Syracuſa, which, with the troops the admiral had ſent from Melazzo, would repair his loſs of men; but that the loſs of his officers

officers was irretrievable; for, beſides many killed, a conſiderable number of the beſt and principal were wounded, and incapable of preſent ſervice.' After many propoſitions and ſchemes ſtarted and diſcuſſed between them, without any being concluded on, the count deſired the admiral to ſtay in the camp that night, to be preſent at a conſultation of general officers next morning. The converſation being ended, the admiral went to ſee his ſon, who (as was mentioned before) was wounded in the action, and whom he found languiſhing in his tent, in a way, that gave little hopes of his recovery, not ſo much from the malignity of the wound (though that was in a dangerous part) as from the unſkilfulneſs of thoſe, who attended him, the German army being very ill provided with ſurgeons and medicines (c). Geo. I. 1719.

Such an univerſal dejection had reigned throughout the army, on account of the ill ſucceſs of the late action, and for the loſs and diſability of ſo many brave officers, and they had ſuch continual apprehenſions, that the fiery temper of their general would order them on another attack, that their joy on the arrival of the admiral was inexpreſſible. They looked on him as their deliverer, who alone, they thought, could extricate them from their preſent difficulties and misfortunes, and influence their general with cool and prudent counſels. In the morning early he viſited general Zumjungen, the ſecond perſon in the army, whoſe ſedate deliberate temper had

(c) Mr. Corbet obſerves here, 'It may be wondered that the emperor is ſo well ſerved in the courage of his troops, when ſo little care is generally taken of their preſervation in accidents of wounds or ſickneſs. Surgeons and medicines are few and bad in their armies, and there is little difference between being wounded and killed in action, except that of a lingering or a ſudden death. After the battle of Franca Villa, the wounded men were laid on the ground, with their ammunition-bread ſet by them, and left expoſed to the ſun and fortune. The general himſelf had only his own Valet de Chambre to dreſs his wound, and attend him. It was a moving ſpectacle to the admiral, to meet with great numbers of poor wretches in his way up to the camp, ſome endeavouring, with the ſupport of their wives or comrades, to crawl down to the ſea-ſide, in order to get a paſſage over to the hoſpital at Reggio; others, unable to go on from pain or faintneſs, falling down on the earth, and left to die there. This is a great blemiſh of their ſervice, and gives handle to the maxim which their enemies would fix on them, that they account it cheaper to get a man than cure one, and ſo give themſelves little concern for his recovery.

procured

Geo. I. 1719. procured him great eſteem and confidence among the ſoldiery. He complained much 'of the general's raſh impatience, in not giving time to all the troops to come up; which if he had done, and had delayed the attack till next morning, they would have had the whole day before them, have judged better of the meaſures for carrying it on, which would then have been diſpoſed in another manner, and with more reaſonable expectation of ſucceſs; and that this was not his own ſingle opinion, but that of all the other officers. He bewailed the little regard the general gave to the advice of his officers; and intreated him to oppoſe any overture he might make at the conſultation for another attack, which he feared was not out of his head, and that he (the admiral) only had credit enough to diſſuade him from it.'

The principal officers of the army being met in the general's tent, the firſt point he put in queſtion was, Whether the enemy ſhould be attacked again? The officers keeping a long ſilence, and directing their looks to the admiral, he addreſſed his ſpeech to the general, wherein he 'reminded him of the warning he had formerly given him, not to deſpiſe the enemy, whoſe numbers and reſolution he now experienced to be otherwiſe than what he expected. He ſaid, that he had viewed the ſituation of the enemy's camp, the night before; and, though he did not pretend to much judgment in the operations of land-ſervice, yet it ſeemed to his plain underſtanding, that for one army to attack another equal in number, under the ſhelter of ſtrong and almoſt impregnable intrenchments, was rather an undertaking of deſpair than diſcretion, and could not be attended with any reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs.' All the other officers declaring themſelves of the ſame opinion, that queſtion was laid aſide. It came next under deliberation, What the army was to do? The general's opinion was, 'That it was inſufficient for a ſpeedy conqueſt of the iſland, in regard the enemy had as numerous an army, with all the ſtrong holds and magazines in their poſſeſſion, and the affection of the people on their ſide. That, as they could not continue where they were, it was his opinion, they ſhould march into the fertile country about Catanea, and endeavour to make themſelves maſters of Auguſta; or elſe canton themſelves about Syracuſa for their better ſubſiſtance, till new and effectual ſupplies of troops were ſent from Germany.' To this the admiral replied, 'That he was ſo much of his opinion, that they wanted a further reinforcement of men, that, upon the firſt news of

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the ill ſucceſs of the battle, he had wrote to the viceroy of Naples his ſentiments accordingly: That indeed the courts of London and Paris did earneſtly preſs the carrying on the enterprize againſt Sardinia; but, when they ſhould come to be informed of the ſtate of affairs, they would probably conſent to leave the army, deſigned for that expedition, paſs firſt into Sicily, which, as things ſtood, he thought the neareſt way to the conqueſt of both iſlands. That, after his departure from them, he would immediately go to Naples, and labour that point with the proper courts, with all the earneſtneſs and application poſſible. That, as to their marching in the mean time into the country about Catanea for ſubſiſtance, he apprehended, it would give the world a worſe opinion of the late action than it deſerved, and make it be concluded, that they had been defeated and diſabled; which would blemiſh the credit of their arms, and give too much ſpirit to the enemy, and to the Sicilians in their intereſt. That being now joined by the recruits he had ſent them, and battalions from Syracuſa being daily expected, they would be in a condition to act offenſively, and advance the emperor's affairs: That Auguſta was out of the way, and not worth their attention; and delaying their time there was drawing the war into unneceſſary length; but that the way was open to Meſſina, the beſieging of which city would ſupport the character of their arms, and the taking of it make the reduction of the reſt of the iſland eaſy. That, as to what regarded the fleet, the experience of the laſt winter in keeping two ſquadrons, one within, the other without the Faro, to block up the ſhips in Meſſina, and ſecure the paſſage of the proviſions, which the army at Melazzo drew from Calabria and Apulia, had determined him never to hazard again the deſtruction of his maſter's ſhips on a ſea-ſervice of ſuch evident danger in that tempeſtuous ſeaſon, without having a port to ſhelter or befriend him. That the reduction of Meſſina was their mutual intereſt, as his ſhips would then clean there, and be more at hand to aſſiſt them; and, the cauſe of the blockade being removed, he ſhould be able to ſend a detachment to cruize on the coaſts of Spain, which would ſtraiten the enemy, and obſtruct their ſending ſuccours into Sicily.' This remonſtrance had the weight it deſerved, and not only convinced, but gave great ſatisfaction to the general and his officers; eſpecially after his removing an objection of their being in want of cannon for battery, by agreeing to ſpare them out of the Spaniſh prizes twenty-ſeven cannon of twenty-four pounders, twelve of eighteen, and as many of twelve

Geo. I. 1719.

Geo. I. 1719. twelve pounders; with a proportionable quantity of powder and ball, to inable them to begin the ſiege, and promiſing to ſollicit ſtrongly at Naples for remitting to the army all things neceſſary for carrying on that important ſervice with ſucceſs.

The conference being over, the admiral took his leave, the general and all his officers expreſſing the greateſt eſteem and affection for him at their parting, and, being eſcorted down to the water-ſide, he imbarked in the neareſt man of war, and, without regard to his own dignity of moving at the head of a fleet, ſailed away with two ſhips only, and after an impatient paſſage of eleven days, a time tedious to a mind active and charged with important affairs, he arrived at Naples, where the firſt thing he heard, with great ſurprize and concern, was, that his friend count Daun was removed from the government, and departed for Vienna, tho' his time was not expired, and that count de Gallas was come thither in his room. The diſplacing at that juncture a man ſo experienced in military affairs was a ſtep very inconvenient to the emperor's intereſt, and an unhappy effect of court faction; for, though the new viceroy was a man of undoubted worth and honour, and had ſuſtained the character of ambaſſador at the courts of England and Rome, with proper dignity and magnificence, and in quieter times might have filled his government with great ſufficiency and applauſe, yet, not being bred a ſoldier, it was not to be expected, he could ſo readily comprehend the ſprings of motion in armies, or foreſee every proviſion neceſſary for military operations, the timely ſupplies of which are the ſureſt foundations of ſucceſs in war.

After the firſt civilities, the admiral, entering into conferences with the viceroy, painted out to him in very lively colours the ſtate of the imperial army in Sicily, where the event of things, he ſaid, had not anſwered the ſanguine hopes they had flattered themſelves with, on their landing on that iſland; that, inſtead of trampling over the enemy, they had received ſuch a ſhock themſelves, as very much humbled their ſpirits and expectations, and had been ſo far from making impreſſion on an army favoured and aſſiſted by the natives, that they were reduced to think of their own preſervation, being entangled among barren mountains, depending on a precarious ſubſiſtance from the ſea, and in a country where every man they ſaw was their enemy; and finally, that, without a reinforcement equal to another army, the conqueſt of that kingdom was impracticable. The admiral, having

having proceeded thus far, was cautious of touching on the army that lay in the Milaneſe, deſigned for Sardinia; for, by the laſt letters, the courts of England, France, and Turin, were ſtill very preſſing for that expedition: But he demanded of the viceroy, Whether the emperor had any conſiderable number of troops in Italy, beſides thoſe deſigned for Sardinia? To which he replying, he believed not, the admiral aſked, Whether, if thoſe troops deſigned for Sardinia were immediately ſent over to Sicily, they could ſoon be replaced by other troops from Germany, to go on that expedition? Which the viceroy doubting, he then ſpoke out his opinion plainly, 'That the expedition to Sardinia ought to be laid aſide for the preſent: That the carrying on both undertakings together would end in the failure of both; and that the ſhorteſt way of getting both iſlands was by conquering one firſt.' The viceroy replied, 'That the propoſition was ſo much for his maſter's intereſt, that his concurrence with it was not to be doubted, but that he feared, he was not at liberty to divert thoſe troops, without the conſent of the other courts in alliance; and prayed the admiral to make the proper repreſentations thereupon to them, as he would do himſelf to the emperor.' The conference being over, the count de Ligneville, whom count de Mercy had ſent with the admiral to Naples, was diſpatched away to Vienna, with inſtructions to lay before that court the ſtate of their affairs in Sicily, and the meaſures propoſed for retrieving them. Geo. I. 1719.

Naples ſeemed to be, at this time, the center of affairs in Europe. All the powers in the quadruple alliance, as well as thoſe who had any concerns with them, had miniſters there, to watch over their reſpective intereſts, and drew their meaſures from information of what paſſed there. The admiral went to the viceroy to viſit the marquiſs de Breille, the king of Sardinia's miniſter; and ſhewing him the weak condition of the imperial arms in Sicily, and that the expedient of ſending the troops deſigned for Sardinia thither was the effect of invincible neceſſity, and not a pretence for poſtponing his maſter's intereſt, which the courts of England and France had as much at heart as thoſe of the emperor, he convinced that miniſter of the reaſonableneſs of the meaſure, who, at his requeſt, repreſented the matter in a true light to his own court, and obtained his maſter's concurrence.

During the admiral's ſtay at Naples, the Grafton brought in two Genoeſe ſhips, which ſhe had taken off Palermo, with ſix hundred Swiſs recruits on board for the Spaniſh army, who

Geo. I. 1719. who were committed priſoners to the caſtles. The Lenox ran a third a-ſhore, with about two hundred more ſoldiers, and burnt her, but moſt of the men eſcaped.

There being nothing more to do at Naples, till the ſentiments of the ſeveral courts were known, upon the propoſed alteration of meaſures, the admiral determined, in the mean time, to paſs over again into Sicily, hoping to find the army before Meſſina, in which caſe his aſſiſtance would be wanting. He had then a ſtrong feveriſh diſorder hanging on him, which had reduced him to a very low condition; a little reſt ſeemed neceſſary for his recovery; but his heart was with the army, and his health had no part in his thoughts. The viceroy too was ill in bed of a fever; they were deſirous of ſeeing each other before the admiral departed, having ſome neceſſary points to ſettle together. The admiral, ſcarce able to ſtand, was carried to the viceroy's bed-ſide, where being ſeated, they could do little more than give broken and imperfect hints to each other, of what their minds laboured with, and were ſoon obliged to put an end to a conference, wherein the weakneſs of their bodies did not ſecond the zeal of their hearts for the public. The admiral complimented the viceroy with as many of the Swiſs priſoners, as would be neceſſary to exchange what Germans were priſoners in Sicily; and, taking a final leave of him, imbarked for that iſland. The viceroy died two days after, whoſe ſickneſs the Italians attributed to his travelling through the Campania of Rome in the dog days, which they eſteem fatal. His death threw the affairs of that kingdom into great confuſion; the collateral council aſſuming the government, and the military power refuſing to obey their orders, which proved no ſmall diſſervice and retardment to the affairs in Sicily.

During the admiral's abſence, count de Mercy, having ſtruck blind with an apoplectic fit, was obliged to quit the camp, and paſs over to Reggio for advice, leaving the command of the army to general Zumjungen. General Wachtendonck had taken by ſtratagem the town of Taormina, a ſtrong paſs in the way to Meſſina, upon which encouragement Zumjungen broke up from Franca Villa with his army, on the 17th of July, without any moleſtation from the enemy, and forcing the ſtrong paſſes of Alexis and la Sceletta, with leſs oppoſition than was expected, after a painful march through a mountainous country and exceſſive heats, but aſſiſted by the tranſport-veſſels coaſting along with the proviſions, artillery, and heavy baggage, he ſat down, the 20th, before Meſſina; in which the enemy had three thouſand men, under

under the command of the marquiſs de Spinola, an officer of great reputation, and well furniſhed with proviſions and all neceſſaries for a long and obſtinate defence. In the mean time, count de Mercy burning with impatience to lie idle at Reggio, notwithſtanding the anguiſh of his wound, and the ſurgeon's not being able to get the ball out of his body, as ſoon as ever he began to ſee a little with one eye, returned to the camp before Meſſina. The admiral, after a paſſage of five days, anchored, the 28th, off the point of the Faro, and, being too weak to go out of his ſhip, ſent his firſt captain a-ſhore to the general, to acquaint him with his proceedings at Naples; and learning, that he was in great want of powder, ſent him a conſiderable ſupply. Geo. I. 1719.

The imperialiſts having taking the caſtle of Gonzaga, which ſtands on a hill over the city; and the baſtion of the town, called Secreto, having a conſiderable breach made in it, and the governor having withdrawn his troops from the town into the citadel, the ſenate of Meſſina ſent out deputies to capitulate upon articles; but the general deſiring to know whether he was to treat with them as ſubjects of the emperor, or as enemies; if as the former, he bid them open the gates, and receive his troops, and he would interpoſe his good offices with the emperor in their favour; but if he was to treat with them as enemies, they were to get the beſt terms they could for themſelves; and he gave them leave to go back into the town to conſider with their principals about it. They returned the ſame evening, and told the general, that the next morning, as ſoon as it was day, they would open the gates, and rely on the emperor's clemency; and accordingly the troops marched on the 8th of Auguſt, N. S. and took poſſeſſion.

The city being taken, the admiral landed ſome Engliſh grenadiers, who took the tower of the Faro; which opening a paſſage for his ſhips, he came to an anchor in Paradiſe Road, which the officers of the Spaniſh men of war in the Mole perceiving, and deſpairing now of getting out to ſea, they unbent their ſails, and unrigged their ſhips, expecting their fate with that of the citadel. This gave the admiral great eaſe, and inabled him to employ ſhips on other ſervices, which had long attended the blocking up of that port.

It came now to be matter of debate, what was to be done with the ſhips, when the citadel ſhould be taken, and they fall into our hands. Signor Scarampi, general of the king of Sardinia's gallies, firſt ſtarted the queſtion, and claimed

Geo. I. 1719. the two beſt, of ſixty and ſixty-four guns, new ſhips, which had belonged to his maſter, and were ſeized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo. He grounded his right on a convention made at Vienna, the 29th of December, 1718, in which it was ſaid, 'That as to the ſhips belonging to the king of Sardinia, if they be taken in port, they ſhall be reſtored to him: But that this ſhall be referred to admiral Byng to anſwer.' To this the admiral replied, 'That, this convention having been only a ground-work for another to be made at Naples, he could be directed by none but that, which was made in conſequence thereof in April, 1719, between the viceroy of Naples, the marquis de Breille miniſter of Sardinia, and himſelf, in which no mention is made of thoſe ſhips; and, as to the reference to his opinion, he did freely declare, he could not think the king of Sardinia had any ſhadow of title to them: That they had been taken by the enemy, and were now fitted out, and armed at their expence, and under their colours: That they would put out to ſea, if he did not hinder them, and attack all Engliſh ſhips they met with; and, if ſtronger, take them; ſo that he could not conſider them in any light, than what they were, the ſhips of an enemy.' Count de Mercy put in his claim for the emperor, alledging, 'That as thoſe ſhips would be found within the port of a town taken by his maſter's arms, according to the right of nations, they belonged to him.' The admiral replied, 'That it was owing to his keeping two ſquadrons on purpoſe, and at a great hazard, to watch and obſerve theſe ſhips, that they were now confined within the port, which if he was to withdraw, they would ſtill be able to go to ſea, and he ſhould have a chance of meeting with and taking them.' But reflecting afterwards with himſelf, that poſſibly the garriſon might capitulate for the re-turn of thoſe ſhips into Spain, which he determined never to ſuffer: That, on the other hand, the right of poſſeſſion might breed an inconvenient diſpute among the princes concerned; and if it ſhould prove, that they did not belong to England, it were better they belonged to no body, he propoſed to count de Mercy, to ſet up a battery and deſtroy them as they lay in the baſon; who urging that he had no orders concerning thoſe ſhips, and muſt write to Vienna for inſtructions about it, the admiral replied with ſome warmth, that he could not want a power to deſtroy every thing that belonged to the enemy, and inſiſted on it with ſuch earneſtneſs, that the general, being concerned in intereſt not to carry matters to a diſagreement, cauſed a battery to be

notwithſtanding the proteſtations of Scarampi, which in a little time ſunk and deſtroyed them, and compleated the ruin of the naval power of Spain. Geo. I. 1719.

In five days after the taking of the city, the imperialiſts obliged the caſtles of Caſtellazzo and Matagriffone to ſurrender; and, being thus become maſters of all the caſtles and eminencies about the city, they applied themſelves to the ſiege of the citadel, where, from the ſtrength of the place, the numerous and well-provided garriſon, and the great reputation of the governor, they were ſure to meet with a very warm and vigorous reſiſtance, and the more, as the Germans were ill provided with neceſſaries for ſuch an undertaking.

On the 13th of Auguſt, N. S. the count de Ligneville arrived in the camp from Vienna, with the good news of the emperor's having diſpatched orders to the governor of Milan to ſend his troops, which lay in the Milaneſe, and were deſigned for Sardinia, down to Vado, in order to be tranſported into Sicily. He brought a gracious letter from the emperor to the admiral, wherein he ſignified to him 'his approbation of a project, that was the effect of his zeal and activity; the ſatisfaction he had in his wiſe conduct, and for his love and attachment to his imperial perſon and auguſt houſe; and on all occaſions he ſhould give him marks of his affection and eſteem, and of his good remembrance of the ſervices he had done him.'

The tranſportation of the troops from Genoa to Sicily was a ſervice of ſuch moment, and diſpatch in it ſo neceſſary, that the admiral determined to conduct that affair himſelf, well knowing from his experience of the ſlowneſs of the Germans in all their undertakings, how much his weight and credit were neceſſary to give their motions that quickneſs which their affairs required; and having intimated his reſolution to count de Mercy of paſſing over to Naples, and from thence to Genoa for that purpoſe, he prayed the admiral to repreſent plainly his wants to the government of Naples; which no body knew or underſtood better than himſelf, and, giving him a liſt of what particulars he wanted, added jocoſely, 'That as the ſiege was a child of his own begetting, he ought to nurſe it, as well for his own ſake, as for the common intereſt.'

The admiral ſailed the 16th of Auguſt, N. S. and anchored the 23d before Naples, where the cardinal de Schrottenbach was newly arrived by ſea from Rome in quality of viceroy. The next day the admiral went to the palace, and, en-

Geo. I. 1719. entering into conference with the cardinal, repreſented to him, how much the army had ſuffered from the diviſions of the government during the Interregnum. That the ſiege they were employed in was a deciſive point, on which the fate of the iſland depended;' and ſetting before him the evil conſequences, that would attend a miſcarriage by the want of neceſſary ſupplies from his government, he put into his hands a liſt of particulars he had received from the general. The cardinal was an honeſt good-natured man, and very willing to forward buſineſs, but had no great talents for it. His high quality had advanced him to the purple, being lord of a principality in Bohemia, with ſome marks of ſovereignty. He was appointed to manage the emperor's affairs at Rome, after the departure of count Gallas, and, at his death, ſucceeded him in his government. He told the admiral, 'That, by the accounts he had received from the proper officers, there was not in the ſtores the quantity of cannon and ammunition, which the general demanded: That he would ſend to Mantua for cannon, which might be tranſported down the Po into the Adriatic, and ſo on by ſea to Meſſina, where poſſibly, if no croſs accidents happened, they might arrive in two months time.' The admiral coming to know, that thoſe cannon had no carriages, the cardinal thought he ſatisfied that objection, by ſaying, 'he would ſend ſome carpenters into the woods of Abruzzo to cut down timber for carriages.' Thoſe and the like unſoldierlike propoſals gave the admiral a ſenſible regret of the loſs of count Daun, in whoſe room he found himſelf co-operating with a viceroy better qualified for his breviary than for council in operations of war, and whoſe court was crouded with monks and prieſts, and ſuch like diſagreeable objects, inſtead of men of buſineſs and ſervice (a).

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(a) The viceroy returned the next day the admiral's viſit, and, upon reconſidering the ſeveral points in the general's demands, the ſame difficulties recurred about complying with them, eſpecially as to the cannon and ammunition. The viceroy ſaid, 'he would ſummon all the general officers in town, and conſult with them about finding out expedients to ſatisfy the wants of the army, which was all that was in his power to do.' Upon which the admiral deſired his eminence, 'That, after they had attended him, and taken thoſe matters into conſideration, he might have a conference with them.' Accordingly the next day the general officers came to the admiral's houſe, and entering into converſation together, upon the par-

The admiral perceiving, that the army had no reſource, but what lay in himſelf, generouſly ſent them twenty-four pieces of cannon of eighteen pounders, belonging to the Spaniſh prizes, and a proportionable quantity of powder and ſhot, contenting himſelf with the ſingle credit of the general for repayment to the captors, and at the ſame time wrote to Genoa and Leghorn, to purchaſe one thouſand barrels more of powder, engaging his own ſecurity to the Britiſh conſuls for their repayment. Geo. I. 1719.

During theſe tranſactions, a number of tranſports having been provided at Naples, the admiral ſent them under a convoy to Vado, and, having diſpatched his other affairs with the cardinal, departed after them, and arrived at Genoa the 7th of September, N. S.

He had been made to believe, that, by the time of his arrival there, the army would be ready to imbark; but he found every thing in extreme backwardneſs. The troops had not ſo much as begun their march from the Milaneſe, nor could get to Vado in leſs than a fortnight: Very few proviſions or neceſſaries had been bought up, and none ſhipped, nor were the tranſport-veſſels properly fitted for the reception of the troops. Count de Bonneval, who was to command this body, arriving the next day, went on board the admiral, and underſtanding that he intended to tranſport his army to Melazzo, and even to Meſſina, if count Mercy

particulars of the general's demands, which lay before them, the articles relating to corn and recruits were ſoon got over; but the main difficulty was the demand of cannon and ammunition. The admiral told them, 'That count de Mercy had not above twenty cannon in battery: That he was within two hundred paces of the counterſcarp of the citadel; and hoped he ſhould not be forced to ſtop in ſo fair a way, for want of neceſſary ſupplies; and that he would be contented if they could ſend him but ten or twelve cannon from Naples with a proportionable quantity of powder and ball.' The officer of the ordnance attending, gave in a liſt of eight cannon, which he ſaid might be taken from the mole and batteries of the city, and ſent to Meſſina; but, upon enquiry, they appeared to be of fifty and ſixty pounders, ſome without ball, others without carriages, all of them too unwieldy and unfit for battery. He then delivered in to them a ſtate of all the ordnance ſtores in the kingdom; upon examining of which the general officers unanimouſly confeſſed, that the whole country was not able to furniſh the cannon and ammunition, which count de Mercy wanted. This was ſuch a declaration of weakneſs, as was not to be expected in ſo fine a kingdom.

Geo. I. 1719. should think it neceſſary, he was mortified to the laſt degree. He had been appointed to command theſe forces on the intended expedition to Sardinia, and the diverting them to a different ſervice ſo diſguſted him, that, inſtead of forwarding the imbarkation of the troops, he reſolved to retard it all he could. Accordingly, whilſt the admiral gave himſelf incredible pains at Genoa and Vado, to quicken their departure, he threw in the way all the ſecret obſtructions he could, till he knew the iſſue of the ſollicitations he was carrying on at Vienna, to be continued in a ſeparate command. However, after twenty days labour and pains, and at laſt ſuch menaces as even Bonneval himſelf began to be afraid of, the admiral ſhipped off the troops to the number of about ſix thouſand, on the 27th of September, N. S. with ſuch proviſions as could be got, and, leaving a man of war to convoy the remainder when ready, ſailed the 28th from Vado (b). The admiral receiving letters in his paſſage, from count de Mercy, requeſting, that the troops might not land at Melazzo, but go on to Meſſina, he ſtood away for the Faro, and arrived before Meſſina, the 8th of October, N. S. which ſo elevated the ſpirits of the army, that, upon the firſt ſight of the fleet, lieutenant-general Wallis, with five thouſand men, made a vigorous attack upon the half-moon, which was neareſt to their approaches, and carried it with the loſs of only one hundred and three killed, and eight hundred and thirty wounded. The admiral, going aſhore to the general's quarters, was embraced by him, and all the general officers, with the moſt tender marks of affection and gratulation, the whole army being overjoyed to ſee a man, who always brought them relief and ſucceſs, and every good that attended them. On the 17th at ten in the morning, the imperialiſts aſſaulted the counterſcarp, and mounted to the top of the breach with great gallantry; but, after two hours very warm work, were repulſed with the loſs of one hundred and twenty men killed,

(b) Bonneval, finding his troops incorporated with the army, and his projects of a ſeparate command vaniſhed, pretended ſickneſs, and, getting leave to go to Reggio for advice, he repaired to Vienna, and returned no more to the army. He was a native of France, and had all the ſprightlineſs and levity of that nation. He was a gallant officer, had received many wounds, and ſtill feels the painful remembrance of a moſt terrible one he got in Hungary. He had no zeal for the ſervice of his prince, any farther than it ſuited his own intereſt or ambition, to which he would have ſacrificed his duty. Corbet

and

and five hundred and ſeventeen wounded. The governor having acquitted himſelf with great honour in this repulſe, as well as in the general defence of the place, and finding himſelf unable to hold it longer, beat a parley the next day, and ſurrendered it upon articles. The Spaniſh garriſon marched out through the breach, and were tranſported by ſea to Auguſta. Thus ended a ſiege of twenty-one days, which coſt the Germans above five thouſand men killed or wounded. Geo. I. 1719.

Meſſina ſurrenders to the Imperialiſts.

Whilſt the ſiege of the citadel was depending, the Spaniſh army decamped from Franca Villa, the 31ſt of Auguſt, and marching towards Rametta, the marquis de Lede gave out, that he would attack the imperialiſts, and appeared upon the hills in ſight of the camp, attended by a great number of peaſants he had drawn together; but, finding it well guarded, and his army being ſickly, he fortified a ſtrong and advantageous poſt at Caſtro Giovane, in the center of the iſland, where he laid in large magazines, in order to retire thither in caſe of neceſſity; and in the mean time cantoned his troops about Aderno, Palermo, and Catanea (c).

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(c) It was during this ſiege, that the admiral having received information, that veſſels belonging to Malta had gone to ſea with Spaniſh commiſſions, and taken ſome Engliſh merchant-ſhips, ſent a letter to the grand maſter, 'complaining of his partiality and injuſtice, demanding ſatisfaction for the damages the merchants had ſuſtained, and his giving ſtrict orders to prohibit the like unfair proceedings for the future.' He wrote, at the ſame time, to Mr. Alexander Young, the Engliſh conſul at Malta, to make a ſtrict enquiry what merchant-ſhips had been taken by privateers fitted out from Malta, or wherein Malteſe ſubjects had been concerned, and to lay a ſtate thereof before that government, with a demand of reparation, and to let him know their anſwer. The grand maſter and his council, being alarmed at this meſſage, ſent the chevalier Balbini to the admiral, to repreſent and excuſe the proceedings of their government in the point complained of, and to lay before him the difficulties they were under, from their dependance on Spain, and to endeavour to remove all cauſes of his diſſatisfaction with them. But the admiral, not having yet received any ſpecific account of the particular loſſes of the merchants, and ſo not able to ſettle the terms of reſtitution with Balbini, ſent his firſt captain, Saunders, with two men of war, to Malta, directing him, 'to make an exact inquiry into the ſeveral captures, that had been made, and to lay the ſame before the grand maſter and his council, and to demand reparation, ſo far as their ſubjects had been concerned therein; and, in caſe

Geo. I. 1719. The imperialiſts having ſpent ſome time in levelling the lines, trenches, and batteries before Meſſina, and in putting the

he found them willing to give reaſonable aſſurances of doing juſtice for what was paſt, and of a better behaviour for the future, he was to enter into a convention with them for that purpoſe, and for eſtabliſhing a good agreement with them; but, otherwiſe, he was to take all ſhips and veſſels he ſhould meet with belonging to that iſland. Captain Saunders, arriving at Malta, found a fair diſpoſition in thoſe people to give the admiral and the Engliſh nation all reaſonable ſatisfaction in their proceedings. They ſhewed, 'That they had never conſented to, or approved of their ſubjects entering into the ſervice of Spain, but had iſſued ſtrict proclamations, prohibiting them to be any ways concerned on either ſide in the war. They did not deny, that one of their veſſels had taken a commiſſion from the marquiſs de Lede, to cruiſe upon the enemies of Spain, but made appear, that they had ſent one of their order to intreat him to revoke that commiſſion, and had made the ſame application to the court of Madrid, but had been anſwered with great roughneſs and menaces. That, to avoid as much as they could all occaſions of complaint, they had called in all their privateers, which had been cruiſing in the Levant againſt the Turks, in order to diſarm them; but they could not always govern the unrulineſs of their people, when they would enter into the ſervice of any Chriſtian prince, whoſe colours protected them from their inquiry or viſitation, which was the misfortune of their conſtitution, as they depended upon the Chriſtian princes of Europe for their revenue, and, in particular, drew at that time their daily ſuſtenance of proviſions from that part of Sicily, which was under the ſubjection of the Spaniſh general; and, finally, that they received no part or benefit from the prizes, which had paſſed intirely through the hands of the Spaniſh agent, and in which they had no manner of intereſt or concern.' The captain was convinced of the ſincerity and truth of their declaration; but, on the other hand, told them, 'That it was not his buſineſs to inquire into the nature or dependance of their government; and it was for them to accommodate their grievances with Spain as they could. That his inſtructions were plain, and grounded in juſtice, demanding redreſs for the loſſes his countrymen had ſuſtained, from thoſe, who occaſioned them, who were their ſubjects; and that, if they would not enter into a negotiation for that purpoſe, he ſhould be obliged to put his orders in execution.' Intimidated by theſe threats, they immediately appointed two commiſſaries to treat with him; and it being made out by proof, that five Engliſh merchant-ſhips had been taken by Malteſe ſhips under Spaniſh colours, they ſubmitted

to

the place into a poſture of defence, they held ſeveral conſultations, at which the admiral aſſiſted, concerning what meaſures were next to be taken. The reduction of Meſſina had brought Val Demona under the obedience of the emperor; but the whole province, being mountainous and barren, was ſo little able to ſupply the army with proviſions and forage, that the inhabitants of Meſſina and other towns daily petitioned the general for their own ſubſiſtance, ſince they could draw no corn, as they uſed to do, from the plentiful parts of the iſland, which were in the poſſeſſion of the Spaniards. To march after the enemy in a wintry ſeaſon, with their horſe already harraſſed, and almoſt ſtarved, through an adverſe country, and without any proviſions but what they carried; and, if they ſurmounted all theſe difficulties, to attack them in the ſtrong camp at Caſtro Giovane, was judged too raſh to be attempted, after the experience of Franca Villa. To march to Palermo, and get poſſeſſion of the capital, was more deſirable than eaſy of execution. It was a march of ſeventeen days, along the northern coaſt of the iſland, through an unknown, mountainous, ſterile country, where they ſhould be expoſed to ſudden inſults, great part of the way being ſo narrow, that two men could hardly go a-breaſt; and, if they met with no enemy, they had no forage for their horſe, no magazines in the way of their march, nor a ſufficient number of beaſts of burden to carry proviſions along with them, nor money to buy them, if they could be got. The next project that occurred, was to go to Trapani, where the Piedmonteſe had a garriſon. This would be changing the ſcene of the war to great advantage; for, in-

Geo. I. 1719.

to pay the full value of them and their lading, within twelve months after application from the claimants. But thinking themſelves aggrieved by this treaty, and proteſting themſelves to be under a force to ſign any terms, rather than feel the effects of the admiral's diſpleaſure, they reſerved to themſelves a liberty of appealing to the equity of the admiral, and from him to the king, for a mitigation of the ſeverity of the conditions. They diſpatched away, accordingly, the chevalier de la Val to the admiral, who not thinking he had any right to compound for other men's properties, the deputy paſſed on to the Engliſh court at London, to execute his commiſſion. He had likewiſe a private inſtruction, to implore the king's intereſt with the ſeveral princes at the approaching congreſs, that Malta might be freed from its ſubjection to Sicily, and enjoy the rights and privileges of a free and neutral port in time of war, among the Chriſtian powers.

ſtead

Geo. I. 1719. ſtead of being confined and famiſhed in the mountains, they ſhould be able to enlarge themſelves in a plentiful country, and, by acting on equal terms with the enemy, have a reaſonable chance to drive them out of the iſland. But to go thither by land was impracticable; and, as their tranſport-veſſels could not carry above a third part of the army at a time, the diviſion of their troops was hazardous, and might be fatal. For, Trapani being ſituated on an iſthmus, and having no magazines of corn, the marquiſs de Lede might march, and pen up the firſt detachment within that narrow neck of land, where they would ſtarve for want of proviſions, before the reſt of the army could join them. The only choice remaining was to go to Syracuſa; but that too was impracticable by land, by reaſon of the ſame objections, as are already mentioned; and beſides, there lay in the way ſeveral deep and rapid rivers, where the enemy might defend the paſſages with great advantage. And, though it was not difficult to tranſport the army thither by ſea, yet it was an uncomfortable reflection, that they ſhould be then the whole length of the iſland diſtant from Palermo, and could only propoſe to ſubſiſt themſelves from day to day during the winter, the enemy lying between them and the great Caricatori, or ſubterraneous magazines, where the inhabitants uſually lay up their corn, which were ninety miles diſtant. With theſe diſagreeable proſpects they paſſed away ſome days under uncertainty what to do; when, one evening, the generals Mercy and Zumjungen repairing on board the admiral, and renewing the ſubject of their late conferences, they told him, in a very deſponding manner, 'That, having thoroughly weighed the ſituation of their affairs, and finding they could neither ſubſiſt nor undertake any action where they were, they had come to a reſolution to leave a ſtrong garriſon in Meſſina, and tranſport the horſe over by ſea to Calabria, and the foot to Syracuſa, where they might be able to maintain themſelves during the winter, and be ready to make uſe of ſuch advantages as might offer, for acting againſt the enemy in the ſpring; and prayed his aſſiſtance in that ſervice.' The admiral replied, 'That he hoped, that their affairs were not ſo deſperate, as they apprehended: That he had been employing his thoughts for their ſervice, and believed he ſhould be able to extricate them out of their preſent circumſtances: That, of all the late propoſitions, the tranſporting the army to Trapani pleaſed him beſt, as it would turn the difficulty upon the Spaniſh army, by obliging them to make uneaſy marches, and to keep the field in the winter. That, when the

the whole army was at Trapani, they ſhould be able to in- Geo. I.
large their quarters; the granaries of corn would fall into 1719.
their hands, and their neighbourhood to Palermo keep that
place in awe, till the ſeaſon ſhould favour their marching to-
wards it, the reduction of which would bring the war to a
ſpeedy iſſue. That he had conſidered of the difficulty of ſub-
ſiſting one part of the army at Trepani, till the reſt arrived;
and, as England was in peace with the governments of Bar-
bary, he would ſend his ſecretary to Tunis, which was the
neareſt African port to Trapani, and employ him, and the
Engliſh conſul, to buy up whatever quantity of corn was
neceſſary, and tranſport the ſame to Trapani. That he
knew very well they had no money, and therefore would
employ his own caſh, and credit, to procure this ſupply, de-
pending upon their honour for repayment, and did not doubt
to lodge the corn at Trapani, before the firſt detachment of
troops arrived there.' Count de Mercy, penetrating imme-
diately into the facility, and advantageous conſequences of
this ſcheme, roſe up, and embracing the admiral in a kind of
tranſport, acknowledged, " That he had hit on the only me-
thod practicable, not only for the preſervation of the army,
but even for puſhing on the war with ſucceſs. That, as it
was a Proteſtant ſcheme, he ſhould have Proteſtant troops,
and Proteſtant generals to put it in execution.' And accor-
dingly general Zumjungen, with count Seckendorf, the
prince of Heſſe, and general Schmettau. imbarked the 23d
of November, with ſeven thouſand foot, and five hundred
horſe, and arrived fortunately in three days at Trapani,
where finding a plentiful remittance of corn ready arrived
from Tunis, they not only poſted themſelves there in ſecu-
rity, but, inlarging their quarters into the country, brought
the cities of Marſala and Mazzara to ſubmit to the obe-
dience of the emperor. The tranſports and convoy, retur-
ning, brought thither more troops. Count de Mercy and
the admiral departing with the laſt convoy from Meſſina, on
the 19th of January, conſiſting of five thouſand four hun-
dred foot, and eleven hundred horſe, they were overtaken by
a violent ſtorm off the iſle of Alicudi, which drove all the
tranſports into Melazzo and Meſſina, the admiral, with the
general on board his ſhip, getting with difficulty to Trapani
on the 29th, but the whole convoy did not arrive there till the
2d of March, many ſoldiers dying in the paſſage, and amongſt
them general Wachtendonck, regretted by every body. The
whole army, being got together, amounted to fourteen thou-
ſand

Geo. I. 1719. sand foot, and three thouſand horſe, beſides the garriſons left in Meſſina, Melazzo, Syracuſa, and the adjacent parts.

Theſe motions of the imperialiſts made the marquiſs de Lede quit the poſts of Mola, Taormina, and Catania, and leaving a detachment in his ſtrong camp at Caſtro Giovane, to ſecure the magazines he had erected there, he marched and fixed his camp from Alcamo to Salama, with his head quarters at Caſtel Vetrano, from whence he continually ſent out detachments to deſtroy the country about Marſala and Mazzara, and to carry off all the cattle, grain, and wine; which Zumjungen could not at firſt prevent; but, being ſtrengthened with new ſupplies by ſea, he at laſt obliged their parties to retire, and, on the arrival of count de Mercy, the Spaniſh general was reduced to fortify his camp with ſtrong intrenchments and redoubts, and with batteries of cannon.

Count de Mercy making a motion of extending his quarters beyond Mazzara, the marquiſs de Lede quitted Caſtel Vetrano, and retired with his army to Alcamo, from whence he ſent his mareſchal de camp, ſignor d'Aponte, on the 6th of February, 1719-20, N. S. with overtures to count de Mercy and the admiral, for evacuating Sicily, on condition of leave to tranſport his army into Spain, and, in order thereto, deſiring a ſuſpenſion of arms. This propoſition contained nothing diſagreeable to the Germans, who would thereby obtain all they wanted, by becoming maſters of the kingdom, without any further trouble; but the admiral proteſting againſt it, and declaring, that not a man of the Spaniſh army ſhould paſs out of that iſland, until a general peace was made, for that it would be to furniſh Spain with a body of their beſt troops to ſtrengthen their army acting againſt France, or elſe they might be employed in diſturbing England, he was diſmiſſed with this counter-propoſition from the count de Mercy, that, if the marquiſs would ſurrender Palermo, and the ſouth-ſide of the iſland, and retire with his army into the middle of the country towards Caſtro Giovane, or to any other paſs proper for his ſecurity, he would conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms for ſix weeks, till the ſentiments of the ſeveral courts might be known; which being an advantage more than equivalent to the operations of ſix weeks in that early ſeaſon, the admiral conſented thereto, with this reſtriction, that, if the Spaniards attempted to withdraw any of their men in the mean time, the ſuſpenſion ſhould be void, and he would act againſt them with all his force

force. Count de Mercy diſpatching lieutenant-colonel Bel- Geo. I.
laire to Vienna, to acquaint that court with theſe overtures, 1719.
and bring back their directions, the admiral ſent away thither his eldeſt ſon, Mr. Byng, with inſtructions, if the imperial court liſtened to the propoſals of the Spaniſh general, to declare, that his father could never ſuffer any part of the Spaniſh army to depart out of the iſland, till the king of Spain had acceded to the quadruple alliance, or till he received poſitive inſtructions from England for doing ſo.

The 12th of February, N. S. count de Mercy marched towards Caſtel Vetrano, for the more commodious ſubſiſtance of his cavalry, from whence he detached general Seckendorf, with fifteen hundred men, and ſome cannon, to reduce Sacca, where there was a large caricatore of corn. The town immediately ſurrendered, but the Spaniards, to the number of three hundred, retired into the caſtle.

The marquiſs de Lede, finding his firſt propoſitions ineffectual, ſent two general officers, the marquiſs de San Vicenza and ſignor d'Aponte, to the imperial camp, the 19th of February, N. S. with inſtructions to treat about the ſurrender of Palermo, and a conſiderable part of the adjacent country, in conſideration of a ſuſpenſion of arms for three months. But, whilſt the negotiation was depending, the marquiſs receiving an expreſs from Madrid, on the 28th, with advice, that a general peace was made, he ſent immediately to break off the treaty. This ſeemed matter of great ſurprize; but the ſecret reaſon was, that Spain was at that time treating with France to reſtore Fontarabia, St. Sebaſtian, and other places taken in the war, and hoped to get in exchange, for the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, the reſtitution of thoſe towns, and of Gibraltar, or, at leaſt, to have both the one and the other referred to a congreſs. Upon this, count de Mercy gave freſh orders for attacking the caſtle of Sacca, which had been retarded by the great rains. The caſtle being battered with four pieces of cannon, and not very ſtrong, ſurrendered the 6th of March, the garriſon being made priſoners of war. The taking of this place gave great relief to the imperial army, who found there twenty thouſand ſolms of wheat,

During theſe tranſactions, a courier diſpatched from Paris by the earl of Stair the Britiſh ambaſſador there, brought the admiral information, that the marquiſs de Beretti Landi, the Spaniſh miniſter at the Hague, had ſigned the quadruple alliance the 17th of Feb. N. S. and he brought likewiſe a packet from that miniſter to the marquiſs de Lede, and another

Geo. I. 1719. ther from the emperor's miniſter to count de Mercy, to acquaint them therewith. A trumpet was ſent with the Spaniſh miniſter's packet to the marquiſs de Lede, and to know his ſentiments thereupon. He returned anſwer, 'That, his maſter's miniſter having ſigned the quadruple alliance, he looked upon the peace as a thing concluded, and was therefore ready to treat of a ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea and land, until they ſhould receive farther orders from their reſpective courts.' To this it was replied by the admiral and count de Mercy, 'That, as the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia was to be performed within two months after the ſaid ſigning, they were ready to conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, upon his delivering up the city and caſtles of Palermo, at which place tranſports would be beſt provided, and other neceſſary meaſures concerted for the tranſportation of their army into Spain.' The marquiſs returned anſwer, 'That, as he underſtood, the plenipotentiaries of their maſters at the Hague were in treaty for ſettling the terms of evacuating thoſe iſlands, he did not think himſelf authorized to agree to a ceſſation on any other condition, than that each party ſhould remain on the ground they occupied, and expect further orders from their reſpective principals.'

The diſadvantages ariſing from ſuch an agreement were too obvious to be ſubmitted to; for the men of war and tranſports lay very inconveniently at Trapani, an unſafe road, where they had ſuſtained conſiderable damage, and ſome of the tranſports had been loſt. It was therefore neceſſary to have poſſeſſion of Palermo, as a ſecure retreat for the fleet, and the moſt commodious port for ſhipping off the troops. Beſides, it was a pledge of the ſincerity of the intentions of Spain to evacuate the iſland. In the next place, it put the Germans under a manifeſt inequality, to be confined to the ground they occupied, while the Spaniards were in poſſeſſion of the principal caricatori of corn, and plundered and rifled at pleaſure a country they were ſoon to leave. Nor could they comprehend, how an enemy, who ſix weeks before, offered to leave the whole iſland, on condition of being ſent back into Spain, ſhould now ſcruple to ſurrender Palermo; and therefore, as it had the appearance of chicaning, they reſolved to go on with the operations of the war. But, before they proceeded to action, they agreed to ſend a joint letter to the marquiſs, propoſing an interview between them at the Caſſine de Roſſignola, half-way between the two armies, where accordingly they met the 2d of April, N. S. at noon, with an eſcorte of two hundred horſe. In the conference

ference the marqueſs de Lede owned, 'That he knew the king his maſter had ſigned the quadruple alliance, and did not doubt of his intention to evacuate Sicily; but declared, he had no orders yet about it, That he expected full powers and inſtructions ſoon, and wiſhed they would, in the mean time, come to a ceſſation of arms.' He was aſked, 'What propoſals he had to make for that purpoſe?' He anſwered, 'None, but that both armies might hold the country that was in their poſſeſſion, until he received orders to treat about the evacuation.' Count de mercy thinking it unreaſonable to be tied down to a ſmall tract of the country, where he could not ſubſiſt, aſked him, 'Whether, in caſe they ſhould conſent to his keeping poſſeſſion of Palermo, he had power to deliver up Auguſta, and the other poſts they held on that ſide of the iſland, which were now of no uſe to him, but it would be rather a conveniency to him to draw away the garriſons and troops he had in thoſe parts to join his army, in order to the intended evacuation?' He confeſſed, He could not give up, nor quit the poſſeſſion of any part he had of the iſland, until he received further orders from his maſter;' and read part of his inſtructions to them. Count de Mercy, on the other ſide, ſhewed him part of the emperor's orders, which directed him, 'to agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, in order to the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, and to concert with the marquiſs de Lede the neceſſary conditions for facilitating the ſame, and to adjuſt that affair by all reaſonable meaſures: But that, if the marquiſs de Lede ſhould not own his having orders, or endeavour to evade them, and gain time, by pretending to ſend to Madrid for farther inſtructions, and not name a reaſonable time for beginning to imbark part of his troops, in that caſe he was to make uſe of his arms to oblige him to execute the treaty, which the Spaniſh miniſter had ſigned at the Hague.' He farther told the marquiſs, that the 17th of April was underſtood to be the time they ſhould go upon the evacuation; but, if it was not poſſible for him to begin ſo ſoon, he would not differ but a few days, provided they entered now into ſome agreement about the manner of doing it. He offered him the tranſports he had in his ſervice, and aſſured him, that he ſhould be accommodated with proviſions, and every thing he could in reaſon demand. The admiral, on his part, gave him the like aſſurances, and that he ſhould be eſcorted by as many of his maſter's ſhips as he ſhould deſire. The marquiſs owned, that all they ſaid was reaſonable; but, complaining of the want of orders, the conference broke

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Geo. I. 1719. broke off, without coming to any iſſue. At parting, the marquiſs deſired the admiral to releaſe the biſhop of Mazzara, who was his priſoner, which the admiral readily conſented to.

During theſe debates, one of the Engliſh ſhips cruizing off Palermo, took a felucca, ſent by cardinal Aquaviva from Rome, with packets of letters from Spain, to the marquiſs de Lede, which he delivered to the admiral; who, ſeeing the king of Spain's ſeal to the letters, generouſly ſent them unopened to the marquiſs, and ſet the felucca and crew at liberty.

The conference being broken off, the admiral returned to the fleet at Trapani; and count de Mercy, reſolving to attack the Spaniards, marched towards Alcamo, where he arrived the 8th of April, N. S. the marquiſs having retreated the night before with precipitation, leaving ſome ſick men behind, whom he could not carry away. The marquiſs incamped at Valguernera and Sala di Partenico; but, fearing to be followed by the imperialiſts, he retired on to Monreale. The retreat of the Spaniards made count de Mercy reſolve on the ſiege of Palermo; in order to which, he ſent colonel baron Neyperg to confer with the admiral about the neceſſary aſſiſtance to be given by the fleet in facilitating the march of the army towards that place, by coaſting along with the proviſions and neceſſaries they ſhould want in their march, as well as in the ſiege, and ſupplying them with cannon and ammunition for that enterprize. The neceſſary diſpoſitions being concerted, between the army and fleet, the count decamped from Alcamo the 18th of April, N. S. and followed the marquiſs de Lede, who, retreating towards Monreale, kept poſſeſſion of that and other advantagious poſts, which led into the plains before Palermo, fortifying at the ſame time a ſtrong paſs by the ſea-ſide, called Sferra Cavallo, which was another way between the ſea-ſhore and the mountains into the ſame plain. Count de Mercy being arrived at Sala di Partenico, and not judging it adviſeable to attempt the paſſes, which the enemy poſſeſſed on the road of Monreale, he divided his army into two bodies, ſending general Zumjungen, with all his cavalry (except the huſſars and a regiment of dragoons) and ſeven battalions of foot, with the artillery and baggage, to the ſea-ſide, with orders to force the paſs of Sferra Cavallo, and enter that way into the plain of Palermo, whilſt he himſelf with the reſt of the army aſcended the difficult mountains about Carini, in order to get down that way into the ſame plain, judging, that, if

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the marquiſs drew his army to defend the paſs of Sferra Cavallo, he ſhould get between him and Palermo, or, at leaſt, have the advantage of falling upon his rear. The count having gained the heights of the mountains, from whence are diſcovered the plain and city of Palermo, perceived the Spaniſh army incamped in the bottom, intending to obſtruct his deſcent, and occupying all the paſſes in the way. Here count de Mercy ſent to Zumjungen to rejoin him, which he did by the aſſiſtance of guides, provided by the magiſtrates of Carina, leaving a detachment under the command of colonel baron de Witgenau, to convoy the artillery and baggage by the way of the ſea-ſide, who, arriving at the paſs of Sferra Cavallo, found it abandoned by the Spaniards. On the 21ſt, the Germans began to deſcend from the mountains, and, forcing the ſeveral paſſes, with leſs oppoſition than was expected, were almoſt all got down before night to the bottom. The whole was a moſt difficult and fatiguing march, through ways, that the inhabitants themſelves had rarely practiſed, but which the count ſurmounted with great expedition and military judgment. Geo. I. 1719.

The admiral coaſting along, in conformity to the motions of the army, came to an anchor with the fleet the 20th, in Mondello-Bay, and ſent ſome of his ſoldiers to take poſſeſſion of a tower on the point, and another at the landing-place, as alſo three caſſines, that ſtood between, in order to preſerve their communication. On the 22d, the marquiſs de Lede ſent colonel Lacy, his aid de camp, with a letter to the admiral, incloſing a Spaniſh Gazette, wherein was publiſhed the treaty of ſuſpenſion of arms at ſea, concluded at the Hague between the miniſters of Great-Britain, France, and Spain, which was to take place on the 10th inſtant; and therefore he propoſed to the admiral, 'to come to an agreement with him, for a ſeparate ceſſation of hoſtilities, as they had both full powers for that purpoſe; and proteſted againſt any violences he ſhould commit, contrary to the plain inſtructions of their ſovereigns.' This ſnare, laid to ſeparate the admiral from the German army, had no effect; the admiral returning anſwer, 'That he could give no regard or credit to a pretended convention, publiſhed in a foreign news-paper, and even in which there was a clauſe, that nothing in it ſhould derogate from what ſhould be agreed between him and the marquiſs, for what concerns the Mediterranean ſea. That, as the Spaniſh miniſter had ſigned the quadruple alliance ever ſince the 17th of February laſt, it was ſurprizing, that in all this time the marquiſs had received

Geo. I. 1719. ceived no orders for treating about the evacuation of the iſland, which was the neceſſary conſequence of it, but that he ſtill maintained every point and poſt with the ſame zeal and ardour, as before his maſter's acceſſion to the alliance. That the time for beginning the evacuation was elapſed; and therefore, without ſome reaſonable ſecurity, that he really intended it, he could come into no agreement for a ſuſpenſion of arms; but, whenever he ſhould be impowered to treat for both, he would moſt gladly go more than half-way to meet him, and not only agree on ſuch meaſures, as might put an end to the preſent differences, but which might reſtore and cultivate a good underſtanding, which no body more ardently wiſhed for, than he did.' This was an adventurous proceeding in the admiral; for his inſtructions from England directed him to come to a ſuſpenſion of arms with Spain, without ſtaying for ſettling the terms of evacuation, which might take up time. But his penetration ſhewed him, that, if a ſuſpenſion took place at Sea, the Spaniards might introduce what ſuccours and troops they pleaſed into the iſland, which would unravel all they had been doing; and, if any interruption happened in the negotiations on foot, put the Spaniards in a better ſtate of proſecuting the war, and perhaps protract it another year. Their late conduct had made him jealous of their artifices, ſeeing them lay hold of every advantage to evade the evacuation of the iſland, which this ſeparation would encourage, and render the way to peace more diſtant and difficult. He determined therefore, as the convention for a ceſſation of arms at ſea, ſigned at the Hague the 29th of February, N. S. left him at liberty of treating as he thought proper, to remain united to the Germans, which, he prudently ſaw, was the quickeſt way to bring the Spaniards to a compliance, and to come into real meaſures for the evacuation of the iſland. The event juſtified his precaution, and his conduct received at home the approbation it deſerved.

The march of the imperialiſts had made the Spaniards change the ſituation of their camp, which they pitched acroſs the plain before Palermo, extending their left to Monte Caputo, and their right to the ſea near the mole of Palermo, the whole army being under the cannon of that city, and having ſtrong intrenchments before them, lined with forty pieces of cannon. They were provided with plenty of all things, and ſeemed determined to ſtand the fate of a battle. The Germans incamped on the ſame plain, in the front of the enemy, and within a mile and a half diſtance, with

their

their right at the foot of the mountains, from whence they had deſcended, and their left reaching to Monte Pelegrino, near the ſea-ſide, the artillery and baggage being arrived in their camp by the way of Sferra Cavallo. Count de Mercy ſeeing himſelf ſtraitened in room, and under difficulty of ſubſiſting, whilſt the enemy plundered and inriched themſelves with the ſpoils of a country they were quickly to abandon, he determined to bring matters to an engagement as ſoon as poſſible. In order to it, his ſcheme was to endeavour to get poſſeſſion of the mole, by which means he ſhould flank the enemy, and oblige them either to come to a battle with diſadvantage, or elſe to retire to Termini. For this purpoſe he detached baron Neyperg on the 26th, with ſix companies of grenadiers, to diſlodge the enemy from ſome poſts, which they had fortified on the ſea-ſide; and, to facilitate the ſame, ſent baron de Witgenau, with ſix other companies of grenadiers, to ſeize on Monte Pelegrino. At the ſame time the admiral detaching three ſhips, to cannonade the poſts on the ſea-ſide, their fire made the Spaniards abandon them, and the imperialiſts took poſſeſſion of them without any loſs. Theſe advantages confirmed count de Mercy in his reſolution to puſh his point that way; and, having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions, the next day he cauſed to be attacked a caſſine, that ſtood a little diſtance from the enemy's trenches, but ſtrongly fortified with lines, and ſome cannon, drawing out his whole army at the ſame time in order of battle, in caſe the enemy ſhould come out of their camp to ſupport it. The lines were ſoon taken, but the caſſine was not carried till after a very vigorous defence of above an hour, wherein the Germans had about one hundred and forty men killed or wounded; among the former a prince of Anhalt, and lieutenant-general Seckendorf wounded in the ſhoulders. On the 2d of May, about two in the afternoon, the weather being very hot, and the Spaniſh guard taking a ſieſto, according to the cuſtom of that nation, the Germans ſurprized a redoubt near the enemy's lines, entering the ſame without firing a ſhot, and puſhing the Spaniards out with their bayonets in their pieces. The marquiſs de Lede, being informed of it, roſe from table, and ordered the army to be immediately drawn out, in order to retake that fortification, which commanded the whole line of the camp. On the other hand, count de Mercy being determined to maintain his hold, both armies were in motion, and juſt on the point of engaging, when fortunately a courier arriving in the very inſtant from Spain in a felucca, delivered to the marquiſs a

Geo. I. 1719.

Geo. I. 1719. packet, containing full powers from the king of Spain to treat and agree about the evacuation of the iſlands of Sicily and Sardinia, and the tranſportation of the army into Spain. The marquiſs upon this drew off his army, and ſent letters by a trumpet to the general and admiral, to inform them of his orders. The next morning early, the admiral repairing to the German camp, officers were appointed on each ſide, to treat of the ſuſpenſion of arms, and to regulate the manner of evacuating both iſlands; and conventions were drawn up for that purpoſe, and ſigned, that for Sicily on the 6th of May, and that for Sardinia two days after.

In purſuance of theſe conventions, the Germans were put in poſſeſſion of Palermo and the citadel of Caſtelamare the 10th, and the Spaniſh army marched to Termini, a ſea-port, about twenty-five miles diſtant, from whence the firſt imbarkation, conſiſting of about twelve thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe, ſailed the 20th of June, for Barcelona, and the remainder arrived at the ſame place the 25th of Auguſt following.

Nothing now remained to be done, but to put the duke of Savoy in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Sardinia: In order to which, four battalions of Piedmonteſe troops imbarked at Palermo, under the command of baron St. Remi, and ſailed under the convoy of ſome Engliſh men of war to Cagliari, where the admiral arriving as ſoon as he had ſettled all affairs in Sicily, he aſſiſted at the conferences with the miniſters and generals of the ſeveral powers concerned, wherein was regulated the manner of ſurrendering the iſland by the Spaniſh viceroy to the emperor, and the ceſſion of the ſame from the emperor to the duke of Savoy; and, at the inſtance of this prince, the admiral did not depart, till he had ſeen the whole fully executed, the Spaniſh troops returned into Spain, and the duke of Savoy put into quiet poſſeſſion of his new kingdom.

Thus ended the war of Sicily, wherein the fleet of Great-Britain bore ſo illuſtrious a part, that the fate of the iſland was wholly governed by its operations, both competetors agreeing, that the one could not have conquered, nor the other have been ſubdued, without it. Never was any ſervice conducted in all its parts with greater zeal, activity and judgment: nor was ever the Britiſh flag in ſo high reputation and reſpect in thoſe diſtant parts of Europe (a).

During

(a) As this hiſtory will not go down ſo low as the admiral's death,

During theſe tranſactions in the Mediterranean, the French army, under the command of the duke of Berwick, advancing Geo. I. 1719.

Progreſs of the French againſt Spain.

death, it may not be improper to inſert here what Mr. Corbet ſays of him: King George, who had named him for the expedition to Sicily, and knew his abilities, uſed to ſay to his miniſters, when they applied for inſtructions to be ſent to him for his guidance, on certain important occaſions, that he would ſend him none, for he knew how to act without any; and indeed, all the meaſures he took abroad were ſo exact and juſt, as to ſquare with the councils and plan of policy at home. The cauſe of the emperor being become the cauſe of his maſter, he ſerved the intereſts of that prince with a zeal and fidelity, that ſtood a pattern to his own ſubjects. He lived in ſuch harmony with the imperial viceroys and generals, as has been ſeldom ſeen among fellow-ſubjects united in command, the want of which has proved the ruin of many important expeditions. He was incapable of performing his duty in a cold or negligent manner; and, when any ſervice was committed to his management, he devoted his whole time and application to it; nor could any fatigue or indiſpoſition of body, ever divert his attention from any point that required preſent diſpatch. To this it might be in a great meaſure owing, that he was never unfortunate in any undertaking, nor miſcarried in any ſervice that was intruſted to his direction. For whoever will trace upwards, to the ſprings and cauſes of public or private events, ſhall find (except where the immediate finger of providence is viſible) that what is uſually called ill-luck, is generally the effect of negligence or imprudence. He always proceeded upon ſolid principles, and left nothing to fortune, that could be accompliſhed by foreſight and application. His firmneſs and plain-dealing were ſo apparent to the foreigners, who treated with him upon buſineſs, that it contributed much to the diſpatch and ſucceſs of his tranſactions with them; for they could depend upon what he ſaid, and as they ſaw he uſed no arts or chicanes himſelf, and had too diſcerning a ſpirit to ſuffer them to paſs unobſerved in others, they often found it their beſt policy to leave their intereſts in his hands and management, being very ſure of a moſt impartial and punctual performance of whatever he engaged in. His reputation was ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed in this particular, that in the frequent diſputes and altercations which aroſe between the Savoyards and Germans in the courſe of the war, and between the latter and the Spaniards at the concluſion of it, wherein little faith or confidence was given to the promiſes or aſſeverations of each other, he was the common umpire between them, always ſtemming and oppoſing any extravagant or unjuſt demands (which the over-bearing temper of the German general was very apt to ſuggeſt

Geo. I. 1719. vancing to the frontiers of Spain, took Fort-Paſſage, where they deſtroyed ſix men of war on the ſtocks. Then the duke formed the ſiege of Fonterabia, which was taken the 5th of June. The king of Spain made an unſucceſsful attempt to relieve the place, and approached with an army of nine thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; but it was in the hands

ſuggeſt, where he had the ſuperior hand) and reconciling, as much as poſſible, the violences of war, with the rules of honour and juſtice. When he departed from Italy to attend his late majeſty at Hanover, the king, among many gracious expreſſions, told him, that he had found out the ſecret of obliging his enemies as well as friends, and that the court of Spain had mentioned, with great acknowledgements, his fair and friendly behaviour in the proviſion of tranſports and other neceſſaries for the imbarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from many vexations and oppreſſions that had been attempted. No wonder, that a man, endowed with ſuch talents and ſuch a diſpoſition, left behind him in Italy, and other foreign parts, the character of a great ſoldier, an able ſtateſman, and an honeſt man.

To give ſome deſcription of his perſon, he was of a ſlender conſtitution, but well ſupplied with ſpirits, which did not diſplay themſelves ſo much in gaiety of converſation (for he was modeſt in his nature) as in activity in all the duties and functions of life or buſineſs, in which he was indefatigable, and, by a continued habit of induſtry, had hardened and inured a body, not naturally ſtrong, to patience of any fatigue. He had made no great proficiency in ſchool-learning (which the early age of going to ſea ſeldom admits of) but his great diligence, joined with excellent natural parts, and a juſt ſenſe of honour, made him capable of conducting difficult negotiations and commiſſions with proper dignity and addreſs. In his younger days he was both in the ſea and land ſervice, being an officer of foot in the garriſon of Tangier, but, preferring the ſea, he was ſoon diſtinguiſhed and favoured by that great ſeaman admiral Ruſſel (afterwards earl of Orford) who made him his firſt captain at the age of twenty-nine, a poſt equal in rank to a rear-admiral, and, by degrees, he arrived to be a commiſſioner of the admiralty, and firſt admiral of the fleet, in which quality he commanded in the war of Sicily. On his repairing to Hanover, his late majeſty was pleaſed to expreſs his regard to his eminent ſervices, by making him treaſurer of the navy, and rear-admiral of Great-Britain; and ſoon after a privy-councellor, and peer of Great-Britain, with the title of viſcount Torrington; and afterwards knight of the Bath, upon the revival of that order. When his preſent majeſty came to the crown, he was pleaſed to place him at the head of his naval affairs, as firſt lord commiſſioner of the admiralty, in which high ſtation he died, in the year 1733, in the 70th year of his age.

of

of the French before he could draw near enough to it; ſo he marched back to Pampeluna, doubly diſappointed, both of raiſing the ſiege, and of the French forces deſertion: For he depended as much on an inſurrection in France, as on a rebellion in England; upon both which cardinal Alberoni's projects were founded. The cardinal ſtill refuſing to accede to the Quadruple Alliance, the duke of Berwick took St. Sebaſtian; and a party of French, joined by two hundred Engliſh ſeamen, made themſelves maſters of Port Antonio, in the bottom of the bay of Biſcay, where two ſixty-gun ſhips were deſtroyed on the ſtocks, and all the naval ſtores were burnt by the Engliſh. Geo. I. 1719.

About this time the cardinal received the news of the action at Franca Villa, in a letter from the marquiſs de Lede, who aſſumed to himſelf the victory. The cardinal choſe that occaſion to yield to the preſſing inſtances of the Dutch ambaſſador to conſent to a peace: He declared to him, that his Catholic majeſty's intention was, that the States-general ſhould be mediators. Negotiations with Spain.

A few days after, he ſent the marquiſs de Scotti to Paris, from whence he was to paſs into Holland, to carry inſtructions to the marquiſs de Beretti Landi, how to proceed with the States. The duke of Orleans, to whom he had orders to declare his intentions, refuſed him a paſſport, ſaying, he could not do it without the knowledge of the emperor and king George, who were ſtill more concerned than himſelf in this affair, and that the paſſport would be a tacit approbation of the conduct of the States-general, and a ſort of acceptance of their mediations; deciſions, ſaid the regent, that become me not to make. And indeed, the emperor and king George, being conſulted on that head, abſolutely rejected it.

Beſides that, they were unwilling the States (with whom they were diſpleaſed for their ſlowneſs in acceding to the Quadruple Alliance) ſhould have the honour of this mediation, and reap, as it were, the fruit of their conduct, they had each their particular hopes and views, which a ſudden peace would have diſappointed. The emperor wanted to repair the glory of his arms by the conqueſt of Sicily; and king George had a mind to be revenged, for the uneaſineſs given him, on account of the intended invaſion of Scotland. He was reſolved to make ſome conqueſt, that ſhould indemnify his ſubjects for the charge they had been at. He formed two projects, to take the Corunna, the beſt port of Biſcay, and to make himſelf maſter of Peru in America. Great preparations were made, fifty tranſports were provided, with three

Geo. I. 1719. bomb-veſſels, and four thouſand men were ordered to be in readineſs to imbark in the iſle of Wight (b). The lord Cobham was appointed to command in chief, with the title of captain-general (c). Theſe forces being imbarked, ſailed from St. Helens the 21ſt of September, under convoy of five or ſix men of War, commanded by admiral Mighels, who was to be joined by captain Johnſon, then cruiſing of Fonterabia. But this junction was never made, and the important and Secret (as it was called) expedition upon the Corunna ended only in the taking of Vigo, which ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons; the citadel made ſome reſiſtance, but ſurrendered likewiſe in a few days. On the 10th of October, the garriſon marched out, conſiſting of about three hundred men, beſides one hundred and fifty Peaſants, there having been above three hundred killed or wounded by the bombs. The Engliſh loſt but two officers, and three or four men. There were in the town about ſixty pieces of large cannon, which when the enemy abandoned, they nailed and damaged them, as much as the time would give them leave. In the citadel were forty-three pieces, of which fifteen were braſs guns, and two large mortars; beſides above two thouſand barrels of powder, and ſeveral cheſts of arms, amounting to about eight thouſand muſkets. All theſe ſtores, and the braſs ordnance, had been lodged there from on board the ſhips, which were to have viſited Great-Britain, and the very troops, which gave up Vigo, were likewiſe of that expedition. The lord Cobham had ſummoned the adjacent country to furniſh proviſions, and pay contribution, on pain of military execution; and had ſent a party to Redondella, where they found the old fort abandoned, and run to ruin, and the inhabitants fled. That part of the province was under ſuch conſternation, that it was thought half the people had run away into Portugal. There were but few regular troops in the province; but the marquiſs de Riſburg had drawn together as many as he could get near Tuy, which is within three or four leagues of Vigo.

Vigo taken.

(b) Seven companies out of each of the three regiments of guards; colonel Chudleigh's regiment, lieutenant-general Walſh's regiment, lord Hinchinbrook's regiment; and the regiments of Howard, Grove, Hurley, and Barrel, and fifty dragoons.

(c) He had under him major-general Wade, the lords Mark Kerr and Dunmore, colonel Honeywood, brigadier-general; colonel Armſtrong, quarter-maſter general; and colonel Ligoniere, adjutant general.

Two

Two days after the ſurrender of the citadel of Vigo, one thouſand men were ordered on board four tranſports under the command of major-general Wade, to ſail to the upper end of the bay of Vigo, and to march from thence to Pont a Vedra, ten leagues off. The magiſtrates of the town met them with the keys; and there were found in the place two forty-eight pounders, four twenty-four pounders, ſix eight pounders, and four mortars, all braſs; beſides ſeventy pieces of iron cannon, two thouſand ſmall arms, and ſome bombs. The Biddeford man of war, and two tranſports, were ſent thither, to bring away the braſs cannon, arms, and ſtores; after which the detachment under major-general Wade was ordered on board their ſhips, and the major-general returned to Vigo, the 23d of October. Four days after, the troops being imbarked, the fleet ſailed for England (d). Geo. I. 1719.

Vice-admiral Hoſier was to ſail to the Weſt-Indies with a ſquadron of men of war, where he was to be joined by all that were in thoſe parts; but this expedition was fruſtrated by the winds, and Peru was not ſo much as attacked. Attempt upon the Weſt-Indies fruſtrated.

Spain, oppreſſed on all ſides, and drained by the great efforts ſhe had made, began to think ſeriouſly of peace. A plan was ſent to the marquiſs de Beretti Landi, which he delivered to the States the 22d of December. By this plan, England was to reſtore Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, and France all the conqueſts ſhe had lately made: The ſucceſſions of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, were to be ſettled on the queen of Spain's ſon, without being held either of the emperor or empire: All the ſhips taken this war were to be reſtored to Spain: Sicily, in the hands of the emperor, was to be ſubject to the ſame right of reverſion, as when granted to the duke of Savoy: The pope was to be obliged to reſtore to the duke of Parma the duchy of Caſtro, and the country of

(d) While the Engliſh were at Vigo, captain Johnſon, commander of the Weymouth, the Wincheſter, and another Engliſh man of war, came up with a Portugueze carval from Ribadeo, and being informed that there were two Spaniſh men of war in that port, about ſixteen leagues to the eaſt of cape Ortegal, he made thither; ſent the boats in a-head to ſound, and followed with the ſhips. He anchored within muſket-ſhot of the enemy's ſhips and a battery of eight guns, fired on both, and ſoon beat the Spaniards out of the battery, which he took poſſeſſion of, and entirely demoliſhed. In the interim, the two Spaniſh men of war blew up; and after ſome ſmall firing on the town, he ſailed out of the harbour, taking with him a Spaniſh merchant-ſhip, which he found there.

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Geo. I. 1719. Roneiglione, uſurped by Innocent X. from the houſe of Farneſe: Laſtly, the dominion and commerce of the Weſt-Indies ſhould be regulated, according to the treaty of Utrecht.

Alberoni diſgraced. Theſe propoſals had been preceded by a ſtep very grateful to the allies. The ambition of cardinal Alberoni had rendered him perſonally odious to the emperor, to king George, and to the duke of Orleans, All three had declared, at leaſt intimated, that they would hearken to no peace as long as he was in place: The king of Spain thought it proper to make him a ſacrifice, and purchaſe the tranquillity of his people at the expence of a miniſter ever unfortunate. The king writ to him with his own hand, forbidding him to meddle with the affairs of ſtate, to appear any where in his preſence, to remain in Madrid above eight days, and in Spain above three weeks.

Spain accedes to the Quadruple Alliance. The plan of the court of Madrid was rejected as ſubverſive of the treaty of London, and nothing leſs would be accepted, but a full acceſſion to the Quadruple Alliance; which, after immenſe charges, and many mortifications, was ſubmitted to by the king of Spain. The war with Spain has been thus related, without regard to the order of time, that an idea of the whole might be formed, without having recourſe to different parts of the hiſtory.

The king intercedes for the Proteſtants of Germany. Whilſt the king was at Hanover, memorials full of grievances were preſented to him by the Proteſtants from Hungary, Poland, Spire, Mentz, and particularly from the Palatinate. In Poland, contrary to the fundamental conſtitutions of the kingdom, and the expreſs tenor of the treaties, the Popiſh clergy had engaged the diet of Grodno to take from ſome of the reformed towns their right of ſuffrage. In Hungary, by the credit and practices of the Jeſuits, many books of divinity, brought from England and Holland, were confiſcated. At Spire and Mentz, ſeveral churches were taken from them, and given to the Catholics.

The greateſt complaints came from the Palatinate. The catechiſm of Heidelberg was ſuppreſſed, after having been received above a hundred and ſixty years as a formula of union among the Reformed. The church of the Holy Ghoſt at Heidelberg was alſo taken from the Proteſtants, on pretence of its belonging to the court, and likewiſe the church of Creutzpach, with the revenues of ſeveral others; and, what ſeemed ſtill more intolerable, the diſpoſal of the alms of the Reformed were given to the Catholics, who forced them

more-

moreover, to contribute to the Popiſh ceremonies, and forbid them to open their ſhops, or to work on the holidays. Geo. I. 1719.

Almoſt all the Proteſtant ſtates and princes interpoſed in behalf of the oppreſſed. King George diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal on this occaſion, and writ very preſſing letters, which were ſupported by memorials from his miniſters. But this affair ſucceeded not to his wiſh: His repreſentations were well received, as they could not fail to be, conſidering his great weight; the elector Palatine gave favourable anſwers, and made fair promiſes; but the grievances were not redreſſed (e).

During the king's abſence all was quiet at home, and the regency had little to do. There was, however, a kind of diſpute with the czar's miniſter about his ſecretary, who had been committed to priſon by a juſtice of peace. But, upon the firſt complaint of his maſter, the ſecretary was releaſed, and the juſtice put out of his office, and obliged to beg pardon for his imprudence. There was alſo a great riot in June, raiſed by the journeymen weavers about Biſhopſgate and Aldgate. They inſulted the women for wearing calicoes, and tore their gowns off their backs. The militia was ordered

(e) The king, in his letter to the king of Poland, in behalf of the Proteſtants, expreſſed himſelf thus: 'That they may enjoy, for the future, their former liberty of conſcience, which cannot be forced by any human power, and over which God hath reſerved to himſelf the ſole command.'

At his return to England, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, accompanied with ten other biſhops, in a congratulatory ſpeech ſaid, among other things, 'I am alſo directed by my lords the biſhops, to return our moſt humble acknowledgment to your majeſty, for the protection your majeſty hath been pleaſed to give to our brethren, the Proteſtants of the Palatinate, and of Poland and Lithuania, perſecuted for the faith of Chriſt: We are perſuaded, that this royal charity will draw down innumerable bleſſings from heaven, upon the perſon of your ſacred majeſty, and your affairs.'

In the addreſs from the univerſity of Cambridge, preſented by Dr. Gooch, the vice-chancellor, were the following words; 'It is with particular pleaſure we behold your majeſty, in conjunction with other powers, aſſerting the cauſe of liberty, and ſupporting the intereſt of our Proteſtant brethren abroad, whoſe deplorable condition every day convinces us, that the Proteſtant Profeſſion muſt ſtand or fall with the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

out

Geo. I. 1719. out to ſuppreſs the rioters, of whom ſome of the ring-leaders were taken, and condemned to ſtand in the pillory (f).

The

(f) During the king's abſence died Mr. Joſeph Addiſon, June 17. He was ſon of Dr. Lancelot Addiſon, dean of Litchfield; and, being educated at the Charter-houſe ſchool, was ſent from thence to the univerſity of Oxford, where he finiſhed his ſtudies in Magdalen-college: He became firſt known to the world by the excellency of his Latin poems, which he publiſhed in the Muſæ Anglicanæ, and dedicated to Charles Montague, earl of Hallifax, who, together with the lord Sommers, then lord-keeper (to whom he inſcribed the firſt piece he publiſhed in Engliſh, viz. A poem to his majeſty king William III. on the taking of Namur, in the year 1695) recommended him to that prince, who gave him a penſion of 300l. per ann. and ſent him to travel. At his return from his travels, he was made commiſſioner of appeals in the exciſe; afterwards he was under-ſecretary to the two ſecretaries of ſtate, and ſecretary of ſtate himſelf in Ireland under two lord-lieutenants: Upon the death of queen Anne, he was made ſecretary to the regency, after that one of the lords commiſſioners for trade and plantations, and then advanced to be one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate to king George; which office, by reaſon of his ill ſtate of health, he was obliged to reſign ſome time before his death. He married Charlotte, daughter of Sir Thomas Middleton, of Chirk-Caſtle, in the county of Denbigh, Bart. and relict of Edward Rich, Earl of Warwick, by whom he left iſſue only one daughter.

July 6, died Meinhardt Scomberg and Leinſter, marquiſs of Harwich, &c. knight companion of the moſt noble order of the garter, and count of the ſacred Roman empire: He married Charlotte, eldeſt daughter of Charles Lewis, elector-palatine, by whom he left iſſue only two daughters; Frederica, married to Robert d'Arcy, earl of Holderneſs (the preſent counteſs Fitzwalter) and Mary, married to count Dagenfelt of the empire.

July 24, died Heneage Finch, earl of Aylesford, ſecond ſon of Daniel Finch, earl of Nottingham. He was ſucceeded by his ſon of the ſame name.

When the king was abroad, a great diſpute and difference aroſe between the Diſſenting Miniſters in London, about ſubſcribing and non-ſubſcribing Articles of Advice for the conduct of their congregations.

The Diſſenters at ſeveral places, but more eſpecially at Exeter, being jealous that their miniſters were not as orthodox as themſelves, in the article of the Trinity, had demanded of them a confeſſion of Faith; and upon advice of the differences between their paſtors and them, on this occaſion, the Diſſenting Miniſters, in and about London, held a ſynod, to conſult [illegible] Articles of Advice for Peace. They met at Salters-Hall. The main de-

The parliament of Ireland met the 1ſt of July. The duke of Bolton, lord lieutenant, pointed out in his ſpeech the ſubjects of their deliberations. He ſaid, "they were called together to conſult of proper meaſures, and to make neceſſary proviſions to repel or ſuppreſs any attempt to involve the kingdom in the calamities of a rebellion, or a foreign invaſion. He repreſented it as a deluſion to imagine, that the deſigns of their enemies did not extend to Ireland, as well as to England

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The parliament of Ireland meets, July 1.

debate was inſerting in the Advice the firſt article of the Church of England, and the anſwer to the fifth and ſixth queſtions in the Aſſembly's-Catechiſm. But upon the queſtion, it was carried by a majority of fifty-ſeven againſt fifty-three, 'That no 'human compoſitions or interpretations of the doctrine of 'the Trinity ſhould be made a 'part of theſe Articles of Advice,' which they were met to draw up. How far the heats carried them on both ſides, may be ſeen by what happened at the diviſion. One of thoſe, who were againſt human compoſitions, ſaying, as he went out, 'You that are againſt perſecution, come up ſtairs;' and another, who was for them, 'You that are for the doctrine 'of the Trinity, ſtay below:'

The Subſcribers withdrew from the aſſembly, notwithſtanding the queſtion had been carried againſt them, and ſet their names to a paper containing the firſt article, and the two anſwers before mentioned.

At the ſame time the Non-Subſcribers made the following declaration:

'We freely declare that we utterly diſown the Arian doctrines, and ſincerely believe the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Proper Divinity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which we apprehend to be clearly revealed in the Holy Scriptures; but are far from condemning any who appear to be with us in the main, though they chuſe not to declare themſelves in other than ſcripture terms, or not in ours.'

Which they farther explained thus:

'The human words, Trinity and Proper Divinity, in this declaration of our faith, are uſed only to notify the things we ſpeak of; and we do not preſume in the way of Teſt to go into any particular explanations of thoſe things, either in our own, or other men's words: But for that we refer to the Holy Scriptures, whence it may appear, that we take the ſcripture-account of thoſe things, to be the beſt and fitteſt we can uſe on ſuch occaſions.'

Whilſt theſe matters were tranſacting at London, three congregations at Exeter proceeded to the actual excluſion of their paſtors, Mr. Pierce, Mr. Withers, and Mr. Hallet, for refuſing to ſubſcribe certain articles of Faith, which had been prepared for them.

It is not unlikely (ſays a certain author *), that a leading man or two among the ſubſcribers had private incouragement from a great prelate to proceed as they did.

* Oldmixon.

land

Geo. I. land and Scotland: And, though theſe deſigns had been hi-
1719. therto prevented by the king's counſels and indefatigable endeavours, yet it would be prudent to provide ſuch effectual remedies as might render it impracticable to proceed farther with any proſpect of ſucceſs.

'It is obvious and viſible to every conſidering man, that a good agreement and union among all Proteſtants will greatly contribute to this end; and the numbers, as well as ſtrict union, of the Papiſts, among themſelves, together with their apparent inclinations and attachment to the intereſt of the Pretender, ſeem to make it more immediately neceſſary at this time. In what manner a thing ſo deſirable may be obtained, his majeſty leaves to your conſideration, and has commanded me to acquaint you, that as he has the welfare of the church, by law eſtabliſhed, under his peculiar care, and reſolves always to ſupport and maintain it; ſo it would be very pleaſing to him, if any method could be found (not inconſiſtent with the ſecurity of it) to render the Proteſtant Diſſenters more uſeful and capable of ſerving his Majeſty, and ſupporting the Proteſtant intereſt, than they now are; they having, upon all occaſions, given ſufficient proofs of their being well affected to his majeſty's perſon and government, and to the ſucceſſion of the crown in his royal houſe: And this I am ordered to lay before you as a thing greatly importing his majeſty's ſervice and your own ſecurity.'

The method here mentioned was already found. The act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion in England was an ample direction to proceed by. Both houſes aſſured, that they thought it their duty and intereſt to promote a good underſtanding and union among all Proteſtants, to enable them to withſtand the deſigns of ſuch numerous and malicious enemies, and therefore they would readily enter into the conſideration of ſuch methods, as might render the Proteſtant Diſſenters more eaſy and capable of ſupporting the Proteſtant intereſt. Accordingly, an act paſſed for that purpoſe, under the title of 'A bill for exempting the Proteſtant Diſſenters of the kingdom of Ireland from certain penalties, to which they are now ſubject.'

The parliament made other uſeful regulations, for preventing the marriage of infants againſt the will of the parents or guardians; for encouraging the cultivation of lands; for preventing tumults and ſeditious aſſemblies; for ſuppreſſing tories, robbers, and rapparees; and for the better maintenance of ſchools and teaching the Engliſh tongue throughout the kingdom.

In Scotland there appeared no remains of rebellion. The chiefs being retired, the Highlanders ſurrendered their arms, and the regency ſeemed to fear no diſturbance from that quarter, nor had they any orders to give. However, the evil was not quite cured, of which were ſeen now and then ſome ſtrange proofs. At Edinburgh alone, five miniſters, cited before the magiſtrates, refuſed to acknowledge king George, and their churches were forced to be ſhut up. Geo. I. 1719.

The king's return, Nov. 14.

After ſix months abſence, the king returned to London, the 14th of November, more reſpected than ever, on account of the great things he had done for the welfare and intereſt of his dominions. He was received with demonſtrations of the livelieſt joy, and thoſe who were not forward to ſhew it were puniſhed by the populace, and the windows broken that were not illuminated. Whilſt in Germany, he had ſent orders for the meeting of the parliament on the 23d of November, and for the members to be all there, by reaſon of the importance of the affairs he had to communicate to them.

The parliament meets, Nov. 23. Pr. H. C.

On that day the ſeſſion was opened with the following ſpeech, read by the chancellor to both houſes:

'My lords and gentlemen,

'THE ſatisfaction, with which I always meet you, is very much increaſed at this time, when it has pleaſed Almighty God ſo to ſtrengthen the arms of Great-Britain and our confederates, and ſo to proſper our ſeveral negotiations, that, by his bleſſing on our endeavours, we may promiſe ourſelves to reap very ſoon the fruits of our ſucceſſes. I am perſuaded, it will be accounted by all my good ſubjects a ſufficient reward for ſome extraordinary expence, that all Europe, as well as theſe kingdoms, is upon the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of Britiſh arms and counſels. One Proteſtant kingdom * has already been relieved by our ſeaſonable interpoſition; and ſuch a foundation is laid, by our late treaties, for an union amongſt other great Proteſtant powers, as will very much tend to the ſecurity of our holy religion.

* Sweden.

'I believe you cannot but be ſurprized at the continuance of the war, where our enemies have nothing to hope, and ſo much to fear. It is indeed difficult to frame any judgment of thoſe counſels, which have broke out of late in ſo many raſh and ill-concerted meaſures. If they depend upon our diviſions at home, I doubt not but, in a very ſhort

time,

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'time, their hopes, founded upon this expectation, will 'prove as vain and ill-grounded, as any of their former pro-'jects.

'In congratulating with you on this happy poſture of af-'fairs, I muſt tell you, that, as I have been very juſt and 'faithful to my engagements, ſo I have met ſuch frank and 'powerful returns of aſſiſtance from my allies, as will, I 'doubt not, eſtabliſh a laſting friendſhip among us.

'Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

'You will ſee, by the accounts I have ordered to be deli-'vered to you, how moderate a uſe I have made of the power 'intruſted with me, to augment my forces by ſea and land. 'I depend upon the eminent duty and affection you have al-'ways ſhewn to my perſon and government, that you will 'be vigorous in diſpatching the neceſſary ſupplies for the 'year; to which purpoſe I have ordered the eſtimates to be 'laid before you. And, at the ſame time, I muſt deſire you 'to turn your thoughts to all proper means for leſſening the 'debts of the nation.

'My lords and gentlemen,

'You all muſt be ſenſible of the many undeſerved and un-'natural troubles I have met with, during the courſe of my 'reign. Our diviſions at home have been magnified abroad; 'and, by inſpiring into ſome foreign powers a falſe opinion 'of our force, have encouraged them to treat us in a man-'ner, which the crown of Great-Britain ſhall never endure 'while I wear it. The trouble and expence, which this has 'brought upon us, have been the moſt loudly complained of 'by thoſe, who were the occaſion of them. But with your 'aſſiſtance I have hitherto got through all theſe difficulties, 'and, by the continuance of your help, I hope very ſoon to 'overcome them, ſince the hand of God hath ſo viſibly been 'with us in all our undertakings.

'If the neceſſities of my government have ſometimes en-'gaged your duty and affection to truſt me with powers, of 'which you have always, with good reaſon, been jealous, 'the whole world muſt acknowledge they have been ſo uſed, 'as to juſtify the confidence you have repoſed in me. And, 'as I can truly affirm, that no prince was ever more zealous 'to increaſe his own authority, than I am to perpetuate the 'liberty of my people, I hope you will think of all proper 'me-

it had been adviſeable to keep it till the middle, or towards the end of the ſeſſion. and to begin with the king's buſineſs.' But the duke of Bucks compromiſed the matter, by ſaying, 'That, for his own part, he apprehended no danger from this bill; and if it was attended with any inconveniencies, as all human affairs are apt to be, time would diſcover it; and then, as in all other caſes, they might apply a remedy to it. As to the time of bringing it in, he thought it no material objection, ſince this houſe had no other buſineſs to go upon; but that he foreſaw, that, whatever diſpatch they made in that bill, it would not get ſo quick a paſſage in the other houſe.' After theſe ſpeeches, the bill paſſed the lords without any farther oppoſition, and was ſent to the commons, where it was oppoſed by a great many members. Mr. Craggs urged in favour of the bill, 'That his majeſty, ſince his acceſſion to the throne, had had no other view, than to procure the good and happineſs of his ſubjects, and to ſecure their rights and liberties. That having, in his royal wiſdom, conſidered the abuſe that was made in the laſt reign, of that branch of the prerogative relating to the creating of peers, which abuſe had brought the liberties of Great-Britain, and of all Europe, into immmediate danger, his majeſty, through a condeſcenſion worthy of a prince truly magnanimous, had graciouſly been pleaſed to conſent, that ſuch bounds be ſet to that part of the prerogative, as may prevent any exorbitant and dangerous exerciſe of it for the time to come. That it was only in the reign of good princes, that legiſlators had opportunities to remedy and amend the defects, to which all human inſtitutions are ſubject: And that, if the preſent occaſion of rectifying that apparent flaw in our conſtitution were loſt, it might perhaps never be retrieved.' Mr. Walpole ſpoke on the other ſide, and endeavoured to anſwer all that had been offered for the bill. He took notice, 'That among the Romans, the wiſeſt people upon earth, the temple of Fame was placed behind the temple of Virtue, to denote, that there was no coming to the former, without going through the other. But that, if this bill paſſed into a law, one of the moſt powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, ſince there would be no coming to honour, but through the winding-ſheet of an old decrepit lord, and the grave of an extinct noble family! That it was matter of juſt ſurprize, that a bill of this nature ſhould either have been projected, or at leaſt promoted by a gentleman, who not long ago ſat amongſt them; and who, having got into the houſe of peers, would now ſhut up the door after him.' That this bill would

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not only be a diſcouragement to virtue and merit, but alſo indanger our excellent conſtitution: For, as there was a due balance between the three branches of the legiſlature, if any more weight were thrown into any one of thoſe branches, it would deſtroy that balance, and conſequently ſubvert the conſtitution. That the peers were already poſſeſſed of many valuable privileges; and to give them more power and authority, by limiting their number, would, in time, bring back the commons into the ſtate of the ſervile dependency, which they were in, when they wore the badges of the lords. That he could not but wonder, that the lords would ſend ſuch a bill to the commons; for how could they expect, that the commons would give their concurrence to ſo injurious a law, by which they and their poſterities are to be excluded from the peerage? And how would the lords receive a bill, by which it would be enacted, that a baron ſhould not be made a viſcount, nor a viſcount be made an earl, and ſo on? That, beſides all this, that part of the bill, which related to the peerage of Scotland, would be a manifeſt violation of the act of Union, on the part of England, and a diſhonourable breach of truſt in thoſe, who repreſented the Scots nobility. That ſuch an infringement of the Union, would endanger the intire diſſolution of it, by diſguſting ſo great a number of the Scots peers, as ſhould be excluded from ſitting in the Britiſh parliament. For as it was well known, that the revolution-ſettlement ſtood upon the principle of a mutual compact, if we ſhould break firſt the articles of union, it would be natural for the Scots to think themſelves thereby freed from all allegiance. And as for what had been ſuggeſted, that the election of the ſixteen peers was no leſs expenſive to the crown, than injurious to the peerage of Scotland, it might be anſwered, that the making twenty-five hereditary ſitting Scots peers would ſtill increaſe the diſcontents of the electing peers, who thereby would be deprived of a valuable conſideration for not being choſen. After theſe, and ſeveral other ſpeeches, the bill was at laſt rejected by a majority of two hundred and ſixty-nine againſt one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven. Thus the prerogative of increaſing the number of the peers, as the king ſhould think proper, which he ſeemed ſo willing to diveſt himſelf of, was, as it were againſt his conſent, preſerved to him. It was obſerved by an * oppoſer of the bill, that ſome perſons had, through indiſcretion, occaſioned an unhappy difference [in the royal family] and he was apprehenſive if that bill, ſo prejudicial to the rights of the next

* Sir J. Packington.

heir

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[illegible], should pass into a law, it might render that difference irreconcileable. This was said chiefly with regard to the earl of Sunderland, who promoted the bill with the greatest eagerness. It was also reported that Mr. Craggs was to have been one of the six English peers, to be created after the passing of the bill.

A bill for securing the dependency of Ireland. Pr. H. L. Pr. H. C.

During this session, a bill, for better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great-Britain, passed both houses. This bill took its rise, from an appeal to the house of peers in England, by Maurice Annesley, against a decree of the house of peers in Ireland; which the British house of peers received, and ordered the barons of the Exchequer in Ireland to cause Mr. Annesley to be forthwith put in possession of certain lands in the county of Kildare, of which he had been dispossessed by virtue of a decree of the house of peers in Ireland. Pursuant to this order, the barons of the Exchequer in that kingdom issued out an injunction to Alexander Burrows, sheriff of the county of Kildare, and set several fines upon him, for refusing to put it in execution; which the house of peers in Ireland discharged, and voted, that Jeffery Gilbert, lord chief-baron of the Exchequer, John Pocklington, and Sir John St. Leger, the other barons of the Exchequer in Ireland, had acted in manifest derogation to the king's prerogative, in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of this kingdom, and of the parliament thereof. These barons were also ordered to be taken into custody of the usher of the black-rod (a).

The house of peers in Ireland drew up a long representation to be transmitted to the king, setting forth their right to the final judicature of causes in that kingdom; and the duke of Leeds, in a protest against a vote passed in the house of peers in England, gave fifteen reasons to support the claim of the house of peers in Ireland. But the house of lords in England resolved, 'That the barons of the Exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage according to law, in support of his majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great-Britain;' and ordered an address to the king, 'for conferring on them some marks of his royal favour, as may be a recompense for the ill usage they have re-

(a) Several lords dissented from these resolutions, viz. the lord Middleton, lord high-chancellor, the lords Doncrayle and Fitz-Williams, and the bishops of Meath, Kildare, Killala, Kilmore, and Derry.

Geo. I. 1719. ceived, by being unjuſtly cenſured, and illegally impriſoned, for doing their duty.' Then it was that the bill, 'for better ſecuring the dependency of Ireland,' was brought in, and, Feb. 22. having paſſed the houſe of lords, was ſent down to the commons. Mr. Pitt was the firſt, who ſpoke againſt the bill, becauſe, as he ſaid, it ſeemed calculated for no other purpoſe, than to increaſe the power of the Britiſh houſe of peers, which, in his opinion, was already but too great. He was ſeconded by Mr. Plummer, who excepted, in particular, againſt the preamble of the bill, as incoherent with the enacting part; which was partly owned by Sir Joſeph Jekyll, who, in the main, ſpoke for the bill. Mr. Hungerford, on the other hand, endeavoured to ſhew, that Ireland was ever independent with reſpect to courts of judicature; and he was ſupported by the lord Moleſworth, the lord Tyrconnel, and ſome other members; but, Mr. Yorke having ſupported the maſter of the rolls, the bill was at laſt agreed to, and received the royal aſſent (b).

About

(b) The act was as follows: 'Whereas attempts have been lately made to ſhake off the ſubjection of Ireland unto, and dependance upon, the imperial crown of this realm, which will be of dangerous conſequence to Great-Britain and Ireland.

And whereas the houſe of lords in Ireland, in order thereto, have, of late, againſt law, aſſumed to themſelves a power and juriſdiction to examine, correct, and amend the judgments and decrees of the courts of juſtice in the kingdom of Ireland: Therefore, for the better ſecuring of the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great-Britain, may it pleaſe your majeſty, that it may be enacted; and it is hereby declared and enacted, by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, That the ſaid kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and, of right, ought to be, ſubordinate unto, and dependent upon, the imperial crown of Great-Britain, as being inſeparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the king's majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons of Great-Britain in parliament aſſembled, had, hath, and, of right, ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and ſtatutes of ſufficient force and validity, to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland.

And be it farther enacted and declared by the authority aforeſaid, That the houſe of lords of Ireland have not, nor, of right, ought to have any juriſdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverſe any judgment, ſentence,

About this time a misunderstanding happened between Mr. Lechmere, attorney-general, and Sir William Thompson, solicitor-general, which was carried so far in a grand committee of the commons, the 16th of March, that Sir William charged Mr. Lechmere with breach of his oath, trust, and duty, as a privy-counsellor; urging, 'that he acted as council, and received sums of money for his advice, in matters to him referred by the privy-council, as attorney-general.' After this, he proceeded to the reading of several reports, made either by the attorney-general or himself, but was interrupted by Mr. Craggs, who said, 'They were not there to examine, who was the best lawyer; but that, a heavy accusation having been raised against a gentleman of distinguished merit, and in very eminent stations, it was incumbent upon the accuser to produce clear evidence to make good his charge.' Upon this, Mr. Lechmere stood up in his own defence, and said, 'he had the honour to be a privy-counsellor, chancellor of the duchy, attorney-general, a member of that house, and a gentleman; and therefore such a heinous accusation could not but fall the heavier upon him: That he owned himself liable to a great many human frailties and imperfections; but, as his conscience intirely acquitted him of the crimes laid to his charge, so he defied all the world, and the worst of his enemies, to prove him guilty of corruption or unwarrantable practices: That, though he was thus wrongfully accused in so solemn a manner, yet, as a good Christian, he did heartily forgive his accuser, and was willing to believe, that he was prompted to this rash action, rather by mistake, or ignorance, than by malice; concluding, with desiring that honourable assembly to sift and weigh the whole matter with their usual candour, impartiality, and equity, and to excuse any unguarded expressions, that might escape him, in vindicating his innocence.' After this, several witnesses were sworn, and eight or nine of them examined; but, their depositions amounting to no more, than that Mr. Lechmere had taken nothing but his usual fees, as chamber-counsellor, the accusation laid against him appeared groundless to the committee, and was declared by the house to be malicious, false and scandalous.

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tence, or decree, given or made in any court within the said kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said house of lords, upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.'

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A bill against duelling dropped by the lords.

On the 8th of March, Sir Joseph Jekyll presented to the house a bill to prevent the impious practice of duelling; which was occasioned by a duel between Mr. William Wentworth of Windsor, and Mr. Owen Buckingham, member of parliament for Reading; who, quarrelling after having drank too freely, fought in the dark, and Mr. Buckingham was killed. But this bill was dropped in the house of lords.

The South-Sea scheme.

The king had earnestly recommended, in his speech, the consideration of all proper means for lessening the debts of the nation. Accordingly, a scheme was laid to reduce all the public funds into one, for discharging the national debt. The South-Sea company and the Bank of England presented their several proposals to the house of commons. The liberty of taking in the national debts, and, in consequence thereof, of increasing their capital stock and yearly fund, was looked upon as a very valuable benefit; and therefore the contest between the Bank and the South-Sea company was great. They endeavoured to outbid each other in parliament. The South-Sea company, for the liberty of taking into their stock the irredeemable and redeemable debts, by purchase or subscription (amounting to above thirty millions) offered at first 3,500,000l. to be paid into the Exchequer by four equal quarterly payments, beginning at Lady-day 1721. And agreed, that their whole capital should be reduced to 4 per cent. after Midsummer 1727, and be thenceforth redeemable by parliament.

The Bank, for the like liberty, offered, upon the long and short annuities, three years purchase, which (if the whole purchase was compleated) would amount to about 2,367,600l. and 20 per cent. upon the redeemable debts, amounting to about 3,180,000l. So their whole offer was above five millions and a half.

But the South-Sea company being resolved, at any rate, to obtain the liberty of taking in the public debts; offered, in a second scheme, not only 500,000l. more, but also four years and a half's purchase upon all the annuities they should take into their capital stock, which (if all the annuities were taken in) would amount to about 3,567,503l. So that their whole offer was about 7,567,500l. They likewise offered to circulate 1,000,000l. in Exchequer bills gratis, and pay 3 per cent. interest for that million; as also one year's purchase upon such annuities, as should happen not to come into the company's capital, before the first day of March 1721.

Though

Though the bank made ſome farther advances, this ſcheme of the South-Sea company was approved of by the commons, and a bill was ordered to be brought in. Geo. I. 1719-20.

While this affair was debating in the houſe of commons, the ſtocks of the South-Sea company gradually roſe from 130 to above 300, and advanced to near 400; but, after ſome fluctuation, ſettled at about 330, in which ſtate, with little variation, they continued to the end of March. This great riſe was chiefly owing to the rejection of a motion for a clauſe in the South-Sea bill, to fix what ſhare in the capital ſtock of the company the proprietors of the annuities ſhould have, who ſhould voluntarily ſubſcribe, or how many years purchaſe in money they ſhould receive upon ſubſcribing, at the choice of the proprietors. It was pretended, that the obliging the company to fix a price upon the annuities might endanger the ſucceſs of ſo beneficial an undertaking: That, as it was the intereſt of the company to take in the annuities, ſo it was not to be doubted, they would uſe all their endeavours for that purpoſe, and offer ſuch terms to the annuitants, as would encourage them to come in voluntarily: That therefore the company ought to be allowed a competent time to try what they could do; and if, in a ſubſequent ſeſſion of parliament, it ſhould appear, that the conditions offered to the annuitants were not reaſonable, and conſequently had been ineffectual, the commons, in ſuch a caſe, might give what directions they ſhould think proper about the matter. Upon theſe and other reaſons, the motion was rejected; and, ſoon after, the bill for enabling the South-Sea company to increaſe their capital ſtock, paſſed the commons, by a majority of a hundred and ſeventy-two againſt fifty-five, and ſent to the lords for their concurrence, where it occaſioned a long debate. April 2.

The lord North and Grey ſpoke firſt againſt the bill, which he repreſented to be unjuſt in its nature, and might prove fatal in its conſequences, ſince it ſeemed calculated for the enriching of a few, and the impoveriſhing of a great many, and not only made way for, but countenanced and authorized the fraudulent and pernicious practice of ſtock-jobbing, which produced an irreparable miſchief in diverting the genius of the people from trade and induſtry. His lordſhip was ſupported by the duke of Wharton, who endeavoured to ſhew, That the South-Sea project might prove of infinite diſadvantage to the nation: Firſt, as it gave foreigners an opportunity to double and treble the vaſt ſums they had in our public funds, which could not but tempt them

Geo. I. 1719-20. them to withdraw their capital ſtock, with their immenſe gains, to other countries, which might drain Great-Britain of a conſiderable part of its gold and ſilver, Secondly, That the artificial and prodigious riſe of the South-Sea ſtock was a dangerous bait, which might decoy many unwary people to their ruin, and allure them, by a falſe proſpect of gain, to part with what they had got by their labour and induſtry, to purchaſe imaginary riches. And, in the third place, that the addition of above thirty millions capital would give ſuch a vaſt power to the South-Sea company, as might indanger the liberties of the nation, and in time ſubvert our excellent conſtitution, ſince by their extenſive intereſt they might influence moſt, if not all the elections of the members, and conſequently overrule the reſolutions of the houſe of commons.' Earl Cowper ſpoke alſo againſt the bill, which he obſerved to be uſhered in and received with great pomp and acclamations of joy, but which was contrived for treachery and deſtruction.' His lordſhip urged in particular, 'That in all public bargains, it is a duty incumbent on them, who are intruſted with the adminiſtration, to take care, that the ſame be more advantagious to the ſtate, than to private perſons; but that a quite contrary method ſeemed to have been followed in the contract made with the South-Sea company. For if the ſtocks were kept up to the advanced price, to which they had been raiſed by the oblique arts of ſtock-jobbing, either that company, or its principal members, would gain above thirty millions ſterling, of which they gave but one fourth part towards the diſcharge of the national debts. That, though this ſcheme carried the face of public good, yet nothing could be ſo, that was founded on injuſtice; as his lordſhip took this bill to be. That he apprehended, in particular, that the main public intention of it, viz. The re-purchaſe of annuities, would meet with inſuperable difficulties; and that, in ſuch a caſe, none but a few perſons, who were in the ſecret, and had early bought ſtocks at a low rate, and afterwards ſold them at a high price, would, in the end, be gainers by this project.' The duke of Bucks and ſome other peers ſpoke on the ſame ſide; but the earl of Sunderland anſwered moſt of their objections; and, among other things, ſaid, That, they who encouraged and countenanced the ſcheme of the South-Sea company, had nothing in their view, but the eaſing the nation of part of that heavy load of debt it labours under. That, on the other had, the managers for that company had undoubtedly a proſpect of private gain, either to themſelves or to their corporation; but

that, when that ſcheme was accepted, neither the one nor the other could foreſee, that the ſtocks would have riſen to the price they were now advanced. That, if they had continued as they were at that time, the public would have had the far greater ſhare of the advantage accruing from that ſcheme; and if the ſtocks were kept up to the price they had been raiſed to, which was not unlikely, it was but reaſonable, that the South-Sea company ſhould enjoy the profits procured to it, by the wiſe management and induſtry of its directors, which would enable it both to make large dividends among its members, and thereby compaſs the ends intended by this ſcheme.' After theſe debates, the bill paſſed without any amendment or diviſion; and, on the 7th of April, the king came on purpoſe to the houſe of lords, to give the royal aſſent to it. What were the effects of this famous act, will hereafter be largely ſhewn. Geo. I. 1720.

Abſtract of the act for increaſing the capital ſtock of the South-Sea company.

This act recites the ſeveral public debts and funds, the acts by which they were eſtabliſhed, the terms and conditions of their continuance, the amounts of the reſpective ſums of principal and intereſt due and payable, and dividing them into ſeveral claſſes and ſpecies of debts, namely, long and ſhort annuities, redeemable and irredeemable debts, and ſtating what rate of intereſt they bore, computes the principals and annuities at certain ſums, in order to ſettle the different rates and values at which they were to be eſtimated, to be redeemed, purchaſed, or taken in by the South-Sea company.

The redeemable debts are ſtated at 16,546,482 l. 7 s. 1 d. ¼ (c), the irredeemable annuities, being for the remainder of ſeveral long terms of 89, 96, and 99 years, are com-

	l.	s.	d.
(c) 5 l. per cent. annuities Principal ſum —	11,779,660	11	3¾
4 l. per cent. annuities. Principal ſum —	4,766,821	15	9½
	16,546,482	7	1¼

The 5 l. per cent. annuities conſiſted of ſeveral lotteries, bankers annuities, blanks in lottery 1714, navy deficiency, and bank annuities.

The 4 l. per cent annuities were, the civil liſt lottery, prices in lottery 1714, deficiencies on low wines, &c. on funds, Canada bills, army debts and debentures, firſt and ſecond lottery 1719.

puted

Geo. I. 1720. puted to amount to 666,821 l. 8 s. 3 d. ½ a year, beſides ſo much unſubſcribed lottery annuities and ſhort annuities for 23 and 22 ½ years then ſtanding out.

The company is declared willing, and is accordingly authorized to take in by purchaſe, or ſubſcription, the irredeemable debts, at ſuch time or times as they ſhall find convenient, before the 1ſt of March 1721, and without any compulſion on any of the proprietors, 'at ſuch rates and prices as ſhall be agreed between the company and the reſpective proprietors.'

The company is likewiſe declared willing, and is authorized at ſuch time and times, as they ſhall ſee convenient (but ſubject to ſuch notices of redemption as are therein mentioned) to take in all and every the redeemable debts, amounting to 16,546,482 l. 7 s. 1 d. ¾, either by purchaſe, taking ſubſcriptions, or by paying them off.

Provided that the company for every annuity, part of the long annuities computed at 666,821 l. 8 s. 3 d. ſo to be taken by them, may, in lieu thereof, have an addition made to their capital ſtock, after the rate of twenty years purchaſe; and ſuch reſpective additions to their preſent yearly fund or annuity, as is after limited.

And for all ſuch ſhort annuities, as ſhall be taken in, to have an addition to their capital ſtock, after the rate of fourteen years purchaſe, with a proportional addition to their preſent annuity or yearly fund.

And for all and every of the redeemable debts that ſhall be taken in by purchaſe, ſubſcriptions, or paying off, to have an addition of 100 l. to their capital ſtock, for every 100 l. of the principal monies ſo taken in, with a proportional addition to their preſent yearly fund.

Remarks. Thus far it appears, that the proprietors of theſe public debts amounting to above twenty-ſix millions, that ſubſcribed into the South-Sea ſtock, by virtue of this act of parliament, acted by their own choice, and option without any compulſion. The irredeemables were left at full liberty to have remained in the condition they were, and an expreſs proviſion was made for the ſecurity of ſuch as did not ſubſcribe.

The redeemables had their option to have waited for the terms of redemption, to which they were before liable, and to have taken their money, when the public had been in a condition to pay them.

So

So that ſubſcribing and accepting South-Sea ſtock, in lieu and diſcharge of their former debts and annuities, was the voluntary act of them all, induced, no doubt, by the general infatuation that every where reigned, and the imaginary proſpect of great advantages. Geo. I 1720.

For the liberty of thus taking in the national debts, and increaſing their capital ſtock, the company in the firſt place have deſired and conſented that their preſent and to be increaſed annuity may be continued at 5 l. per cent. till Midſummer 1727, and from thence be reduced to 4 l. per cent. and be redeemable by parliament. In conſideration of this and other advantages expreſſed in the act, the company are willing to make ſuch payments into the Exchequer, as are herein ſpecified, for the uſe of the public, to be applied for paying off the public debts incurred before Chriſtmas 1716.

The ſums, which they were obliged to pay, were 4,156,306 l. 4 s. 1 d. for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, and four years and a half's purchaſe for all the long and ſhort annuities that ſhould be ſubſcribed, and one year's purchaſe for ſuch long annuities as ſhould not be ſubſcribed. Theſe ſums, upon the execution of the act, were found to amount to about 7,000,000 l.

For enabling the company to raiſe this ſum, they are impowered to make calls for money from their members, or open books of ſubſcriptions, or grant annuities redeemable by the company, or by any other method they ſhall think fit in a general court. They might alſo borrow money upon any contract, bill, &c. under their common ſeal, or on the credit of their capital ſtock. The money, called for from their members, ſhall (if thought proper) be an additional ſtock, but there ſhall be no addition thereby to the company's annuities, to be paid out of the public duties.

Out of the firſt monies ariſing for the ſeveral ſums to be paid by the company into the Exchequer, ſuch public debts carrying intereſt at 5 l. per cent. incurred before the 25th of December 1716, founded upon any former act of parliament, as are now redeemable, or may be redeemed before the 25th of December 1724, ſhall be paid off in the firſt place: Then all the remainder ſhall be applied towards paying off ſo much of the capital ſtock of the company as ſhall then carry an intereſt of 5 l. per cent. Proviſion is alſo made, that, after Midſummer 1727, the company is not to be paid off in any ſums, being leſs than one million at a time.

The Royal and London Aſſurance companies erected.

Several projects were now ſet on foot, particularly for eſtabliſhing the two companies of the Royal Aſſurance, headed

Geo. I. 1720. headed by the lord Onſlow, and of the London Aſſurance by the lord Chetwynd. The projectors had been very induſtrious to beſpeak the countenance of the houſe of commons, for which they had cauſed two letters to be printed and given to the members. But, theſe and all other ſollicitations having proved ineffectual, the managers for the two companies had recourſe to other methods, and being informed that the civil liſt was conſiderably in arrears (for which no proviſion had been, or could conveniently be made by the parliament, becauſe the grand committee of ſupply had been inadvertently diſmiſſed) they offered to the miniſtry 600,000 l. towards the diſcharge of that debt, in caſe they might obtain the king's charter, with the parliamentary faction for the eſtabliſhment of their reſpective companies. The miniſters, being at a loſs for means to pay the civil liſt debt, readily embraced the offer, and, Mr. Craggs having the day before prepared the leading members of the houſe of commons, Mr. Aiſlabie preſented, May the 4th, to the houſe the following meſſage:

'His majeſty having received ſeveral petitions from great numbers of the moſt eminent merchants of the city of London, humbly praying, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to grant them his letters patents for erecting corporations to aſſure ſhips and merchandize; and the ſaid merchants having offered to advance and pay a conſiderable ſum for his majeſty's uſe, in caſe they may obtain letters patents accordingly: His majeſty being of opinion, that erecting two ſuch corporations, excluſive only of all other corporations and ſocieties for aſſuring of ſhips and merchandize, under proper reſtrictions and regulations, may be of great advantage and ſecurity to the trade and commerce of the kingdom, is willing and deſirous to be ſtrengthened by the advice and aſſiſtance of this houſe, in matters of this nature and importance: He therefore hopes for their ready concurrence to ſecure and confirm the privileges his majeſty ſhall grant to ſuch corporations, and to enable him to diſcharge the debts of his civil government, without burdening his people with any new aid or ſupply.'

Purſuant to the meſſage, a bill was brought in to enable his majeſty to grant letters of incorporation to the two companies, which paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

The parliament is prorogued, June 11.

The buſineſs of the parliament being now finiſhed, the king came to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech to both houſes:

'My,

'My lords and gentlemen,

'I AM now come to put an end to this ſeſſion, which, 'though it hath advanced ſo far into the ſummer, cannot 'be thought a tedious one, when we conſider how much 'buſineſs hath been done, and the great advantages that 'may be expected from it.

'Your ſeaſonable vigour and perſeverance to ſupport me 'in the meaſures I have taken with my allies, for reſtoring 'the tranquillity of Europe, have produced moſt of the 'effects I could deſire. Much the greateſt part of Chriſten-'dom is already freed from the calamities of war; and by 'what hath happened both abroad and at home, my people 'muſt be convinced, that their welfare is inſeparable from 'the ſtrength and ſecurity of my government.

'Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

'I return you my thanks for the ſupplies you have raiſed 'for the ſervice of the current year; and it is a particular 'ſatisfaction to me, that a method has been found out for 'making good the deficiencies of my civil liſt, without lay-'ing any new burden upon my ſubjects. The good founda-'tion you have prepared this ſeſſion for the payment of the 'national debts, and the diſcharge of a great part of them, 'without the leaſt violation of the public faith, will, I hope, 'ſtrengthen more and more the union I deſire to ſee among 'all my ſubjects, and make our friendſhip yet more valuable 'to all foreign powers.

'My lords and gentlemen,

'You will ſee the good effects, which our ſteadineſs hath 'produced. There remains but little on our part, to ſatisfy 'the world, that more credit, ſecurity, and greatneſs, is to 'be acquired by following the views of peace, and adhering 'ſtrictly to juſt engagements, than by depending on the ad-'vantages of war, or by purſuing the meaſures of ambition. 'To compleat what remains unfiniſhed, I propoſe very ſpee-'dily to viſit my dominions in Germany, hoping to put an 'end to thoſe troubles in the north, which are now reduced 'to a very narrow compaſs. I flatter myſelf, that my pre-'ſence this ſummer in thoſe parts will prove uſeful to our

'poor

Geo. I. 1719.

'poor Proteſtant brethren, for whom you have expreſſed ſuch ſeaſonable and charitable ſentiments.

'I doubt not but to meet you again next winter, diſpoſed to put a finiſhing hand to all thoſe good works, which, by your aſſiſtance, I have brought ſo near to perfection. I could wiſh, that all my ſubjects, convinced by time and experience, would lay aſide thoſe partialities and animoſities, which prevent them from living quietly, and enjoying the happineſs of a mild and legal government. It is what I chuſe to recommend at this time, when I am ſenſible, that all oppoſition to it is become vain and uſeleſs, and can only end unfortunately for thoſe, who ſhall perſiſt in ſtruggling againſt it. I am perſuaded, that, during my abſence, every one of you will take particular care to preſerve the peace in your ſeveral counties; and that I ſhall find you at my return in ſuch a ſtate of tranquillity, as will ſhew mankind how firmly my goverment is eſtabliſhed, which I chiefly deſire, becauſe I think the ſecurity and preſervation of my people, and of this happy conſtitution, depends entirely upon it.'

After this ſpeech the parliament was prorogued to the 28th of July.

Before the proceedings of the South-Sea company are related, it will be proper to give ſome account of the foreign affairs during this ſeſſion.

Particular Alliance with Sweden.

The negotiations with Sweden, Pruſſia, and Denmark, were far advanced, when the king left Germany to return to England. Soon after his arrival, he received an account of the concluſion of his treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive with Sweden. The lord Carteret, aſſiſted by the French miniſter, had laboured with ſuch application, that the treaty was finiſhed and ſigned at Stockholm on the 20th of January. It contained one and twenty articles, ſeveral of which were expreſsly againſt the czar.

The peace and alliance were to be perpetual and univerſal. The contracting powers were not only not to injure, but to procure to each other all kinds of advantages.

They were obliged to inform each other of every thing they ſhould diſcover, that might injure or diſturb them, and to aſſiſt each other with advice and forces againſt all enemies; and not to give protection, much leſs advice or ſupport, to rebellious ſubjects, nor to permit them to continue in their dominions; and thoſe were to be eſteemed rebels, whom one of

of the contracting powers ſhall declare to the other to be ſo. Geo. I. 1720.

In caſe Sweden ſhould be attacked in any part of its dominions, in its rights and privileges, in its navigation or commerce, Great-Britain was to furniſh that kingdom with an aid of ſix thouſand foot, who were to be ſent four months after the demand ſhould be made, and to that place which ſhould be appointed. The diſpoſition of the enemy to peace, the good offices, that ſhould be employed to produce that diſpoſition, were not to prevent the ſending of that aid. The power, who was to ſend the troops, was obliged to pay and maintain them; but the other was to take care, that in his dominions they ſhould be furniſhed with every thing neceſſary, at the ſame price with his own troops.

The contracting powers were allowed to demand the aid, in whole or in part; to demand ſhips, proviſions, and ammunition, for the ſurplus of the money; and it was ſettled, that a thouſand men a month ſhould be valued at four thouſand rix-dollars. Theſe troops and their commander were to be ſubject, with reſpect to all the operations of war, to the power, to whoſe aſſiſtance they came; and the ſhips were to bear his colours.

If this number of troops was not ſufficient for the preſſing occaſions, a more conſiderable aid was to be ſent. 'And as Sweden (ſays the treaty) is now in theſe unhappy circumſtances, with regard to the czar of Muſcovy, whom many fruitleſs attempts have been made to induce to a peace, Great-Britain, conformably to its engagements in the treaty of 1700, which is renewed by the preſent, obliges herſelf to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron in the ſpring, to the aſſiſtance of his Swediſh majeſty, to act in concert againſt the Czar, in order to oblige him to deſiſt from his invaſions, and to conſent to the juſt and reaſonable conditions of peace, which have been offered him.'

This was the main article of the treaty; in order to obtain aſſiſtance againſt that formidable enemy, Sweden had reſigned to the elector of Hanover the duchies of Bremen and Verden; and, in order to be revenged for the czar's intrigues, the king of Great-Britain renewed the ancient treaties, and entered into new engagements with the crown of Sweden.

The other articles related to commerce, the particulars of which were to be regulated afterwards, for the contracting parties were deſirous to put an immediate ſtop to the conqueſts of the Muſcovites, and oppoſe the execution of their deſigns. The ſuccours, that were to be ſent, did not a-

Geo. I. 1720. mount to a declaration of war, nor hinder a communication with the prince, againſt whom they were ſent, provided however it was not prejudicial to the party aſſiſted. And therefore it was not permitted to furniſh the czar with any thing, that ſerved directly for attack or defence, as powder, artillery, or ammunition; and their ſubjects were likewiſe forbid to ſerve him as ſoldiers or ſailors.

If the ſuccours cauſed an open war, it was to be carried on in concert, no propoſition of peace or truce, or any accommodation and convention whatever, was to be hearkened to but by mutual conſent. If one of the contracting powers was engaged in war, he was diſpenſed with ſending the ſtipulated ſuccours, and had even a right to recall his troops three months after having given notice of the neceſſity he was under of ſo doing. 'But the king of Great-Britain (adds the treaty) as a ſtrong mark of his friendſhip, promiſes, that the war, which he is now engaged in with Spain, ſhall not prevent his ſending the next ſpring a ſquadron ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of the czar, and induce him to peace, nor from furniſhing the ſupplies of money, as long as the war with Denmark ſhall laſt.'

Theſe obligations were reciprocal between the two crowns. Sweden, in particular, was obliged not to enter into any engagement with Spain, which might be contrary to the views of ſupporting the emperor againſt that kingdom. She undertook likewiſe to guaranty and maintain the ſucceſſion of Great-Britain in the houſe of Hanover, and not to give any protection, refuge, aid, or counſel, in any manner whatever, to the perſon, who, in the life-time of king James II, ſtiled himſelf prince of Wales, and who, ſince that king's deceaſe, had aſſumed the name of James III. king of Great-Britain.

Both crowns had it ſo much at heart to limit the pretenſions and undertakings of the czar, and to diveſt him by a peace, or by arms, of part of his conqueſts, that the following words were inſerted in the XVIIth article. 'As it is of the utmoſt concern to the Proteſtant religion, to the commerce of the kingdoms of Great-Britain and Sweden, and even to the repoſe of Chriſtendom, that the czar ſhould not gain the aſcendant in the Baltic; if therefore that prince ſhall refuſe to make peace with Sweden, and to reſtore to that crown the cities and provinces neceſſary to eſtabliſh her ſecurity and the liberty of commerce, as they were before the preſent war; his Britannic majeſty engages, not only to furniſh Sweden with the ſuccours, which he is obliged to by the pre-

preſent treaty, but likewiſe to uſe all his endeavours and intereſt with his other allies, that, by their aſſiſtance, they may enable Sweden to repel the czar, and force him to agree to a peace upon ſuch conditions, as may ſecure that kingdom from inſults, and eſtabliſh the liberty of commerce in the Baltic.' Geo. I. 1720.

The ſame day, by the mediation of France and England, the peace was likewiſe ſigned between Sweden and Pruſſia. This treaty was the work of king George, who had laid the foundations of it in the preliminary treaty of the 25th of Auguſt, the laſt year. Sweden, by the advice and inſtances of the mediators, gave up to the king of Pruſſia the city of Stetin, the diſtrict between the rivers of Oder and Pehnne, with the iſles of Wollin and Uſedom, to poſſeſs and enjoy them for ever, with all their rights, and in the ſame manner, as the whole had been ceded and transferred by the emperor and empire to the crown of Sweden, by the 10th article of the peace of Weſtphalia, in the year 1648, except the right of ſitting and voting in the diet of the empire, and in thoſe of the circle. Alliance with Pruſſia.

The king of Pruſſia obliged himſelf, on his part, to preſerve to the inhabitants their liberties, rights, and privileges, as they now enjoyed them, as likewiſe the free exerciſe of their religion, according to the confeſſion of Augſburg. He likewiſe undertook to pay the debts, and to diſcharge the obligations due from the crown of Sweden, to the inhabitants and communities of theſe countries. He alſo promiſed not to aſſiſt or ſuccour, in any manner, nor under any pretenſe, the czar, in his war againſt Sweden, to join with the king of Great Britain, to engage the king of Denmark to make peace, and to reſtore that part of Pomerania he had ſeized.

Laſtly, the king of Pruſſia engaged to pay two millions of rix-dollars of Leipſic money of 1690. This was almoſt purchaſing what was ceded to him; but that prince abounded in ready money, and he could not better employ it, than in aggrandizing himſelf. Beſides, Sweden, exhauſted by a war, which had laſted twenty years, and was not yet ended, was very glad Pruſſia would purchaſe what ſhe was not in a condition to retake.

Thus king George, in concert with the regent of France, diſpoſed of the affairs of Europe at pleaſure, and obliged the foreign princes to ſubmit to his determinations. Spain, after having made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to oppoſe him, was obliged to ſubmit to the ſtrict execution of the treaty of London

Geo. I. 1720. don of 1718: The emperor was put in poſſeſſion of Sicily; the duke of Savoy had Sardinia; Gibraltar and Port-Mahon remained in the hands of Great-Britain; the inveſtiture of the ſtates of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, was not given; the emperor continued to take the title of king of Spain, and to act as ſuch; the only favour allowed that crown, was the reſtoration of two or three places, taken by France; but the emperor ſtill delayed the execution of his treaty with Spain, of which the mediators took little notice.

The czar's memorial.

The czar was the only prince, who would not comply: Inſtead of ſubmitting, he continued the war a year or two longer, and made peace without any mediator. Whatever reproaches might be caſt upon him, he loudly complained of the elector of Hanover and king of Great-Britain, alledging, that king George in both qualities had failed in his engagements. His reſident at London preſented a long memorial, in which he repreſented, that the particular engagements, which the king had entered into the laſt ſummer with the queen of Sweden, and his negotiations with the kings of Poland, Pruſſia, and Denmark, in order to detach them from their alliance with his czariſh majeſty, were inconſiſtent with the obligations he had entered into as elector of Brunſwick, never to treat with Sweden without the participation of the czar, to uſe all poſſible means to procure him the ceſſion of Ingria, Carelia, Eſthonia, and Revel, and not to oppoſe in any manner the other pretenſions, he might form; obligations (added the memorial) contracted likewiſe as king of Great-Britain. Afterwards, by way of reproach, it was remarked, that the acquiſition of the duchies of Bremen and Verden was owing to the earneſt ſollicitations of the czar with the king of Denmark; that his czariſh majeſty had moreover offered a treaty of defenſive alliance (like that of 1716) to maintain the ſucceſſion of the crown of Great-Britain in the Proteſtant line; That the reſt of the czar's conduct had been anſwerable to theſe his proceedings; That, notwithſtanding theſe advances ſo often repeated, and ever neglected, not to ſay deſpiſed, no endeavours had been omitted to ſtir up enemies againſt the czar, and to render him odious to the Engliſh, by making them believe, he intended to place the Pretender upon the throne; That every thing had been done to embroil him with the court of Vienna; That no explanation or accommodation was ever liſtened to, and all his propoſals for a reconciliation remained without any anſwer; That a ſtrong ſquadron had been ſent to the Baltic; That, warned by what had happened on other occaſions, he had

had desired to be informed of the design of that squadron. That his desire had been haughtily received: That the squadron, at the end of the campagin, had joined the Swedish fleet: And, to compleat all these grievances, letters had been wrote to him in very imperious terms, and such as ought not to be used to a sovereign. Geo. I. 1720.

'Your majesty (said the memorial) who knows so well what is due to sovereigns, when they are to be treated with, may judge by all that has passed on this occasion, whether the manner, in which your ministers proceeded in offering the czar your mediation, was agreeable to the friendship, which has subsisted at all times between the crowns of Russia and Great-Britain; and whether a mediation offered with circumstances so little equitable, can be considered as impartial. To tell a sovereign, in an imperious and threatening manner (as your ministers did) that he must put an end to the war, in order to obtain a reasonable peace; and to propose to him the mediation of a power, at the same time that he is told, that power is in league with his enemy, this is not endeavouring to induce him to peace, but rather seeking pretences for a rupture.'

The memorial concluded with demanding a positive answer, in order to know what was to be expected on the part of his British majesty.

This memorial, though seemingly expressed in a plain manner, was very artfully worded. Accordingly it was answered very carefully by the ministry of Hanover, and of Great-Britain.

The Hanoverian ministry said, it was the czar, who had violated the treaty of 1715, by coming with an army to settle in the empire, and by seizing the provinces contiguous to Hanover. That the least, that could be done in those circumstances, was to shew, these proceedings were not approved of: That the instances, which had been made for the withdrawing this army, were indispensible, considering the rank the elector of Hanover bore in the empire: That, however, this was the ground of the czar's resentments, of which he had given many proofs, by his correspondence with the enemies of king George, and by his endeavours to deprive him of his friends. The particulars were then given of the czar's intrigues with baron Gortz, with the pretender's emissaries, and with the court of Madrid, and especially of the projects formed with the king of Sweden to carry the war into the empire, and to assist that crown to recover the dominions in Germany, which had been taken from him. The answer to it.

Geo. I. 1720. That, beſides theſe deſigns, an invaſion of Scotland had alſo been concerted, and the czar was upbraided with having continually endeavoured to deceive and amuſe his allies.

It is therefore evident (concludes the anſwer) if the czar has been prevented by a treaty with Sweden, he gave juſt cauſe for it, by his proceedings, as he had long been treating for a ſeparate peace, and was upon the point of reducing Sweden, and carrying the war into the bowels of the empire.'

Earl Stanhope anſwered the complaints, which related to the king of Great-Britain. He repreſented the extravagant conditions, upon which the czar had offered to enter into a ſtrict alliance with Great-Britain. 'He required, ſaid the earl, that his conqueſts upon Sweden ſhould be guaranteed to him; that he ſhould be aſſiſted with an Engliſh fleet, and that the fleet ſhould be under his command, which would have made all accommodation with Sweden wholly impoſſible, and incenſed thoſe powers, who were concerned in the preſervation of that crown, and whoſe friendſhip was ſo neceſſary to accompliſh the projects formed for the tranquility of Europe.'

The earl then obſerves, that the czar's complaints were intended only to cauſe his own deſigns to be overlooked: 'For if it be true (ſays the earl) that the czar, intimate ally of the king of Denmark, had meditated no leſs than to make himſelf maſter of the Sound, and of Copenhagen (inſtead of making the deſcent on Schonen, with which the public had been amuſed for ſome months) it is natural to endeavour to put the change upon the public in that particular, and to wipe off the impreſſions of ſuch notions, by recriminations deſtitute of all manner of ground: And, if the czar had really ſuch deſigns in view, it is probable, that nothing kept him from putting them in execution, but the juſt apprehenſion that the ſame ſhould be oppoſed by his majeſty's fleet; which would infallibly have happened in ſuch a caſe. And may not the czar's reſentment of the miſcarriage of ſo great a project, through the apprehenſion of the Britiſh fleet, be the cauſe of his great eſtrangement from his majeſty ſince that time; from whence one may date the beginning of the animoſity he has ſhewn againſt his majeſty on ſo many occaſions.

This was plainly perceived ſome time after, when by the letters of baron Gortz and count Gyllenburg, it was diſcovered, that the czar was ſo offended with his majeſty, that he entertained ſerious thoughts of making a ſeparate peace

peace with the king of Sweden, and aſſiſting the pretender. And indeed, whatever aſſurances have been given to the contrary, the czar's conduct ſeems to have been intirely agreeable to that plan. The negotiations of the Ruſſian miniſter with the pretender's agents are well known (a). All the world has ſeen the great number of Engliſh rebels, to whom the czar has given all manner of protection and encouragement. It is known, that the conferences at Aland, which were begun without his majeſty's participation, were the reſult of an interview at Loo with baron Gorz, in Auguſt 1717. That miniſter's papers have ſhewn, that the invaſion of Scotland was to have immediately followed the conqueſt of Norway; it is therefore no wonder, the czar was not ſolicitous either to prevent that conqueſt, or to aſſiſt the king of Denmark on ſo preſſing an occaſion. In fine, information hath been had of the propoſitions the czar has made, more than once, to the court of Spain, to engage them in an offenſive alliance againſt England, in favour of the pretender.

Geo. I. 1720.

It was ſhewn likewiſe, that the czar had perſiſted in his deſigns ſince the death of the king of Sweden: That he had endeavoured to engage queen Ulrica in the ſchemes of her predeceſſor: And, not ſucceeding by his inſinuations, he had attempted to conſtrain her by force, and by almoſt unparelleled inſults. 'But, notwithſtanding all this, his majeſty (continues the earl) perſiſts in the ſame ſentiments of moderation towards the czar, and renews the offer of his mediation. Nothing is more conformable to the intereſt of that prince, ſince it is intended to procure him a peace, which will ſecure him a conſiderable part of his conqueſts. It is hoped, that ſo wiſe a prince as the czar will not only be inclined, for the general good of peace, to moderate his pretenſions, but likewiſe acknowledge, that it is more conſiſtent with prudence, to obtain by good treaties, and the conſent of other great powers, ſuch conſiderable territories as may be

(a) People (ſays the memorial) are not ignorant of the negotiations of one Jerneghan, and of Sir Hugh Paterſon, brother-in-law to the late lord Mar, with the Ruſſian miniſter, during the czar's ſtay in Holland. Intelligence has been had of the ſame miniſter's intrigues, both with the late duke of Ormond, during the ſtay he made incognito at Mittau, and with Sir Henry Sterling and the ſaid Jerneghan at Peterſburg, as well as of the correſpondence eſtabliſhed, by means of this laſt perſon, between the czar and the court of Spain.

Geo. I. 1720. yielded to him by the crown of Sweden, than to expose the fruits of his ſucceſſes to the events of a war, which he will be obliged to ſupport alone. Sweden neither ought nor can give up to him Revel. If the czar, after ſuch offers, perſiſts in his unwillingneſs to reſtore Revel, he will only alarm all the other powers, and unite the moſt of them againſt him.

The ſincere deſire the king has to reſtore a general peace, and his zeal to be reconciled with the czar for that purpoſe, incline his majeſty to give him, on this occaſion, the advice of a friend, and to exhort him ſeriouſly to conſider it.

But if, contrary to all expectation, the king's good intentions ſhould prove fruitleſs by the czar's refuſal; and if his majeſty, by virtue of his engagements with Sweden (which he is fully reſolved to maintain) ſhould be obliged to take meaſures diſagreeable to Ruſſia, he will, however, have the conſolation of having neglected nothing to prevent the fatal conſequences, which may reſult from it.

Theſe memorials and anſwers produced no reconcilation between the two princes. The anſwers, however, made an impreſſion upon the nation in favour of the king. And indeed, it muſt be confeſſed, that it was found policy to join with Sweden againſt the czar, and by that means make amends for uniting with that prince to ſtrip a crown, which religion and commerce ought alway's to endear to Great-Britain.

Reconciliation in the royal family. During the ſeſſion of parliament, the reconciliation of the royal family was effected, chiefly by the endeavours of the duke of Devonſhire and Mr. Walpole. They had ſeveral conferences for that purpoſe, with the miniſters, with ſuch ſucceſs, that, on the 23d of April, the lord Lumley, gentleman of the prince of Wales's bed-chamber, waited on the king, to know his pleaſure, when the prince ſhould attend him. He was anſwered, immediately; and Mr. ſecretary Craggs having accompanied the lord Lumley to Leiceſter-Fields, to acquaint the prince with it, he immediately went to St. James's houſe, and was half an hour in private conference with the king. Having made his ſubmiſſion in the manner agreed on, he went to ſee his eldeſt daughter, the princeſs Anne, who, five days before, was taken ill of the ſmall-pox. The prince, at his return to Leiceſter-houſe, was, by the king's command, attended by a party of the yeomen of the guard, and of the horſe-guards, and the foot-guards began alſo to mount the guard at his houſe. In the evening, the princeſs of Wales had an interview with the king;

king; and, the next morning, the duke of Devonſhire, earl Cowper, the lord Townſhend, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Methuen, and Mr. Pulteney, were admitted to kiſs the king's hand; and the duke of Devonſhire carried the ſword of ſtate before the king to the royal chapel, the prince of Wales accompanying them thither; and, at their return, the officers and retainers to the two courts congratulated each other upon this reconciliation. The next day, the great officers and miniſters of ſtate, and of the houſehold, and other perſons of diſtinction, waited on the prince of Wales, who, in the evening, went with his whole court to the apartments at St. James's, and had a long conference with the king. Moſt of the foreign miniſters had alſo, on this occaſion, a private audience of the prince of Wales. Geo. I. 1720.

Upon the riſing of the parliament, the king held a great council, in which he declared his deſign of viſiting his dominions in Germany, and named the lords juſtices during his abſence. They were the ſame with thoſe of the laſt year; to whom were added the lord Townſhend (who was declared likewiſe lord preſident of the council) and the duke of Devonſhire. The king in the ſame council, conferred alſo ſeveral honours and preferments: The earl of Dorſet was created duke of Dorſet; the earl of Bridgewater, duke of Bridgewater; the lord viſcount Caſtleton, earl Caſtleton in the county of York; Hugh Boſcawen, baron Boſcawen, and viſcount Falmouth in the county of Cornwall; John Wallop, baron Wallop of Wallop, and viſcount Lymington in the county of Southampton (b);

On

(b) The reſt of the honours and preferments were: Mathew Ducie Morton, baron Ducie de Morton, in the county of Stafford; John Barrington, of Becket in the county of Berks, baron Barrington of Newcaſtle, and viſcount Barrington of Ardglaſs in the kingdom of Ireland; Thomas Gage, baron Caſtelbarr, and viſcount Gage of Caſtle-Iſland, in the kingdom of Ireland; William Vane, baron Vane of Dungannon in the county of Tyrone, and viſcount Vane; Sir Marcus Beresford, baron Beresford of Beresford in the county of Cavan, and viſcount Tyrone in the kingdom of Ireland; John Blunt, of the city of London, Sir William Chapman and Thomas Coleby, of Kenſington, were created baronets. The duke of Kingſton was appointed lord privy ſeal; the duke of Grafton lord lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Robert Walpole, paymaſter-general of the king's forces; Mr. Methuen, comptroller of the houſhold; the

Geo. I. 1720.

On the 15th of June, the king imbarked at Greenwich on board the Carolina yacht, and landed the next morning at Helvoetſluys, from whence he proceeded to Hanover.

The king goes to Hanover.

At his arrival in Germany, he found the peace concluded between Sweden and Denmark. This peace was of great importance; for the czar was left alone, and had reaſon to fear (as he had been threatened) that all his allies, who had been drawn off from him one after another, would unite againſt him, to reduce him within his ancient bounds.

Negotiations with Denmark,

The treaty was ſigned at Fredericſtadt, on the 22d of June. The preamble did great honour to king George; ſetting forth, that it was reſolved to put an end to the cruel war, which had laſted ten years, by the preſſing inſtances of the king of Great-Britain, who has taken all imaginable pains to reconcile the parties, and has engaged them to conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, the more eaſily to come at a peace, for which his majeſty has offered them his mediation, which they have accepted. By this treaty, every thing that had paſſed during the war, was to be buried in eternal oblivion; liberty of commerce was intirely reſtored; both ſides renounced, in the ſtrongeſt manner, all treaties, agreements, and alliances made with other powers, as far as they ſhould be contrary to the preſent treaty of peace, and, for the future, neither party ſhould enter into any treaty or alliance, which might be prejudicial or inconvenient to the other.

As the czar and his pretenſions were chiefly aimed at in theſe negotiations, it was required of the king of Denmark, that he ſhould, in the moſt expreſs terms, oblige himſelf not to aſſiſt the czar, during the war, under any pretence whatſoever, either with advice or forces: 'And becauſe, (added

the duke of Queenſbury and the earl of Harold, gentlemen of the bed-chamber; the earl of Sunderland, John Aiſlabie, George Baillie, Sir Charles Turner, and Richard Edgcombe, commiſſioners of the treaſury; the earl of Weſtmoreland, John Chelwynd, Sir Charles Cook, Paul Docminique, Martin Bladen, and John Aſhe, commiſſioners of trade and plantations; Sir Wilfred Lawſon, groom of his majeſty's bed-chamber, Sir David Dalrymple, auditor of the exchequer in Scotland; Edward Elliot, commiſſioner of the exciſe; Henry Cartwright, commiſſioner of the victualling-office; Charles Withers, ſurveyor general of his majeſty's woods; colonel Charles Churchill, governor of Chelſea-Hoſpital; the lord Glenorchy, ambaſſador to the king of Denmark; and Mr. Moleſworth, envoy to the court of Turin.

the

the treaty) it is the intereſt, not only of the king and crown of Denmark, but alſo of other nations, that this war ſhould end in ſuch a manner, that the liberty of commerce ſhould be reſtored in the Baltic, his Daniſh majeſty promiſes not to ſuffer any Muſcovite ſhips in any his ports in the ſea of Denmark or Norway; nor will permit them to bring in thither prizes of any nation whatever; and if it ſhall happen, that theſe prizes ſhould enter into his ports, he will reſtore them to the owners.' Geo. I. 1720.

The king of Denmark was put in poſſeſſion of Sleſwick, and reſolved to keep it. It was neceſſary likewiſe, in order to engage him to peace, that the king of Great-Britain ſhould guarantee to him the peaceable poſſeſſion of it, which had been done the 30th of October the laſt year. On the other hand, Sweden, indiſpenſably engaged as ſhe was with the duke of Holſtein, could not, with any decency, give up that duchy to the king of Denmark. But the following expedient was made uſe of to ſurmount theſe difficulties: 'Foraſmuch (ſays the treaty) as the duke of Sleſwick-Holſtein has been concerned in the war of the North; and as the ſtrict alliance, between that prince and the crown of Sweden, might be an obſtacle to peace with regard to the duchy of Sleſwick; his Swediſh majeſty declares for himſelf and the crown of Sweden, and promiſes not to oppoſe, either directly or indirectly, what may have been ſtipulated concerning that duchy, in favour of the king of Denmark, by the mediating powers which have co-operated in the preſent treaty; and Sweden will not give any aſſiſtance to the duke of Holſtein againſt Denmark, which may be prejudicial to this ſtipulation.'

The king of Pruſſia, in making peace with Sweden, had been enjoined by the mediators to purchaſe the countries he had taken from that crown. The king of Denmark, on the contrary, was obliged to ſell his conqueſts to Sweden, or, what amounted to the ſame, to give them up for an equivalent.

Thus the king of Denmark conſented to reſtore Upper Pomerania, the iſle of Rugen, the towns and fortreſſes of Marſtrand and Stralſundt, and all the other iſlands and dependencies without any exception, which had been taken from Sweden, in the ſtate they were in at the publication of the ſuſpenſion of arms, with the artillery and magazines, which were there when Denmark ſeized them. He likewiſe gave up the city of Wiſmar, with its territory and dependencies.

In

Geo. I. 1720. In return for these restitutions, Sweden consented, that, for the future, and from the day of the ratification of the treaty, there should be no longer any difference of nation in the Sound and the two Belts; so that the kingdom of Sweden renounced the exemption from toll in those parts, and consented that her subjects should pay them to Denmark for their ships and cargoes, upon the same foot, as the subjects of Great-Britain and the United-Provinces paid them.

Moreover, Sweden, to give a still more sensible proof of her desire for peace, bound herself to pay to the king of Denmark six hundred thousand rix-dollars at one payment. This sum was to be put into the hands of the mediators, not to be delivered till after the stipulated cessions were executed by the court of Denmark. It was added, in express terms, that all the pretensions of Denmark upon Sweden should be extinct, by the obligation to the payment of toll in the Sound and Belts, and by the payment of the six hundred thousand rix-dollars. The other articles contained various regulations, all proper to strengthen the peace, and prevent, as far as possible, all occasions of complaint.

The mediators took great pains to prevail with the king of Denmark to grant Sweden such moderate terms. Besides the antient and natural antipathy between the two nations, which was to be surmounted, the conquests, which had cost him so much, and were so very convenient for him, were to be renounced. Undoubtedly, the apprehension of seeing the forces of all the allies of king George united against him, made a greater impression upon him, than the hopes of assistance from the czar, who would not hear either of peace or any mediation from the king of Great-Britain.

The czar refuses the mediation of England. Admiral Norris had sailed in April with a squadron strong enough to give weight to the king's mediation. When he arrived at Copenhagen, he wrote to prince Dolgorouki, the czar's ambassador at the court of Denmark, to notify to him, 'That the king his master, had ordered him to come into those seas with a squadron of his ships, to procure a just and reasonable peace between the crowns of Sweden and Russia; and that his majesty having at heart the welfare of his subjects, as also the concerns of such nations, as live in amity with him, ardently wishes, that this affair may be accomplished in a Christian, effectual, and speedy manner. That, to for this end, he was commanded to notify to the ministers, generals, and admirals of the czar, the repeated offers of his Britannic majesty's mediation of peace between the two crowns;

crowns; and that his czarian majeſty, duly conſidering the preſent ſtate of affairs, would liſten to reaſonable conditions for an accommodation; and leſt, for want of full powers, this affair ſhould be obſtructed, the ſame were ſent to his envoy at Stockholm, and likewiſe to himſelf as his admiral, to the end, jointly or ſeparately, they may act in the quality of his majeſty's plenipotentiaries, in order to effect a peace between the two crowns, by way of mediation.' Prince Dolgorouki returned for anſwer, 'That the czar had nothing more at heart than peace and tranquillity, of which he had given clear proofs during the war; but, becauſe Sweden had never expreſſed the like ſentiments, the continuation of the war could be imputed only to that crown. That, as for the expreſſions in the admiral's letter about the means of a peace, he could return no anſwer to that; and, in caſe his Britannic majeſty had any propoſals to make to the czar, he hoped the admiral would excuſe him from doing it, ſince it could be done a more compendious way.' Geo. I. 1720.

Upon this anſwer the Engliſh fleet joined that of Sweden, but however as auxiliaries only. The Ruſſian fleet had prevented them, and landed near Uma five thouſand men, who met with no reſiſtance; they ſet fire to that town, and to all the villages in the neighbourhood. As the inhabitants did not expect ſuch an attack, all their effects were ſeized by the Muſcovites, who without any loſs returned to their ſhips. The combined fleets did not arrive till the enemy had reached the port of Revel, where it was not judged proper to attack them, but rather to make a diverſion in Finland. Nothing material was done, and ſome Swediſh ſhips, having imprudently engaged a ſuperior force without being timely ſupported, were very near being deſtroyed.

The czar was not ſo eaſy to be reduced as Spain had been. Poland, the only country contiguous to his dominions, did not think fit to attack him: And it was a great point gained, that king Auguſtus, notwithſtanding his obligations to the czar, had conſented to a ſeparate peace with Sweden.

Though king George could not at this time ſucceed in making peace between Ruſſia and Sweden, he had however, at the end of the campaign, ſome hopes of it. Ulrica, who had been placed on the throne of Sweden in the room of her brother Charles XII. and had married the head of the family of Heſſe, was extremely deſirous he ſhould be joined with her in the adminiſtration of the regal power. To this end ſhe writ with her own hand a letter to each of the four orders of the States, repreſenting how neceſſary in the preſent difficult

Geo. I. 1720. cult juncture, and how conducive to the public welfare, would be the aſſiſtance of his royal highneſs in the adminiſtration of the government and therefore hoped the States would gratify her in conferring on him the regal dignity.

As the propoſal of placing the prince of Heſſe on the throne, jointly with the queen, met with great oppoſition from the nobles, ſhe writ a ſecond letter to the States, offering to reſign her ſhare of the regal power, and to be content that it ſhould be executed by her royal conſort alone. Upon this the States unanimouſly elected him king (c).

The advancement of Frederick to the throne of Sweden, gave him occaſion to ſend one of his principal officers to notify it to the czar, who in return ſent one of his generals to congratulate the new king. Upon this were grounded the hopes of a reconciliation. But the Ruſſian envoy was commiſſioned only to demand ſome paſſports, and propoſe an exchange of priſoners, and a ſuſpenſion of arms during the winter. He added however, and doubtleſs with a view to king George, that the czar was not ſo averſe to peace as might be thought, and only wanted reaſonable terms to be made him, for which there was no need of a mediator.

Theſe things, relating to the affairs of Sweden and Ruſſia, had for the moſt part paſſed before the king's arrival in his German dominions. All the foreign miniſters followed him

(c) The act of election, which was read to the king, was to this effect: That the king is elected according to the laws and conſtitutions of the kingdom, not out of any duty, but by the free-will of all the ſenators and the ſtates, who do declare the kingdom hereditary in the male-iſſue his majeſty ſhall have by the queen, and who, upon the deceaſe of their father, ſhall take upon themſelves the adminiſtration, without any farther election; but, in caſe both their majeſties ſhall die without male-iſſue, that all the ſtates ſhall proceed to a new election, without any previous ſummons, thirty days after the deceaſe of the ſurvivor. That they think themſelves well aſſured his majeſty will never ſuffer the ſovereignty (or abſolute power) which always proved ſo pernicious to the kingdom, to be introduced again; but that he, as well as the heirs of his body, will govern the kingdom according to the laws and conſtitutions, maintain it in the Chriſtian evangelical religion, and let the ſubjects have the unprejudiced enjoyment of all their privileges, according to the aſſurance given in writing by his majeſty; in which caſe they will always behave themſelves as faithful and true liege ſubjects to his majeſty, Hiſt. Reg.

to

to Hanover, where he did not want buſineſs or matter to exercise his talents for negotiation, which, after all, are the true talents of a ſovereign. Miniſters indeed generally ſupply what may be wanting in a prince; but the caſe was otherwiſe with king George. He looked into every thing himſelf: His miniſters did nothing without him, whilſt he did many things without them. Geo. I. 1720.

The treaties of peace to which ſeveral States had been led, and in ſome meaſure compelled, were for the moſt part tranſacted in haſte. It was impoſſible to ſettle the particular intereſts of the contracting powers and their allies. Theſe treaties, properly ſpeaking, were only a ceſſation from hoſtilities, and an ingagement to more exact and regular negotiations. To fix and aſcertain ſo many complicated intereſts, and prevent the flames of war from kindling afreſh, king George and the regent of France joined their endeavours to eſtabliſh two congreſſes, one at Brunſwic for the affairs of the North, and the other at Cambray for the reſt of Europe.

CHAP.

Geo. I. 1720.

CHAP. IV.

Progreſs of the South-Sea affairs—account of Mr. Law and the Miſſiſſippi company—the bubbles—account of the bank-contract—the parliament meets—debate on the commons addreſs—their proceedings in the South-Sea affair—on Walpole's ſcheme for reſtoring credit—the houſe of commons divided in their opinions—their farther proceedings—a ſelect committee for the South-Sea affair—proceedings of the lords about it—death of earl Stanhope and ſecretary Craggs—proceedings about Mr. Knight—of the ſecret committee—Mr. Stanhope's and the earl of Sunderland's caſes—Mr. Aiſlabie expelled the houſe—Allowances to the South-Sea directors out of their eſtates—reſolutions in favour of the South-Sea ſufferers—an act in their favour—remarks on it—general court of the South-Sea—hell-fire club—a bill againſt blaſphemy and profaneneſs—debate on the ſubſidy to Sweden—tax upon the civil liſt revenues—parliament prorogued—foreign affairs—congreſs of Cambray—perſonal enmity between the king and the czar—death of pope Clement XI.—the laſt ſeſſion of king George's firſt parliament—Mr. Law returns to England—debates about the navy debt—about the affairs of Spain and the North—a bill to prevent the plague—debates on the army—on the French buying ſhips in England—on the Quaker's bill—an order about proteſts—a bill for freedom of elections rejected by the lords—the parliament is diſſolved—death of the earl of Sunderland—and of the duke of Marlborough—elections carried on with great zeal.

Progreſs of the South-Sea affairs.

WHILST the king was employed abroad in hearing and ſettling the grievances and intereſts of the nations and their ſovereigns, particularly thoſe of the Proteſtants of Germany, the regency were no leſs employed at home in curbing the exceſſive deſire of gain, which the progreſs of the South-Sea company had raiſed, and in curing the deſpair which attended its fall. As theſe are the moſt conſiderable events

events of this reign, and such as will never be forgot by Great-Britain, they deserve to be related at large. Geo. I. 1720.

The South-Sea scheme seems to be taken from that of the Mississippi company in France, formed by Mr. Law the last Mr. Law was born at Edinburgh, and had proposed to the Parliament of Scotland, in 1705, a scheme for supplying the nation with money, which, though favoured by the duke of Argyle, then high-commissioner, and several members of parliament, was however rejected. Upon this he applied himself to the lord-treasurer Harley, and transmitted to him another proposal for the increase of trade and credit, but meeting with no incouragement, and not being able to get his pardon, for having killed beau Wilson in a duel, he was compelled to live abroad, where, after undergoing great variety of persecutions from his enemies, he settled in France. During his stay in England, he had informed himself fully of the management of the bank and East-India company, and, in order to settle the fluctuating manner of things in France, he proposed to the regent to lay the foundation of credit by erecting a bank. The regent approved of the scheme, the bank was established: The king began the subscription, the regent followed, with innumerable others. This project met with such success, that, in three subscriptions, more than all the money in France was said to be subscribed to it: For, by the end of the year 1719, bills were given out for 640 millions of livres, which exceeds the value of the bills circulated by all the banks in Europe. There was added a circulation of 360 millions, and the whole amounted to 1000 millions of livres, making above 38 millions of pounds sterling at the Exchange then current (a).

Account of Mr. Law and the Mississippi company.

Bank erected in France.

A bank being thus erected, and credit established, Mr. Law formed the project of the Mississippi or India company, who were to have the sole privilege of the trade to Louisiana, or the country of the Mississippi, so called from a river of that name, which runs through it from north to south. Pursuant to this scheme, a subscription of stock was opened, and all were admitted to subscribe. The sum first proposed to be raised was only 60 millions of livres, to be subscribed in state-bills. These state-bills or public securities were then very low, being from 57 to 63 per cent. discount; but, as they were received at par without any loss in the company's stock,

(a) The French crown, of worth 4s. and 1d. ½ English five livres and two fifths, was money.

Geo. I. 1720. the first subscription of 60 millions was soon filled. The capital stock was then enlarged to 100 millions, and the Actions or Shares rose to 120. After this a new creation of Actions was made for 25 millions more, which were delivered out at 110, and soon rose to 200. As people appeared very eager to lay out their money this way, an arret of the council of state was published, for circulating bank-bills to the value of 25 millions, in the Mississippi company, upon which the Actions, about Midsummer 1719, run up 560. The company, finding their credit so well established, proposed to lend the king 50 millions, for which there was a new creation of Actions for 25 millions, upon the foot of 200 per Action. About the end of August, the company proposed to the king another loan of 1200 millions, at three per cent. As the Actions were now advanced to 1200, the company, in order to raise the loan, opened their books for 500 millions, by the sale of 50 millions of Actions, at the rate of 1000 per Action. The subscriptions were filled in a few hours; and, in less than three weeks, two subscriptions more, for the like sum of 500 millions each, were opened with the same success. The first payment of these three subscriptions rose so considerably, as to be sold at 300 per cent. profit. From that time the Actions rose to 2050 (b).

The Mississippi stock was in its greatest prosperity during the months of November and December 1719; and, in the January following, Mr. Law, who was become the greatest subject in Europe, was made comptroller-general of the finances of France. From that time the stock began to decline, and, by the end of May, all things fell into confusion at Paris, occasioned by an Arret to reduce bank notes and Actions of the company. Mr. Law resigned his place, and had two Swiss officers given him for his guard. By this project the state indeed gained immensely, 1500 millions of the king's debts being transposed from him to the people, who were content to discharge the public, and owe the money to

(b) Thus the capital stock consisted of these seven subscriptions:

60 millions of the first subscription.
40 of the second.
25 of the third.
25 of the fourth.
50 of the fifth.
50 of the sixth.
50 of the seventh.

300 millions.

The total of the Actions, which, when they sold at 2050, the total amounted to above 6000 millions of livres, or 228 millions sterling.

one

one another. Conſequently, when the fall came (except a few great fortunes that were made) there was almoſt a general ruin through all France. Geo. I. 1720.

This revolution of the Miſſiſſippi ſtock at Paris was not exceeded in England, where the like infatuation univerſally prevailed, and was followed by the like conſequences.

When the bill paſſed in favour of the South-Sea company, it was expected, the ſtock would have greatly advanced, but the contrary happened; for the day after, it fell from 310 to 290. In order to raiſe it, a rumour was ſpread, that earl Stanhope had received overtures in France to exchange Gibraltar and Port-Mahon for ſome places in Peru, for the ſecurity and enlargement of the Engliſh trade in the South-Sea; which had its effect in Exchange-Alley. For, on the 12th of April, five days after the royal aſſent was given to the bill, the directors opened their books for a ſubſcription of a million, at the rate of 300l. for every 100l. capital. Such was the concourſe of perſons of all ranks, that this firſt ſubſcription was found to amount to above two millions of original ſtock. It was to be paid at five payments of 60l. each, for one ſhare of 100l. In a few days the ſtock advanced to 340, and the ſubſcriptions were ſold for double the price of the firſt payment. To raiſe the ſtock ſtill higher, on the 21ſt of April it was declared in a general court, that the Midſummer dividend ſhould be ten per cent. and all ſubſcriptions ſhould be entitled to the ſame. Theſe reſolutions anſwering the end deſigned, the directors, to improve the infatuation of the monied men, opened their books for a ſecond ſubſcription of one million, at 400l. per cent. In a few hours, no leſs than a million and a half was ſubſcribed at that rate; and ſo great was the confidence which was placed in the directors, that many depoſited in their hands their annuities, without knowing what price the company would allow for them. Progreſs of the South-Sea affair.

On the 19th of May, the directors thought fit to ſettle the terms and prices for the long and ſhort annuities, which had been ſubſcribed; and, the ſtock being that day 375l. per cent. it was reſolved to allow, for every 100l. per annum of the long annuities, 700l. in the capital ſtock (which at 375l. per cent. amounted to 2625l.) and 575l. in bonds and money: So the total for each 100l. per annum amounted to 3200l. or thirty-two years purchaſe. For every 90l. per annum of the ſhort annuities, they agreed to allow 350l. in the capital ſtock, which, at 375l. per cent. amounted to 1312l. 10s. and in bonds and money 217l. 10s. which together made 1530l. or ſeventeen years purchaſe.

Geo. I. 1720.

Theſe offers occaſioned at firſt great murmurings among the annuitants, who, having expected ten years, found they were to have but eight years and a quarter's purchaſe. Upon which ſome withdrew their orders, and others reſolved not to ſubſcribe. But, the South-Sea managers having found means to raiſe their ſtock to 500l. per cent. moſt of the annuitants appeared eaſy; ſo that it was computed, that, by the 29th of May, almoſt two thirds of the annuities were ſubſcribed.

The arts of the ſtock-jobbers drew a great concourſe of perſons of all ranks into Exchange-Alley, by whoſe unexampled eagerneſs of laying out their money in a fund, that promiſed ſo plentiful a return of gain, that ſtock, which about the latter end of May, was at about 550, roſe on a ſudden ſo prodigiouſly, that on Thurſday, the 2d of June, it came up to 890. Many cautious perſons being willing to take this opportunity to ſecure their great profits, there appeared the next day ſo many ſellers in the alley, that, by two or three o'clock in the afternoon, the ſtock fell to 640; at which the chief directors of the South-Sea company being alarmed, ſet their agents to work, by whoſe artful management the ſtock was the ſame evening advanced to 750; about which price, with ſome ſmall fluctuation, it continued till the cloſing of the company's books on the 22d of June. In the mean time, the South-Sea ſtock ſuffered a conſiderable ſhock. For many perſons, who were to follow the king to Hanover, and others, who found a difficulty of making their ſecond payment to the firſt ſubſcription, were both equally deſirous to turn their ſtock into money; ſo that, for ſome days, the number of ſellers exceeded that of buyers. Wherefore the managers of the company formed two expedients: The firſt was their lending out money, or notes, to the proprietors of their capital ſtock, to the ſum of 400l. upon 100l. original ſtock (which ſhewed it to be worth above that ſum) at the rate of 4l. per cent. per annum. The ſecond was their giving public notice, 'That all perſons poſſeſſed of any of the company's bonds, which fell due on the 25th of June, might then have their money for the ſame of the company's caſhier: And that the bonds would be taken in on the ſecond payment for the the 2,250,000l. South-Sea ſtock, ſold by ſubſcription after the rate of 300l. for each 100l. original ſtock.' By theſe means money being plenty, and the ſtock-jobbers in good humour, the South-Sea company opened their books for a third ſubſcription, at the rate of 1000l.

1000l. for each 100l. capital ſtock, to be paid in ten equal payments, one in hand, and the other nine half-yearly. But, ſome men in power having taken this opportunity to oblige their friends, their liſts were ſo full, that the directors enlarged it to four millions capital ſtock, which at that price amounted to forty millions ſterling. And, what is more ſtrange, theſe laſt ſubſcriptions were, before the end of June, ſold at above 2000l. per cent. advance, and, after the cloſing of the transfer-books, the original ſtock roſe to above 1000l. per cent. At the ſame time the firſt ſubſcriptions were at 560, and the ſecond at 610 per cent. advance, the bank at 260, and Eaſt-India at 440. Geo. I. 1720.

The bubbles.

"The whole nation was become ſtock-jobbers. The South-Sea was like an infectious diſtemper, which ſpread itſelf in an aſtoniſhing manner. Every evening produced new projects, which were juſtly called Bubbles, and new companies appeared every day. Theſe were countenanced by the greateſt of the nobility. The prince of Wales was governor of the Welſh copper; the duke of Chandois, of York-Buildings; the duke of Bridgewater formed a company for building houſes in London and Weſtminſter. There were near a hundred different kinds of projects or bubbles; and it was computed, that above a million and a half was won and loſt by theſe unwarrantable practices, by which many unwary perſons were defrauded and impoveriſhed, and a few crafty men enriched, to the great detriment of domeſtic trade. The king had, the ſame day the parliament roſe, publiſhed a proclamation, declaring all theſe unlawful projects ſhould be deemed as common nuſances, and proſecuted as ſuch; with the penalty of 500l. for any broker to buy or ſell any ſhares in them. Notwithſtanding this proclamation, ſeveral of the illegal projects were ſtill carried on; upon which the lords juſtices, on the 12th of July, to put a ſtop to all farther proceedings, ordered all the petitions, that had been preſented for patents and charters, to be diſmiſſed."

Proclamation againſt them. June 11.

The ſeveral ſums, intended to be raiſed by theſe projects, amounted to no leſs than three hundred millions ſterling, a ſum ſo immenſe, that it exceeds the value of all the lands in England, at the rate of twenty years purchaſe. However, the eagerneſs of getting riches, by quick and eaſy methods, had, at that time, ſo intoxicated the minds of moſt people of all degrees, that the moſt extravagant bubbles found many ſubſcribers: Some of whom ſold their firſt ſubſcriptions at a

Geo. I. 1720.

great profit, whereby the laſt buyers were conſiderable loſers (c).

The transfer-books of the South-Sea company were ſhut up the whole month of July. During that time, there was no great variation, except only that the price of the capital ſtock decreaſed gradually, from above 1000 to 930, in proportion as the third ſubſcription at a 1000 roſe to 330 advance or clear profit. In the mean time, the directors, at a meeting on the 8th of July, reſolved to open their books for taking in ſubſcriptions of the lottery tickets, and other ſhort annuities, to the amount of ſix millions ſterling: But, though they did not then think fit to declare at what rate they deſigned to take thoſe effects, yet the proprietors entirely truſted to their integrity, and readily ſubſcribed the ſame on the 14th and 15th of that month. After which the books were ſhut up. From that time to the end of July, the ſtock fell gradually from about 1000 to 900, including the Midſummer dividend. In the mean time, it being confidently reported, that the capital ſtock was to be inlarged by a fourth ſubſcription in money, ſome perſons in eminent ſtations deſired the principal managers to put off the ſubſcription, till the proprietors of the remaining part of the long annuities had ſubſcribed, ſince the taking in of thoſe public debts, in order to make them redeemable, was the main view, upon which the miniſtry and the parliament thought fit to encourage the South-Sea project. Some pretend, that the men in power made this ſtep, not only to free themſelves from the importunity of many, who ſued to be ſet down in their liſts, for a ſhare in the next ſubſcription; but alſo, in order to reſerve part of the to be increaſed capital ſtock, till a new ſet of directors were choſen, who ſhould have a ſhare in the profits of future ſubſcriptions, in caſe the humour of

(c) How great the general infatuation or thirſt of gain was, appears from the following inſtance: A propoſal was offered, 'For carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is.' The projector formed a ſcheme for half a million, by which every ſubſcriber, paying down two guineas for ſubſcribing, was to have 100 l. a year for every 100 l. ſo ſubſcribed. But how this was to be done did not appear in the propoſals, where it was alſo ſaid, that in a month the particulars of the project ſhould be laid open, and the money ſubſcribed was then to be paid in. As extravagant as this ſcheme was, the projector in a forenoon received 1000 ſubſcriptions, with which, amounting to 2000 guineas, he went off in the afternoon.

buy

buying up the ſame at an advanced price ſhould laſt ſo long. However that be, in a committee of the directors the 27th of July, it being conſidered that ſeveral perſons, admitted as ſubſcribers to the third ſubſcription in money, had not yet made their firſt payment, it was reſolved, that none but the proprietors of their capital and increaſed ſtock ſhould be admitted into the next ſubſcription in money, at the rate of 20 per cent. ſo that a proprietor of 1000l. capital ſtock ſhould be intitled to ſubſcribe 200l. In this reſolution, they, who hitherto had carried on this great project, with equal ſkill and ſucceſs, had undoubtedly two things in view; firſt, to allay the murmurings of many of the old proprietors, who complained, that the directors and great men at court had ingroſſed for themſelves and their dependants moſt of the profits of the three firſt ſubſcriptions. And, ſecondly, That, in caſe the eagerneſs of buyers ſhould abate, which was to be apprehended from the daily ſinking of the price of South-Sea ſtock, the company might be aſſured, that the new ſubſcribers would make the ſeveral payments, to which they ſhould ſubmit themſelves, and for which their capital ſtock would be a ſufficient ſecurity. On the other hand, many of the old proprietors were ſo far from looking upon this reſolution as a favour, that, on the contrary, they did not ſtick to ſay, 'That the directors, having had the cream for themſelves, would now give the proprietors the ſowre milk.' This complaint ſeemed to be the better grounded, becauſe it was well known, that thoſe, who had got moſt by the South-Sea, daily endeavoured to ſell out, and ſecure their vaſt profits; and, in particular, that the principal projector of this ſcheme had bought conſiderable eſtates in Norfolk and other counties. 1720. Geo. I.

Purſuant to what had been deſired, it was reſolved on the 3d of Auguſt, at a court of directors, to receive ſubſcriptions of all the remaining long and ſhort annuities, lottery tickets, and other public ſecurities, both redeemable and irredeemable. For which purpoſe the books were opened the next day at the South-Sea houſe, and continued ſo till the 11th of Auguſt. The day after, the directors publiſhed the terms they intended to allow to the proprietors. For every 100l. a year of the long annuities, they offered 400l. in the capital ſtock, which at 800l. per cent. (the price then of ſtock, excluſive of the Midſummer dividend) amounted to 3200, and in bonds or money 400l. making in all 3600l. or 36 years purchaſe. For every 90l. a year of the ſhort annuities they allowed 200l. ſtock, which at 800l. per cent. amounted

Geo. I. 1720. to 1600l. or 17 years purchaſe, and 7 ninths. The redeemable annuities and debts (as well thoſe at 4 per cent. as thoſe at 5 per cent.) were to be taken in at 105 per cent. and allowed for the ſame in capital ſtock at the rate of 800l. per cent. excluſive of the Midſummer dividend.

Many of the annuitants were not ſatisfied with theſe offers, which, they ſaid, put ſo great a diſparity (no leſs than near half by half) between them and the former ſubſcribers; for, by the reſolution of the directors of the 19th of May, there was allowed, for every 100l. a year of the long annuities, 700l. in the capital ſtock, beſides 10l. per cent. for the Midſummer dividend, and, in bonds or money, 575l. all which, (computing the ſtock at 800l. per cent. as it was given to the preſent ſubſcribers of the like annuities) amounted to 6735l. whereas, by theſe laſt reſolutions, there was allowed, for the ſame annuities, only 3600l. For this reaſon ſome of the laſt ſubſcribers went to the South-Sea houſe, in order to withdraw their effects; but they were told by the clerks, that there was no order from the directors for delivering them back; ſo the affair reſted, for ſome time, undetermined.

The uneaſineſs of the annuitants put a freſh damp upon the South-Sea ſtock; but what affected it more was the boldneſs of many perſons concerned in the illegal projects, who, in open defiance to the late acts of Parliament, to the king's proclamation, and to the orders and prohibitions of the lords Juſtices, carried them on. Some of theſe companies, authoriſed either by charters or acts of parliament, did conſiderable prejudice to the South-Sea, by endeavouring to procure ſubſcriptions. Upon this, the principal directors of the South-Sea applied to thoſe at the helm, and obtained an order againſt them from the lords juſtices, which was publiſhed in the London Gazette of Auguſt the 20th, and which greatly affected the ſtocks of the York-Buildings company, the Luſtring company, the Engliſh copper, and the Welſh copper and lead, and of other illegal projects. This very much alarmed the perſons concerned in theſe companies, ſome of whom ſuſtained conſiderable loſſes, and all of them ſaw their extravagant hopes and expectations entirely vaniſh. Upon the murmurings occaſioned by their diſappointment, the lords juſtices ordered the directors of theſe companies to attend them at a general council, the 23d of Auguſt, where they condeſcended to tell them the reaſons, that had obliged them to order a proſecution againſt them. The directors, both of the Royal Exchange, and of the London Aſſurance, attended likewiſe, and were cautioned to keep ſtrictly to the

limi-

limitation of their charters, that no complaint might lie a- Geo. I.
gainſt them. 1720.

The companies ordered to be proſecuted having recovered their fright, and conſulted able lawyers, ſeemed reſolved to bear trial, and aſſert their rights of managing their own affairs as they pleaſed. The Welſh copper miners were yet more bold and refractory, for that very day (Auguſt 23) they opened their books, and made transfer of their ſtock.

Before the lords juſtices had cauſed their order to be publiſhed, they ſent a compliment to the prince of Wales, to acquaint him, that, the company of Engliſh Copper, of which he had been pleaſed to be choſen governor, being illegal, they were obliged to involve it in the order; upon which the prince ſent a meſſenger to the company, deſiring them to chooſe another governor.

All this while the South-Sea ſtock continued ſinking; ſo that on the 17th of Auguſt, it fell to 830, including the Midſummer dividend; which having given the directors no ſmall uneaſineſs, ſome of their agents we immediately detached into Exchange-Alley, to buy a conſiderable quantity of ſtock, which thereupon roſe to 880l. But, the humour of ſelling out continuing the two following days, the ſtocks fell again to 820, at which price the transfer books were opened on the 22d of Auguſt. That day, and the next morning, there was a great croud at the South-Sea houſe; and the directors obſerving, that great quantities of ſtock had been bought at a thouſand, and even at higher rates, for the opening of the books, and that many perſons would be obliged to ſell out, in order to pay the difference, which could not fail of ſinking the ſtock yet lower; they came to a ſudden and unexpected reſolution to ſhut the transfer-books; and the next day to open other books, for taking in a money ſubſcription of one million, to the capital ſtock, at the rate of 1000l. for every 100l. capital ſtock, to be paid in five payments, 20l. per cent. in hand, and the reſt in four equal payments. Accordingly the ſubſcription books were opened the 24th of Auguſt; and there was ſuch a croud of ſubſcribers, and amongſt them not a few of the prime nobility, that, in leſs than three hours, more than the intended ſum was ſubſcribed; and that very afternoon this fourth ſubſcription was ſold in Exchange Alley at 30 or 40 per cent. advance. The next day the principal directors, having conſulted together about their future management, came to ſeveral reſolutions; of which, that very evening, they informed the public by the following advertiſement:

South-

Geo. I. 1720.

South-Sea Houſe, Auguſt the 25th, 1720.

'The court of directors of the South-Sea company give notice, that the transfer-books of the company will be ſhut from the 31ſt day of Auguſt to the 21ſt of September, in order to the admitting as well the proprietors of the original capital ſtock, and of the ſtock for the laſt Midſummer dividend, as the proprietors of the ſtock for all the long annuities, 9 per cents, and tickets of lottery 1710, and of the ſeveral redeemable debts, which have been ſubſcribed or depoſited, or authoriſed to be ſubſcribed into the capital ſtock, and alſo the proprietors of the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth money ſubſcriptions of the company into a ſubſcription of 20 per cent. of the capital ſtock, upon the terms agreed upon by the court of directors. The company will lend the firſt payment for the intended ſubſcription to all the proprietors of the original and dividend ſtock, and of the ſubſcription in the long annuities, 9 per cents, and tickets of lottery 1710, and in the redeemable debts; and of the firſt and ſecond money ſubſcriptions, without transferring their ſtock, or depoſiting the ſubſcription receipts; which ſubſcription books will be opened on the 12th of September; and ſuch of the proprietors, as do not ſubſcribe within that time, will be excluded the benefit of the ſubſcription.'

The next day (Auguſt the 26th) the transfer-books were opened again; but, the South-Sea ſtock, inſtead of advancing, being by this time fallen under 800, the directors, who had now large ſums of money in their hands, thought fit to lend to their proprietors 4000 l. upon every 1000 l. ſtock for ſix months, at the rate of 4 per cent. which enabled ſome of thoſe, who had bought ſtock at a higher price than the preſent, to ſatisfy their creditors. What ſtill embarraſſed the directors was the caſe of the annuitants, and others, who had lately ſubſcribed their public ſecurities, and who thought it a great hardſhip to have the ſtock given them at 800 l. per cent. when it was now little above 700, excluſive of the Midſummer dividend. In order to ſilence theſe and the like murmurings, after a long conſultation, on the 30th of Auguſt, the directors came to a reſolution, 'That 30 per cent. in money ſhould be the half year's dividend due at Chriſtmas next; and from thence for twelve years, not leſs than 50 per cent. in money ſhould be the yearly dividend on their ſtock.' What effect this reſolution had, was ſoon after manifeſt; for, though it raiſed the ſtock to about 800 for the opening

of the books, yet it ſoon ſunk again, and in about three weeks fell gradually below 400. Geo. I. 1720.

The directors, having reſolved the future dividends, thought it time to procure the ſanction of the whole corporation; for which purpoſe they appointed (Sept. 8.) a general court to be held at Merchant-Taylors-Hall, declaring, That this aſſembly would be one of the half-yearly general courts appointed by the charter; and to chuſe a committee of ſeven, to inſpect the by-laws.

On the appointed day, the friends of the directors took care to repair betimes to Merchant-Taylors-Hall, which, by nine o'clock in the morning, was filled; and many proprietors and annuitants, who endeavoured to get in, could not gain admittance. The directors having taken their ſeats between eleven and twelve of the clock, Sir John Fellows, ſub-governor, acquainted the aſſembly with the occaſion of their meeting; read to them the ſeveral reſolutions of the court of directors; and gave them an account of their proceedings; of the taking in both the redeemable and unredeemable funds, and of the ſubſcriptions in money. This done, Mr. Craggs, ſenior, made a ſhort ſpeech, wherein he commended the conduct of the directors; and urged, that nothing could more effectually contribute to the bringing this ſcheme to perfection, than union among themſelves; and concluded with a motion for thanking the court of directors for their prudent and ſkilful management, and for deſiring them to proceed in ſuch methods, as they ſhould think moſt proper for the intereſt and advantage of the corporation.

Mr. Craggs was ſeconded by Mr. Hungerford, who ſaid, 'That he had ſeen the riſe and fall, the decay and reſurrection of many communities of this nature, but that, in his opinion, none ever performed ſuch wonderful things in ſo ſhort a time, as the South-Sea managers had brought about: That they had done more than the crown, the pulpit, and the magiſtrate could do: For they had reconciled all parties in one common intereſt, and thereby laid aſleep, if not wholly extinguiſhed, our domeſtic jars and animoſities: That by the riſe of their ſtocks the monied-men had vaſtly increaſed their fortunes; the country gentlemen had ſeen the value of their lands doubled and trebled in their hands; and they had, at the ſame time, done good to the Church, not a few of the reverend clergy having got great ſums by this project: That, in ſhort, they had inriched the whole nation; and he hoped they had not forgot themſelves.' One or two mem-

Geo. I. 1720. members of the aſſembly having offered to ſpeak in favour of the annuitants, and to cenſure the conduct of the directors, they were preſently hiſſed to ſilence; and Mr. Hungerford, reſuming his ſpeech, continued juſtifying and applauding the directors, and concluded with ſupporting Mr. Cragg's motion. The duke of Portland ſpoke on the ſame ſide, and ſaid, 'That he did not know what reaſons any body had to be diſſatisfied; and gave in a draught of the motion for returning thanks to the directors; which being read by the clerk, it was unanimouſly approved. It was likewiſe agreed, that, according to the reſolution of the directors, 'the next Chriſtmas dividend on the ſtock and ſubſcriptions in money ſhould by 30 per cent. and that a divided of not leſs than 50 per cent. per annum be made from Chriſtmas next, in half yearly payments, for not leſs than twelve years, upon the whole ſtock and ſubſcriptions.' They likewiſe agreed with the court of directors, to omit the 20 per cent. ſubſcription in money, which had been intended for the proprietors of the original ſtock and former ſubſcriptions. After which a motion was made, 'That the laſt ſubſcribers, both of the redeemable and irredeemable funds, ſhould have the alternative, either to withdraw their orders, or accept the terms offered them by the court of directors.' But, the queſtion being put, it was carried in the negative, three or four voices excepted. Then, upon the earl of Orkney's motion, the general court was adjourned.

But, though the directors carried their main point in the general court, yet the negative put upon the motion, in the behalf of the laſt ſubſcribers, highly increaſed the public diſcontent, and raiſed ſuch a diſtruſt of the honeſty of the managers, that the ſame day (Sept. 8.) the ſtocks fell to 640, and, on the morrow, to 550. Upon this, the directors reſolved to open the transfer-books the Monday following, which having thrown ſome damp upon the ſtock-jobbing in the Alley, the South-Sea roſe that day (Sept. 9.) to 640. On the other hand, ſeveral of the laſt ſubſcribers of annuities went with a public notary to the South-Sea houſe, to demand their orders; and, upon the refuſal of the officers to deliver them, the proprietors made their proteſts in due form, and reſolved to ſeek their remedy at law. In the mean time, they loudly complained of the unfair manner, in which they were drawn in to ſubſcribe their annuities; for, it ſeems, at the top of every page of the ſubſcription-book, there was a ſhort letter of attorney, whereby the ſubſcribers impowered three perſons, therein named, to accept ſuch terms, as the com-

company ſhould think fit to give them for their effects; which they alledged to be a mere trick, not one in a hundred of the ſubſcribers having read the inſnaring preamble. Geo. I. 1720.

On the 10th of September, the directors cauſed the following advertiſement to be publiſhed: 'The court of directors give notice, that the dividends for Chriſtmas next, and afterwards, voted by the general court on the 8th of September, which ſhall become due on the four money ſubſcriptions already taken for the ſale of the ſtock of the company, will be allowed in part of the payments, which ſhall become due on the ſubſcriptions; and that the 10 per cent. ſtock for the laſt Midſummer dividend, on the firſt, ſecond and third of the money ſubſcriptions, will be intitled to the like dividends, and be allowed in further part of the payment on thoſe ſubſcriptions. And whereas the transfer-books of the company were advertiſed to be ſhut from the 31ſt of Auguſt laſt, to the 21ſt of September, in order to the making the ſubſcriptions of 20 per cent. intended for the proprietors; and the general court having ſince agreed, that this ſubſcription be omitted, the court of directors give notice, that the transfer-books will be opened on the 12th inſtant, and will continue open as uſual.'

Some of the managers vainly expected, that this advertiſement would have contributed to the keeping up the ſtock; but, as it continued ſinking, they were obliged to have recourſe to more effectual methods. They made ſome ſecret advances towards an union with the Eaſt-India company; but, a ſecret committee of that company, appointed to conſider of their offers, not having thought proper to accept them, they were forced to court the aſſiſtance of their rival, the Bank of England. At the earneſt deſire, and by the zealous interpoſition of Mr. ſecretary Craggs, ſeveral conferences were held between a ſelect number of the directors of thoſe two corporations; which raiſed ſo great an expectation, that on the 12th of September, in the morning, upon a report, that they had come to an agreement for circulating ſix millions of the South-Sea company's bonds, the ſtock roſe immediately to 670; but in the afternoon, as ſoon as that report was known to be groundleſs, the ſtock fell again to 580; the next day to 570, and ſo gradually to 400; which increaſed the murmurings and complaints of the laſt ſubſcribers, and expoſed ſeveral of the directors to public inſults.

Mr. Walpole who was paymaſter of the army, and lived the greateſt part of that ſummer in the country, to avoid giving Account of the Bank contract.

Geo. I. 1720. giving offence to thoſe that had, with the directors, the management of the South-Sea affairs) being then thought to have great credit and influence with the bank, was ſent for out of the country, and importuned to uſe his intereſt to induce the bank to agree to a propoſal made by the South-Sea company, for circulating a number of their bonds.

It is to be obſerved that nothing of this kind roſe from the bank, or was at their motion: And, as far as it appears, nothing but an apprehenſion of the people's reſentment, with which they were loudly threatened, could have prevailed with the bank to have treated at all with the South-Sea company, and involve themſelves in their calamities. But the clamour was irreſiſtible, and the bank, out of neceſſity, hearkened to the propoſals of the South-Sea company; for from them every ſtep and motion proceeded.

The firſt expedient was for the bank to circulate bonds of the South-Sea company to a certain value for a time to be agreed upon, and a propoſal to that effect was, on the 16th of September, ſent to the bank by the ſub and deputy governors of the South-Sea company.

This not being reliſhed immediately, it was propoſed, that there ſhould be a meeting of a committee, conſiſting of five of each company, at the poſt-maſter's houſe, where were likewiſe preſent, lord preſident, Mr. ſecretary Craggs, the chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Craggs, poſt-maſter-general (d). The meeting was on the 19th of September, three days after the propoſal.

This conference laſted many hours with great reluctance on the part of the bank, but was preſſed with ſo much eagerneſs and authority on the other ſide, that the bank was prevailed upon to yield.

It was thought proper, before they parted, that ſomething ſhould be reduced into writing, as a minute of the ſubſtance

(d) The five directors of the South Sea were,
Sir John Fellows, ſub-governor,
Charles Joye, deputy-governor,
Sir Theodore Janſen,
Mr. Gore,
Mr. Cheſter,
The five bank directors were,
Mr. Hanger, governor,
Sir John Ward,
Sir Gilbert Heathcote,
Sir Peter Delmé,
Sir Nathaniel Gould.

of

of what had been under conſideration, and to ſerve as a foun- Geo. I.
dation of a future agreement or contract between the two 1720.
companies.

There was ſome little diſpute who ſhould draw the minute, but it being the general deſire of the company, that Mr. Walpole ſhould do it, in the preſence of the whole meeting, he put down in writing what has ever ſince been called, The Bank Contract, and which was in the following words: 'That the bank of England ſhall undertake to circulate three millions of South-Sea bonds for one year, at a premium to be agreed upon by the two companies; a ſubſcription to be taken, for enabling the bank to carry on the circulation, —— per cent. to be paid down by every ſubſcriber, and —— per cent. upon every call at a fortnight's notice; the contract with the ſubſcribers to be made in the nature and form with former contracts for circulating Exchequer bills, and the charges of circulation to be borne by the South-Sea company. That, in conſideration of this undertaking, the South-Sea company ſhall pay the 3,700,000l. to be paid to the bank by notice of parliament, in South-Sea ſtock, at a price to be agreed on between the two companies.

This paper (which was all that Mr. Walpole ever wrote relating to the affair; for at the other meetings he was never once preſent) had no title or preample, ſignifying what it imported: The premium for circulating, and what was to be paid down for the circulation, was left blank, and the moſt material part of the whole, at what price the bank was to take the South-Sea ſtock for 3,700,000l. was referred to a ſubſequent agreement. So it could not, with any propriety, be called a Contract, but rather a rough draught of an agreement, void of all form or any manner of obligation.

The next day after this meeting (Sept. 20.) there was a general court of the South-Sea company at Merchant-Taylors-Hall, where Sir John Fellows, the ſub-governor, acquainted them, 'That, ſince their laſt meeting, their ſtock having taken an unexpected turn to the diſadvantage of the company, the directors had been conſulting what might be moſt for the benefit of the corporation; and conſidering the great credit the bank of England had juſtly gained, both at home and abroad, they had thought it for their intereſt to treat with that company for the circulating their bonds, and to grant them ſtock at a moderate price, in lieu of the 3,700,000l. which the South-Sea company was to pay them at Lady-Day, and Michaelmas, 1721. And that from the

reſult

Geo. I. 1720. result of the meeting they had the night before with some gentlemen of the bank, and some persons of the first rank, they doubted not but such an agreement might soon be perfected.' Hereupon Mr. Dawson moved, 'That the directors be impowered to agree with the bank of England, or any other persons, to circulate the company's bonds, or make any other agreement with the bank, which they should judge proper:' And he was seconded by Sir John Eyles. Hereupon Mr. Hungerford moved for amending the latter part of the question, by making express mention of that other agreement. But Mr. Pulteney spoke for the question, and thought it best to use a latitude of expression, and so leave the directors at liberty to act as they should think proper for the interest of the company. He added, 'That it was a matter of surprize to see what a panic had seized upon the minds of the people, at a time when the nation was in profound peace, and had nothing to fear, either at home or from abroad. That, indeed, a rumour had been universally spread, as if the armament of the Spaniards was designed either against Port-Mahon or Gibraltar; but that he took that report to be altogether false and groundless, and only intended to scandalize that potentate, and to terrify the people here; for he himself had seen and perused a copy of a letter, written by the express command of the king of Spain by his secretary of state, to the British minister at Madrid, absolutely denying, in the strongest terms, any designs of the Spanish forces against any of his Britannic majesty's dominions. That he was as much concerned in the company as most people; but that, notwithstanding this general and terrible alarm, he had not disposed of any part of his stock; for he would think it a scandal to be rich, if the nation were ruined. That, however, he hoped the case would be quite otherwise; and he doubted not but the company would soon be restored to its former flourishing condition, since it was like to be supported by the bank of England, a corporation, who by wise, though slow and cautious measures, had established its credit, not only at home, but even among foreigners.' Upon this, the question was unanimously agreed to. Sir John Fellows then farther acquainted the assembly, 'That, the proprietors of the several annuities lately subscribed, as well as those interested in the two last money-subscriptions, being very much dissatisfied, fearing thereby to be great losers, the directors had thought it proper, that the terms should be lowered to make them easy.' Whereupon Sir Matthew Decker moved, 'That power be given to the directors, to relieve the annuitants,

tants; who came in upon the laſt ſubſcription; as likewiſe the proprietors of the third and fourth money-ſubſcriptions.' He was ſeconded by Mr. Craggs ſenior, who, among other things, ſaid, 'That nothing could be more reaſonable and juſt, than to give ſatisfaction to people who had truſted their fortunes and eſtates with the company, and that it would be a notorious robbery to take any advantage of their confidence in the honour and integrity of the directors.' This gave occaſion to Mr. Budgel to reflect, in a ſpeech, on the prodigious leap from a ſubſcription of 400l. to one of a 1000l. which left ſuch a gap in the building, as would at laſt bring it to the ground. He then obſerved, that the fall of the ſtock was owing to the malicious rumour, that two or three of the very directors had baſely betrayed the truſt repoſed in them. When he had done ſpeaking, Mr. Cheſter, one of the directors, ſpoke in vindication of his brethren, and ſaid, 'That he knew of no proceedings among them, but what were intended for the good of the whole company: That, for his own part, he had not ſold any of his ſtock, nor reſerved to himſelf any more of the ſubſcriptions, than what was allowed to each of the directors; and that his fortune would have been as large, if he had not been a director: That, as to the great gap between the ſecond and third ſubſcription, in money, which was objected as a wrong ſtep in the management of the company's affairs, he could aſſure them, that it was none of the directors fault, ſince they deſigned to have made the third ſubſcription at five or ſix hundred; but, the humour and eagerneſs of the people having run up the South-Sea ſtock to ſeven or eight hundred, they could not in prudence open a ſubſcription at leſs than a thouſand.' The aſſembly ſeemed to be very well pleaſed with Mr. Cheſter's ſpeech; but many wondered, that none of his brethren took that opportunity to clear themſelves, as he had done. Upon the whole matter, the court unanimouſly agreed to the queſtion for relieving the laſt ſubſcribers, and then adjourned. Geo. I. 1720.

Two days after, Sept. 22, there was a general court of the bank of England, when the governor acquainted them, that this was one of their quarterly and half-yearly meetings, and that their directors had come to a reſolution to declare the laſt half-yearly dividend at four per cent; to which the court having unanimouſly agreed, the governor proceeded, ſaying, 'He preſumed, none could be ignorant there had of late been divers meetings and conferences between the directors of this company and the directors of the South-Sea, un-

Geo. I. 1720. der the influence and interpoſition of ſome perſons of the higheſt figure and ſtation: That they had made no agreement yet with the South-Sea; but that the directors had thought fit to come to a reſolution upon the matter. Then the reſolution was read; and, without any perſon's ſpeaking to it, was immediately formed into a queſtion to this effect: 'That, for the better ſupport of the public credit, the directors of the bank of England be impowered to agree with the directors of the South-Sea, to circulate their bonds to what ſum, and upon what terms, and for what time, they ſhall think proper; and to make what other agreements with the South-Sea, they ſhall judge to be for the intereſt of this corporation:' Which queſtion was inſtantly agreed to with great unanimity. Then the governor acquainted them, that he believed books would be ready for a ſubſcription to be taken in the next day, for the purpoſe aforeſaid, and that it would be on the uſual terms, 15 per cent. depoſit, 3 per cent. premium, and 5 per cent. intereſt; and then the court adjourned.

The directors of the two companies being thus empowered, a committee of both met on the 23d of September, and a propoſal was made by one of the directors of the South-Sea company, 'That the 3,700,000l. (which the South-Sea company was to repay to the bank at Lady-Day, and Michaelmas 1721) ſhould be ſubſcribed by the bank into the ſtock of the South-Sea company, for which the bank was to have ſuch ſhares as the funds would produce, the ſtock being valued at 400l. per cent.

This propoſal was the next day reported at a court of directors of the bank; and, being agreed to, was the ſame day communicated, by a director of the bank, to the court of directors of the South-Sea company.

This, in ſhort, is the hiſtory of the famous Bank Contract, which has made ſo much noiſe. The ſubſtance of all which is, that, in the day of diſtreſs, the bank was thought the only reſource to ſupport the ſinking ſtate of the South-Sea company. Every one that was thought capable of giving any aſſiſtance was called in: At the firſt conference Mr. Walpole aſſiſted, and, the bank was perſuaded to undertake what was propoſed to them: The firſt part of the propoſition, and, indeed, the original propoſal for circulating the bonds upon which the firſt conference was held, was dropped by the South-Sea company; and the laſt article of taking South-Sea ſtock at 400l. per cent. was carried on, and accepted by a committee of the bank: And this example, it was hoped,

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by the managers of the South-Sea affairs, would fix the price of South-Sea ſtock at that rate: But they were ſoon convinced by the daily fall of the ſtock, that this expedient would not anſwer: And the bank quickly found, they had been prevailed upon to conſent to what they were not able to perform, as will preſently be ſeen. Geo. I. 1720.

When the books were opened at the bank for taking in a ſubſcription for the ſupport of public credit, the concourſe of people, who readily brought in their money, was at firſt ſo very great, that it was judged, the whole ſubſcription (which was intended for three millions) would have been filled that very day: But it happened, that the fall of the South-Sea ſtock, and the diſcredit of that company's bonds, occaſioned a run upon the moſt eminent goldſmiths and bankers, ſome of whom having lent out great ſums upon South-Sea ſtock, and other public ſecurities, were obliged to ſhut up their ſhops, and abſcond. The ſword-blade company (who hitherto had been the chief caſh-keepers of the South-Sea company) being almoſt drained of their ready money, were forced to ſtop payment; and ſet up at their office written bills, giving notice, 'That they would pay any of their notes in South-Sea ſtock at four hundred per cent. or pay part in caſh on the Monday following, and give five per cent. intereſt on the reſt till paid; and that they would take their own notes in payment for the monies they had lent.' This, being looked upon as a kind of Bankrupcy, increaſed the public calamity, and occaſioned a great run upon the bank, who were obliged to pay out money faſter than they received it upon the ſubſcription. But the feſtival of Michaelmas, on which the bank was ſhut of courſe, gave it ſome breathing-time.

In the mean time, South-Sea ſtock continued ſinking till Michaelmas-day, when it was about 150, at which price it was on the 2d of February, the day after the houſe of commons accepted the propoſals of the South-Sea company; whoſe low credit appeared yet more plainly, in that their bonds, payable on Michaelmas 1721, were now at above 25 per cent. diſcount.

Purſuant to a former reſolution for relieving the laſt ſubſcribers, a general court was held the 30th of September, wherein, after the agreement with the bank was ratified, it was reſolved that the proprietors of the redeemable debts taken in on the laſt ſubſcriptions, ſhould be allowed, for their ſeveral intereſts in the funds, the ſame terms, in all reſpects, as the bank; and that the laſt ſubſcription of the long annui-

Geo. I. 1720. ties ſhould be valued at 32 years purchaſe; and of the ſhort at 17 years purchaſe; to be paid for in ſtock at 400 per cent. and be intitled to the laſt Midſummer dividend: And that all the annuitants ſhould be allowed the intereſt of their annuities to the 29th of September. It was alſo agreed, that the third ſubſcription, which was taken at 1000 per cent. ſhould be reduced to 400 per cent. and the ſubſcription receipts given out accordingly. That the 100 per cent. already paid, ſhould be taken in part of the payment; and that the remaining 300 per cent. ſhould be paid in nine payments, whereof the three next payments to be at 40 per cent. each, and the other ſix payments at 30 per cent. at ſix months diſtance from each other; the firſt payment of 40 per cent. to be the 2d of July, 1721. It was alſo agreed, that the fourth ſubſcription, which was taken at 1000 per cent. whereof 200 per cent. was paid down, ſhould be alſo reduced to 400 per cent. andthat the remaining 200 per cent. ſhould be paid in eight equal payments of 25 per cent. each, the firſt of which was to be the 26th of September, 1721, and the remaining payments, at ſix months diſtance from each other. That intereſt ſhould be allowed to the company from Michaelmas, 1720, after the rate of 5 per cent. per ann. to the reſpective times of payment of the ſaid third and fourth ſubſcriptions: And that the 10 per cent. dividend at Midſummer, ſhould be alſo allowed on the third and fourth ſubſcriptions. That the proprietors of the receipts of all the money ſubſcriptions, ſhould be allowed, in part of their payments, the ſeveral dividends that ſhould be made on the ſtock of the company, till their payments were compleated. That five per cent. intereſt be allowed on all the company's bonds from the 29th inſtant till they ſhould become due; and that any of the company's bonds ſhould be taken as money in the fourth payment of the firſt ſubſcription, which would become due on the 14th of October (a).

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(a) It may not be improper to inſert here an account of the long and ſhort annuities, ſubſcribed or unſubſcribed.

	l.	s.	d.
Long Annuities, per ann.	666,821	3	3
First ſubſcription	427,340	18	9
Second ſubſcription	125,392	17	6
Unſubſcribed	114,087	12	0

Short

These resolutions gave no satisfaction to the annuitants, nor put the least stop to the fall of the South-Sea stock. The Bank finding they were not able to stem the tide, without [illegible] the properties of their own principals and adventurers to be carried away and lost in the common deluge, they wisely kept themselves out of the general inundation, and did not care to be drowned with those they could not save. They resolved to drop an agreement, which they were under no obligation to perform (had it been possible) and to which the South-Sea had no power to compel them. On the 10th of November, the governor of the Bank reported from the committee appointed to treat with the South-Sea company, that the transactions between the Bank and that company had been laid before council, on behalf of the Bank; and that, the South-Sea company pressing for an answer of what had been done therein, the governor of the Bank had acquainted the deputy-governor of the South-Sea company, that the committee did not think fit, for the present, to proceed further in that affair, and had delivered to him in writing the following answer: Geo. I. 1720.

'When the proposition was offered by the lords, at the meeting of the committees of both companies, as a suitable expedient for the support of public credit, the court of directors of the Bank shewed their readiness to join in any measures, that might tend to the service of the public.

But, some difficulties appearing to the committee of the Bank, they have consulted with their council, and they are

	l.	s.	d.
SHORT ANNUITIES, per ann.	81,000	0	0
First subscription	48,132		
Second subscription	18,750		
Unsubscribed	14,118		
LOTTERY ANNUITIES, 1710	46,260	6	1
First subscription	15,918	4	0
Second subscription	14,906	6	0
Unsubscribed	15,365	16	1
REDEEMABLES			
Subscribed	16,546,482	7	1
Unsubscribed	14,391,781	8	0
	2,152,694	7	1

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Geo. I. 1720. advised, that, considering the nature of this transaction, it will not be safe for them to proceed upon the proposition without consent of parliament.

However, they think it reasonable, that, in the mean time, the committee of the South-Sea should give the committee of the Bank some account of their estate, for the satisfaction of their principals.'

About a week after, the following paper was sent to the Bank from the lords of the Treasury: 'My lords desire, that the difficulties which have arisen (and upon which, they say, they have consulted their own council) concerning the late agreement between them and the South-Sea company, may be put in writing, and delivered to their lordships, as soon as possible, that their lordships may receive the opinion of the king's council.'

To this the following answer was given: 'The court of directors of the Bank have, with the utmost deference, considered the message in writing, which your lordships were pleased to send them, and they humbly apprehend, they cannot better explain themselves, than they have already done, in the manner they have given to the South-Sea company, a copy whereof was delivered to your lordships, which contains the substance of what they consulted with their council thereupon.'

Thus ended the transactions between the two companies, which (as it has been suggested) were carried on by the authors and promoters of them, with a design to take advantage of the first rumour of this supposed agreement, and draw in unwary persons, who, desirous to retrieve their losses, were induced to buy stock at the price the Bank had agreed to take it. Those who had countenanced and run into every part of the South-Sea scheme, and were consequently deeply involved, were justly suspected of having contrived and taken advantage of the contract; by which means great numbers of deluded people were undone.

Thus, in the space of eight months, were seen the rise, progress, and fall, of that mighty fabric, which, being wound up by mysterious springs to a wonderful height, had fixed the eyes and expectations of all Europe, but whose foundation being fraud, illusion, credulity and infatuation, fell to the ground, as soon as the artful management of the projectors was discovered. The ebb of this swoln fluctuating credit returned with greater violence than it flowed, and carried every thing before it with that precipitation, that the application of the ministers of state, and the directors of the

great

great companies, jointly and ſeparately to ſtop it, were ineffectual. Expreſs after expreſs was ſent to Hanover, to give the king information of the ſtate of affairs, which was ſo urgent, that the king ſet out for England ſooner than he intended, and arrived at London the 11th of November. Geo. I. 1720.

The South-Sea ſtock, which was 200 at the king's arrival, fell again upon the prorogation of the parliament, from the 25th of November to the 8th of December, to 135; but, on a report that the miniſtry had agreed with the principal directors of the South-Sea, the bank, and Eaſt-India company, upon a project which would very much conduce to the reſtoration of the public credit, it roſe again to 210. But whatever the miniſters concerted for that end, was fruſtrated by the managers of the South-Sea company, who publiſhed an advertiſement in the London Gazette, 'That the bonds of the South-Sea company would be taken in repayment of the money on all loans made by the company. That the bonds would be likewiſe taken in all future payments on the ſubſcription receipts: And that all perſons who were willing to make their ſubſcription capital ſtock, might do the ſame, by making the remaining payments in the bonds of the company.' This advertiſement was generally looked upon as very extraordinary, ſince it was unreaſonable to expect, either the borrowers of 400l. on 100l. capital ſtock abſolutely transferred, or ſubſcribers at 400l. ſhould make repayments and remaining payments, at a time, when South-Sea ſtock was under 200 (b).

The parliament being met, purſuant to their laſt prorogation, on the 8th of December, the king went to the houſe of peers, and, by the mouth of the lord chancellor, made the following ſpeech to both houſes: The parliament meets, Dec. 8.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"SINCE we laſt parted, the face of our affairs abroad "is become more favourable. The peace in the South "only wants the form of a congreſs; and that of the North "is brought much nearer to a concluſion. I ſhall, at a pro- The king's ſpeech.

(b) The ſquadron which had been ſent to the Baltic under the command of Sir John Norris, returned to England, and arrived at Oxford on the 20th of November, all but the Monk; a fifty gun ſhip, which ſtruck on the Colſton ſand near Yarmouth, and was loſt; but moſt of her crew was ſaved by boats from Colſton.

Geo. I. 1720. "per time, order the ſeveral treaties I have made, to be laid "before you; by which you will perceive the ſucceſs of our "endeavours to eſtabliſh a peace throughout Europe, and to "ſecure and ſupport the Proteſtant religion. At the ſame "time I can never ſufficiently expreſs my concern for the "unhappy turn of affairs, which has ſo much affected the "public credit at home.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I do moſt earneſtly recommend it to you, that you con-"ſider of the moſt effectual and ſpeedy methods to reſtore "the national credit, and fix it upon a laſting foundation. "You will, I doubt not, be aſſiſted in ſo commendable and "neceſſary a work, by every man that loves his country, "and eſpecially by the ſeveral great ſocieties of this king-"dom. I hope you will, on this occaſion, remember, that "all your prudence, your temper and reſolution, are neceſ-"ſary to find out and apply the proper remedies to our miſ-"fortunes; which will, if you ſucceed, ſerve to increaſe "that reputation you have ſo juſtly acquired; particularly, "if you ſhall be able, notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, to "diſcharge a part of the public debt. I have ordered the ſe-"veral eſtimates to be laid before you of the expence of the "enſuing year; and muſt deſire you to diſpatch the ſupplies "neceſſary for them.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am glad to obſerve to you, that our trade does appear "to have been more extended this year than in the pre-"ceding one. We have the moſt flouriſhing navy of any "nation whatſoever to protect it. And I hope you will "turn your thoughts to the beſt methods for the ſecuring "and enlarging of our commerce. You may depend on "my hearty concurrence to all ſuch proviſions, as ſhall ap-"pear to you neceſſary for the good of my people."

Addreſs of the lords.

The lords, without any debate, unanimouſly agreed to congratulate the king in an addreſs, for the near proſpect of a general peace, and to thank him for his endeavours to ſecure and maintain the Proteſtant religion. To this were added aſſurances of their utmoſt aſſiſtance towards attaining thoſe great ends, and of their zealous concurrence in all meaſures for reſtoring public credit, and enlarging the commerce of theſe kingdoms.

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The commons, who were more concerned than the peers in the fall of the South-Sea company, and in the ſubſequent calamities, were not ſo peaceable. Mr. Pulteney made a motion for an addreſs, 'to thank the king for the near proſpect of peace, and for his tender concern for the misfortunes of his people, occaſioned by the unhappy turn of affairs; and to aſſure him, that the houſe would proceed with all poſſible care, prudence, and temper, to inquire into the cauſes of theſe misfortunes, and apply the proper remedies for reſtoring and ſecuring public credit upon ſolid and laſting foundations.' This motion being ſeconded by Mr. Pelham and ſome others, Mr. Shippen propoſed, after the words, 'for 'reſtoring public credit,' to add, 'as far as it is conſiſtent 'with the honour of parliaments, the intereſt of the nation, 'and the principles of juſtice.' Mr. Shippen gave his reaſons for this addition, urging, 'That, in order effectually to remedy the preſent misfortunes, it was abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the honour and faith of parliamentary engagements, and to ſhew the higheſt reſentment againſt thoſe, who, abuſing the truſt repoſed in them, had given ſo fatal a wound to public credit, and inriched themſelves by the plunder of the nation. That, in his opinion, the managers of the South-Sea project were not the moſt criminal, ſince there were thoſe above them, whoſe duty it was to overlook and direct their proceedings, and who ought to have given a ſeaſonable check to that extremity of folly, by which the South-Sea ſtock and the ſubſcriptions were advanced to an extravagant rate: Adding, that, had thoſe at the helm interpoſed in the affair of the South-Sea, as they did in the caſe of the two aſſurances and other projects, they would have prevented that diſmal calamity, which has ſince befallen the nation.' The lord Moleſworth, who ſpoke with great vehemence on the ſame ſide, examined the king's ſpeech, and made remarks upon it: He ſaid, 'He was glad they were told, "That the peace in the South only wanted the form "of a congreſs," which gave him hopes, that the difficulties ſtarted by Spain, in relation to Gibraltar, were at laſt ſurmounted, and that we were like to preſerve that important conqueſt of the preceding war, together with Port-Mahon, which would make us ſome amends for the great expence of blood and treaſure we had lately been at, to conquer Sicily for the houſe of Auſtria.' When he came to ſpeak of the South-Sea calamity, he ſaid, 'That, before they conſidered of proper remedies, they ought to inquire into the cauſe and nature of the diſtemper: That it is with the body politic, as with

Geo. I. 1720.

Debates on the addreſs of the commons.

Geo. I. 1720. with the body natural; and therefore they ought to imitate ſkilful ſurgeons, who, in order to cure a wound, begin with probing it; and, when they find it neceſſary, make inciſions before they apply healing plaiſters; and that they, who followed a contrary method, are but mere empirics, who by uſing palliatives make the ſore feſter, and endanger the life of the patient. He owned it had by ſome been ſuggeſted, that there was no law to puniſh the directors of the South-Sea company, who were juſtly looked upon as the immediate authors of the preſent misfortunes: But that, in his opinion, they ought, on this occaſion, to follow the example of the antient Romans, who having no law againſt parricide, becauſe their legiſlators ſuppoſed no ſon could be ſo unnaturally wicked, as to imbrue his hands in his father's blood, made one to puniſh ſo heinous a crime, as ſoon as it happened to be committed; and adjudged the guilty wretch to be thrown alive, ſewn up in a ſack, into the Tyber. That, as he looked upon the contrivers and executors of the villainous South-Sea ſcheme as the parricides of their country, he ſhould be ſatisfied to ſee them undergo the ſame puniſhment.'

Sir Joſeph Jekyll ſpoke on the ſame ſide; and obſerved, 'That as he doubted not, but among the South-Sea directors ſome might be innocent, and others criminal, ſo he was of opinion, there were thoſe, who were not directors, no leſs, if not more criminal, than the directors themſelves, and who therefore deſerved an equal, if not a ſeverer puniſhment: Adding, that upon extraordinary emergencies, where the laws are deficient, the legiſlative authority may, and ought to exert itſelf, and he hoped a Britiſh parliament would never want a vindictive power to puniſh national crimes.' Mr. Grey Nevill, Mr. Pitt, and ſome others ſpoke alſo for the clauſe offered by Mr. Shippen. But it was repreſented by Mr. ſecretary Craggs, Mr. Yorke the ſolicitor-general, and Mr. Walpole. That ſuch a reſtriction did but ill ſuit with an addreſs of thanks, which, in their opinion, ought to run in the uſual form, and anſwer in general terms the ſeveral heads of the ſpeech from the throne. That, as to the main drift of the clauſe, they thought it inconſiſtent with the rules of prudence, to begin this ſeſſion with irritating inquiries: That, If the city of London were on fire, they did not doubt but all wiſe men would be for extinguiſhing the flames, and preventing the ſpreading of the conflagration, before they inquired into the incendiaries. That in like manner public credit having received a moſt dan-

dangerous wound, and being ſtill in a bleeding condition, they ought to apply a ſpeedy remedy to it; and that afterwards they might inquire into the cauſe of the preſent calamity.' Mr. Walpole, in particular, declared, 'That, for his own part, he had never approved the South-Sea ſcheme, and was ſenſible it had done a great deal of miſchief. But, ſince it could not be undone, he thought it the duty of all good men to give their helping hand towards retrieving it: And, that with this view, he had already beſtowed ſome thoughts on a propoſal to reſtore public credit, which, in a proper time, he would ſubmit to the wiſdom of the houſe.' The majority acquieſced in theſe laſt reaſons; ſo that, the queſtion being put for inſerting Mr. Shippen's clauſe, it paſſed in the negative by two hundred and ſixty-one againſt one hundred and three. However, the next day a motion being made by Mr. Milner for inſerting the words, 'And 'for puniſhing the authors of them (our preſent misfor-'tunes)' the ſame was carried without dividing. Geo. I. 1720.

By theſe firſt proceedings, it was eaſy to ſee that this ſeſſion would not be ſo favourable to the miniſtry as the former ones had been, and that the Whigs would hardly be diſtinguiſhed from the Tories by their votes: Theſe partialities were ſuſpended, and, as it were annihilated by various other paſſions, which produced numberleſs intrigues. Many of the commons were ſincerely touched with the public calamities, or moved by their own private loſſes: Others, diſſatisfied with the miniſtry and court, were pleaſed to have an opportunity of covering their revenge, with the ſpecious pretence of juſtice and the public good: Some had in view, by their loud and bitter complaints, to make themſelves conſiderable to the court, or draw the attention of the oppoſite party: Others, engaged in the ſecret practices of the South-Sea company, had a mind, by an affected ſeverity, to prevent their being ſuſpected: A few there were, who politickly concealed, under the appearance of zeal and indignation, their devotion to ſome of the principal managers, and ſought to be in the committees of inquiry into thoſe odious affairs, in order to ſcreen the authors thereof.

Proceedings of the commons in the South-Sea affair.

However different theſe views might be, all ſeemed at firſt to agree. On the 12th of December, the commons ordered, that the directors of the South-Sea ſhould forthwith lay before them an account of all their proceedings; of all the orders they had received from the Treaſury; of what money and Exchequer bills they had received ſince the 25th of December, 1719; of what public debts had been ſubſcribed

Geo. I. 1720. or discharged, and of what sums of money had been borrowed on account of the company, since the same time. Nor did the commons rest here. A few days after, Sir Joseph Jekyll moved, That a select committee should be appointed, to inquire into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the South-Sea act; but, upon Mr. Walpole's representing, that such a method would take up a great deal of time, and that, the public credit being in a bleeding condition, a remedy ought to be applied to it, the motion was not insisted on. After that, Mr. Walpole acquainted the house, 'That (as he had hinted a few days before) he had spent some time upon a scheme for restoring public credit; but that, the execution of it depending upon a position, which had been laid as a fundamental, he thought it proper, before he opened the scheme, to be informed, whether he might rely on that main foundation, 'Whether the subscriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money-subscriptions, and other contracts made with the South-Sea company, should remain in the present state?' This question, being stated, occasioned a warm debate, particularly in relation to the validity of the second subscription of the redeemable and irredeemable public debts. Sir Joseph Jekyll, and some others, urged in favour of the subscribers, 'That most of them having been drawn in to set their names to a sort of letter of attorney, which was never read to them; and not having had afterwards the option of the terms offered, as the former subscribers had, the subscription was surreptitious, and therefore not binding.' But they were answered by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Secretary Craggs, Mr. attorney and Mr. sollicitor-general, and some others, 'That the letter of attorney, by virtue of which the contract of the second subscription was made, having been placed at the top of every page of the book, all the subscribers might have read it, as many of them did; and so might have chosen, whether they would set their names to it, or not. But that, it seems, some persons thought the subscription valid while they got, and not binding when they were like to lose by it. However, if any thing was defective in the subscription, they thought it adviseable to leave it to the determination either of a general court of the South-Sea, or of the common law.' These reasons being approved by most of the landed gentlemen, after a debate of several hours, it was at last resolved by two hundred and fifty nine against one hundred and seventeen, 'That all the subscriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money subscriptions and other contracts made with the South-Sea company, by virtue of an act

act made the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, remain in the preſent ſtate, unleſs altered for the eaſe and relief of the proprietors, by a general court of the South-Sea company, or ſet aſide by due courſe of law.' Geo. I. 1720.

There are few inſtances which prove ſo ſtrongly as this, that there is no cauſe ſo bad as to want an advocate in aſſemblies, where a man may freely ſpeak his opinion, without any other danger but that of being rejected. This pretended contract, which was deemed valid, had not been read, nor could have been read, without being univerſally diſapproved. Was it probable, that ſuch multitudes ſhould leave their moſt valuable intereſts to the diſcretion of two or three attornies? They were not, indeed, forbid to ſubſcribe, but they believed they had done it with a liberty to conſent to or reject the conditions that ſhould be offered. Was not this ſufficient to declare the ſubſcription void, and to reſtore the proprietors to their former ſtate? However, the commons did not think ſo, for the reſolution of the committee was confirmed, the next day by the houſe (c).

The

(c) In the next day's debate, Mr. Walpole, who ſpoke for the reſolution, ſet forth the views with which the South-Sea act was made, viz. 'To conſult the landed and trading intereſt of the nation, by leſſening its incumbrances and public debts, and putting them in a method of being paid off in a few years; which could not have been done unleſs a way had been found to make the annuities for long terms redeemable; which had been happily effected by the South-Sea ſcheme, without a breach of parliamentary faith: And, if they ſhould now unravel what had been done, they ſhould not only ruin the South-Sea company, but, inſtead of alleviating, aggravate the preſent misfortunes.' In anſwer to this, Sir Joſeph Jekyll urged, 'That, in order to remedy the preſent diſtemper, and reſtore public credit, they ought, in the firſt place, to reſolve and aſſert public faith, equity, and juſtice, which the South-Sea managers had notoriouſly violated, with reſpect to the firſt and ſecond ſubſcribers of annuities and other public debts: For the former had not the ſtock, to which they were intitled, delivered to them, till ſix months after they had ſubſcribed their effects, and when the ſtock was fallen above half its price, and the latter had not the option either to accept or reject the terms that were offered them.' Mr. Walpole having, among other things, replied, 'That, if any injuſtice was done to the ſubſcribers, they were, by the reſolution in queſtion, left at liberty to ſeek their relief by law.' Mr. Lechmere, chancellor of the duchy, inſiſted, 'That, if the South-Sea company

Geo. I. 1720.

The day after this reſolution was agreed to, Mr. Walpole laid before the commons his ſcheme to reſtore public credit, the ſubſtance of which was, to ingraft nine millions of South-Sea ſtock into the bank of England, and the like ſum into the Eaſt-India company, upon certain conditions (d). Mr. Hutchinſon and other members made ſome

Mr. Walpole's ſcheme for reſtoring credit.

pany, whom the parliament had appointed truſtees for the public debts, had not duly executed that truſt, in relation to the annuitants, the latter could ſeek for relief no where but in parliament; and that it was a duty incumbent upon the legiſlature to relieve them.' Serjeant Pengelly, Mr. Hutchinſon, and ſome other gentlemen, ſpoke on the ſame ſide; but were anſwered by Mr. ſecretary Craggs, Sir William Thompſon, and Mr. Hungerford; and, after ſome other ſpeeches, it was moved to adjourn the debate; but, the queſtion put thereupon being carried in the negative by two hundred and thirty-two voices againſt eighty-eight, the houſe agreed, without dividing, to the reſolution of the day before.

(d) The ſubſtance of what was opened in the houſe of commons was told to the general court of the South-Sea directors two days after, by Sir John Fellows, to the following effect:

'That the 1ſt money-ſubſcription be continued, allowing longer time for the future payments; and that what has been paid be made ſtock at 400l. per cent.

'That the money, paid upon the 2d, 3d, and 4th money-ſubſcriptions, be alſo made ſtock at 400l. per cent. the ſubſcribers to have the Midſummer dividend at 10l. per cent. and their future payments to be diſcharged.

'The ſtock then undiſpoſed of will be 11,600,000l. which, to be divided among the proprietors, will be 45l. per cent. to be diſpoſed of by ſubſcription or otherwiſe, as a general court ſhall order, which was to this effect:

'That a ſum not exceeding nine millions be ingrafted into the bank, on terms to be agreed on with that company.

'The like as to the Eaſt-India company.

'That, for the ſtock ſo to be ingrafted, thoſe companies to have an annuity of 5l. per cent. per annum.

'That one fourth part of the preſent ſtock of this company be wrote into the bank, and one other fourth part into the Eaſt-India company, the proprietors to be allowed ſtock in each of thoſe companies, at 120l. per cent.

'That there will be in all ſeven millions and a half of bank ſtock, and the ſame of India ſtock, for the proprietors of this company.

'That all the profits of the company, by their ſubſcriptions or otherwiſe, ſhall be for the ſole benefit of this company.

excep-

exceptions to the ſcheme; but none offering a better, it was ordered, 'That propoſals ſhould be received from the bank of England, the South-Sea company, and the Eaſt-India company, towards reſtoring public credit.' Geo. I. 1720.

Though the plainneſs of Mr. Walpole's ſcheme recommended it above all others, yet it met with ſome oppoſition in the general courts of the three great companies, who met to give powers to their directors to bring the matter to perfection: But at laſt the directors were impowered to make a propoſal to the houſe of commons.

Accordingly propoſals agreeable to the new ſcheme were afterwards preſented to the houſe of commons by the ſeveral companies, and it was reſolved (Jan. 5.) 'That an ingroſſment of nine millions of the capital ſtock of the South-Sea company into the capitals of the bank and Eaſt-India company, as propoſed by theſe companies, will contribute very much to the reſtoring public credit.' A bill upon this reſolution was, after ſome debate, ordered to be brought in, which paſſed the houſe, and was ſent up to the lords, and afterwards received the royal aſſent.

Purſuant to the order of the houſe, the ſub and deputy governors of the South-Sea company having preſented to the commons their books and papers, Mr. Shippen made a long ſpeech, repreſenting, 'That beſides the papers, which had already been laid before them, it was neceſſary to have others, in order to diſcover the frauds and deceitful management of the South-Sea directors and their accomplices. That, in his opinion, the moſt villainous contrivance, whereby they inſnared unwary people, was their taking in money-ſubſcriptions at 1000 per cent. and their declaring a dividend at 30l. per cent. at Chriſtmas, and of not leſs than 50l. per cent. per ann. for twelve years after; which had impoſed upon the underſtanding of all ſuch, as depended upon the wiſdom and integrity of the directors, and occaſioned the ruin of many thouſands of families.' He therefore moved, That the directors of the South-Sea company ſhould lay before the houſe the calculations or inducements, on which they took in the third and fourth money-ſubſcriptions, and grounded the reſolutions of making ſuch dividends. This motion, not being oppoſed, was agreed to; as was likewiſe a ſecond motion for laying before the houſe a liſt of the directors of the South-Sea company, with the names of the treaſurer, ſecretary, and accountant, and alſo the original books of the minutes of the committee of treaſury of the company, ſince the 25th of December 1719, with a copy of the by-laws. After which the com-

Geo. I. 1720. mons adjourned to the 4th of January, as the lords did to the 9th of the ſame month.

The houſe of commons divided in their opinions.

By theſe proceedings of the parliament it is evident, the commons were divided in their opinions, one party being for applying a remedy to the calamity occaſioned by the miſmanagement of the South-Sea ſcheme: And the other party, for inquiring into the cauſes of the preſent misfortunes, and for puniſhing the authors as the moſt effectual and only means to redreſs them. The firſt party, which was favoured by the court, prevailed for a time; but, when the commons met after the holidays, it appeared that the other party had gained conſiderable ſtrength, and that the artful introduction of other affairs, inſtead of diverting, only ſerved to inflame their reſentment againſt the authors of the late proceedings.

1720-21. Their further proceedings.

On the 4th of January, Mr. Trevor, ſecretary of war, ſeconded by the lord Carpenter, moved for a bill to prevent mutiny and deſertion: But Sir Joſeph Jekyll expreſſed his ſurprize, 'that a bill ſhould be moved for ſo early, which ſeldom uſed to be brought in but towards the end of a ſeſſion: That ſuch a hurry ſeemed to be intended to ſtop the proſecution of the authors of the preſent misfortunes. That they very well knew, 'their days were numbered,' and that, as ſoon as they had diſpatched the money bills, and the bill now moved for, they ſhould immediately be diſpatched home. That therefore he was for ſtaying thoſe bills, until they had done juſtice to the nation, who called aloud for it.' Mr. ſecretary Craggs ſaid, 'He wondered to ſee any oppoſition made to a bill ſo neceſſary for the ſafety of the government, eſpecially by a perſon, who had received ſignal favours from the crown.' Upon this the lord Moleſworth ſtood up, and ſaid, 'Mr. Speaker, is it come to this, that every man, who has a place, muſt do all the drudgery, that is injoined him? This may be true of ſome underlings; but I do not believe it: I am ſure it is falſe of king George; he commands his ſervants nothing, but what is according to laws, and for the good of his ſubjects.' Then Sir Joſeph Jekyll added, 'That he was as zealous as any man for the ſervice of the king and his government; but he was of opinion, that the doing juſtice to the nation, and puniſhing them, who had brought it into the preſent calamitous condition, was the moſt effectual way both to ſerve the king, and at the ſame time to diſcharge their duty to their injured country: Concluding, however, that he did not oppoſe the bringing in of the bill;' which was agreed to. After this, the houſe reſolving itſelf into a grand committee, Sir Joſeph repreſented, That, before they pro-

proceeded any farther, they ought to secure the persons and estates of those they had reason to look upon as the authors of the public misfortunes; and therefore he moved for a bill to restrain the sub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, treasurer, under-treasurer, cashier, secretary, and accountants of the South-Sea company, from going out of this kingdom for the space of one year, and till the end of the next session of parliament, and, for discovering their estates and effects, and preventing the transporting or alienating the same.' This motion met with no opposition, and Sir Joseph, with the attorney and sollicitor-general, and some others, were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill (a), which having passed both houses, received the royal assent (b). Geo. I. 1720-21.

A select committee for the South-Sea affair.

As soon as this was over, the house debated in what man-

(a) This done, Mr. Shippen expressed his great satisfaction to see a British house of commons resume their ancient vigour and spirit, and act with so great unanimity for the public good. He owned 'the necessity of securing the persons and estates of the South-Sea directors and their officers; but said, that, in his opinion, there were some men in great stations, whom, in time, he would not be afraid to name, who were no less guilty than the directors.' Mr. secretary Craggs, being somewhat exasperated at this, said, 'That he was ready to give satisfaction to any man, who should question him, either in that house, or out of it.' This expression gave no small offence; and thereupon the lord Molesworth said, 'That he had had the honour to be a member of that house upwards of thirty years, and never, before now knew any man bold enough to challenge the whole house of commons, and all England besides: That, for his part, though past sixty, he would answer whatever he had to say within the house, and hoped there were young members enough, who would not be afraid to look Mr. secretary in the face out of the house.' Upon this, Mr. secretary, seeing the house in a great ferment, got up, and said, 'That, by Giving Satisfaction, he meant clearing his conduct.' Upon which the matter went no farther.

(b) By this bill, the directors were each to enter into recognizances, in the penalty of 100,000l. with two sureties in the penalty each of 25,000l. If they neglected to do so before the eighth of February, they were to be imprisoned; and, in case they went out of the kingdom, were to be adjudged guilty of felony. They were also obliged to deliver in, upon oath, before the 5th of March, exact particulars of all the effects they were possessed of by themselves, or in trust, on the 1st of June 1720, or any time after, with an account of what they had disposed of since that time.' They were likewise disabled from conveying any lands or effects, for a year after the 5th of January 1720-21.

Geo. I. 1720-21.

ner they ſhould proceed in the intended inquiry, whether in a grand or ſelect committee. After ſeveral ſpeeches on both ſides, it was reſolved that a committee ſhould be appointed to inquire into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the South-Sea act; and that the numbers ſhould be thirteen, and choſen by ballot. Purſuant to this reſolution, Thomas Broderick, Archibald Hutchinſon, Sir Joſeph Jekyll, Edward Wortley, Sir Thomas Pengelly, William Clayton, Edward Jeffreys, lord Moleſworth, Thomas Strangways, William Sloper, Nicholas Lechmere, General Roſſe, and Dixie Windſor, were choſen, to whom the ſeveral books and papers, which had been laid before the houſe by the South-Sea company, were referred; and they were afterwards voted a Committee of Secrecy.

In the debate the lord Hinchinbroke repreſented, that it was to be feared that, before the bill againſt the directors, &c. was gone through both houſes, the moſt criminal might withdraw out of the kingdom, and therefore he moved, that they might be immediately taken into cuſtody. But Mr. Lechmere, and others, having ſhewed the inconveniencies of ſuch a proceeding, the motion was dropped.

In vain did the directors preſent a petition to be heard by their council againſt the bill, which was now brought in, and, having paſſed the commons, was ſent up to the lords.

Proceedings of the lords on the South-Sea affair.

By this time the houſe of lords were entered upon the South-Sea affair. Some of the lords in the miniſtry were the firſt, who complained of the miſmanagement of the South-Sea directors, which had occaſioned the preſent diſtreſs; and earl Stanhope ſaid, 'That the eſtates of the criminals, whether directors or not directors, ought to be confiſcated, to make good the public loſſes.' The lord Carteret ſpoke to the ſame effect, as did likewiſe the earl of Sunderland, who owned, indeed, that he had been for the South-Sea ſcheme, becauſe he thought it calculated for the advantage of the nation, in order to leſſen the public debt, and, in particular, to take off the heavy incumbrance of long annuities; and no man would imagine, that ſo good a deſign could have been ſo perverted in the execution, as to produce quite contrary effects: But that, in his opinion, no act of parliament had ever been ſo much abuſed as the South-Sea act; and therefore he would go as far as any body to puniſh the offenders. Several lords were ſurprized to find themſelves prevented by thoſe, whom they were ready to oppoſe, upon a ſuppoſition, that they entertained more favourable thoughts towards the directors, againſt whom the others had left them but little to ſay. However, the duke of Wharton obſerved, 'That they ought

ought to have no reſpect of perſons: That, for his part, he would give up the beſt friend he had: That the nation had been plundered in a moſt flagrant and notorious manner; and therefore they ought to find out the offenders, and then puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity.' The lord North and Grey, the earl of Abingdon, and ſome others, urged alſo the ill effects of the South-Sea project, which the biſhop of Rocheſter compared to a peſtilence. Earl Cowper ſpoke likewiſe on the ſame ſide, and in particular 'blamed thoſe, who, by the act of parliament, were appointed to overlook and check the South-Sea directors, and who, in diſcharge of their truſt, ought to have prevented their jumping from a ſubſcription at 400 to 1000, which was the main cauſe of the misfortunes that enſued.' The earl of Sunderland, finding himſelf and the other lords of the treaſury thus attacked, ſaid, 'That by the South-Sea act they were directed to appoint ſuch perſons, as they ſhould think fit to be managers and directors, on the part of the treaſury, for the due execution of the act: That, as they had reaſon to look upon thoſe perſons, who had the principal ſhare in framing this ſcheme, as the moſt able and proper to execute it, they had accordingly appointed ſome of the South-Sea directors to be managers and directors for the treaſury: Concluding, that in this they had followed former precedents.' Upon this a queſtion was propoſed and ſtated, that the commiſſion iſſued out by the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, to three of the directors of the South-Sea company, was, according to former precedents, and legal. This occaſioned a great debate; but, after the reading of ſome papers, the lord Harcourt's opinion for the affirmative prevailed, by a majority of ſixty-three againſt twenty-eight, moſt of whom entered their proteſt againſt that reſolution. Then ſome lords moved for appointing a ſecret committee, to inquire into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the South-Sea act; but this was oppoſed by others, who ſaid, they ought, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to examine the perſons concerned. Which being agreed to, the ſub and deputy-governors, directors, and officers of the South-Sea company were ordered to attend on the 12th of January.

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On that day, the ſub and deputy-governors, about twenty-four of the directors, Mr. Knight, treaſurer, Mr. Surman his deputy, and ſome other inferior officers, attended the houſe, and at the bar were ſworn to make true anſwers to ſuch queſtions, as ſhould be put to them. After this, the governors and treaſurer were examined ſeparately, and then the directors. The examinations being ended, it was reſolved,

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'That the ſub-governor and directors of the South-Sea company had prevaricated with them, in giving falſe repreſentations of ſeveral matters of fact: That, by lending money on ſtock and ſubſcriptions, they were guilty of a notorious breach of truſt; and that they ought to make good the loſſes, which the company had ſuſtained by their fraudulent management.' Some lords were unwilling to involve all the directors in this cenſure, and would diſtinguiſh the innocent from the guilty; but they were told, that the whole court of directors were guilty, either in acting or aſſenting; upon which they acquieſced in declaring them all criminal. The directors being called in again, the lord chancellor gave them a ſevere reprimand for giving the houſe ſuch lame accounts, and for having ordered their clerks to omit ſeveral material things in the copies, that had been laid before the houſe; commanding them, at the ſame time, to produce either the originals themſelves of ſeveral accounts of their treaſury, or authentic copies of them.

Soon after this, a bill paſſed the houſe of lords, to diſable the preſent ſub-governor, deputy-governor, and directors of the South-Sea company, to enjoy any office in that company, or in the Eaſt-India company, or Bank of England, and from voting upon elections in the company. Then the lords examined ſeveral brokers, as Stroude, Teſtard, Lacour a Jew, and his ſon. By the three laſt great diſcoveries were ſaid to be made. This done, the houſe adjourned to the 24th of January.

In the mean time, Mr. Knight, treaſurer of the South-Sea company, who was intruſted with the principal ſecrets of the South-Sea affair, either of his own accord, or (as it was ſuſpected) at the ſuggeſtion of others, thought fit to retire out of the kingdom (c). He abſented himſelf the 22d of Ja-

(c) When Mr. Knight attended at the houſe of lords, a peer ſpoke to the earl of Sunderland, that a motion might be made to ſecure him immediately; for it was ſtrongly ſurmized that he would ſoon make off. The earl agreed in that ſurmize, but ſaid, earl Cowper ſhould be conſulted before any ſuch motion was made, for, without his joining in with it, there was no likelihood of its paſſing; and then Knight would be alarmed to no purpoſe. The other lord applied to earl Cowper, who ſeemed very averſe to the taking any ſuch ſtep, till, upon Mr. Knight's further examination, the houſe ſhould come to a reſolution, particularly in relation to him: Upon which the motion dropped; and it was ſuſpected, that the earl of Sunderland, knowing earl Cowper's ſentiments, referred that other peer to him, on purpoſe to prevent the motion's being then made.

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nuary from his houſe, and imbarked the next morning in the river, on board a veſſel, which carried him, the ſame day, to Calais. A letter, directed to the South-Sea directors, was brought that morning, by a porter, to Mr. Surman (d), who

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(d) The letter was as follows:

Gentlemen,

'I write this from a true ſenſe of the obligation I am under to make up my accounts with the company, and to pay them their full demand: And, though ſelf-preſervation has obliged me to withdraw myſelf from the reſentment againſt the directors and myſelf, yet I am not conſcious to myſelf of having done any one thing that I can reproach myſelf for, ſo far as relates to an honeſt ſincere intention and zeal for the company; but I can and do charge myſelf with a great many indiſcretions, and am (beſides the concern I muſt be under for leaving my own family, friends, &c.) very ſenſibly touched with what you are like to ſuffer on this account; and it will be the more, I am afraid, from your want of unanimity, which I heartily recommend to you for the future, and, I am ſure, wiſh you all well as you wiſh yourſelves.

I write this at a diſtance from home, and under a great deal of concern, ſo cannot be ſo particular, as otherwiſe I would have been. I have herewith ſent Mr. Surman the key of my deſks, who knows ſo much the ſtate of the caſh, as to be able to make it up. There are a good many bills of exchange, and other payments to write off, and the weekly receipts to write on. There is caſh in the Bank, in the company's book, which, together with the notes taken on the third and fourth ſubſcriptions, and the company's bonds, will make up the balance, as I do believe: But, if it fall ſhort, I have 3000 equivalent ſtock, 1600 Bank ſtock, 2000 India and South-Sea ſtock, over and above what I owe the company on the loan, as will be ſufficient to make it up with money owing on ſecurities on my particular account. The company need not deliver or be anſwerable for the ſubſcription-receipts or ſtock on the third and fourth ſubſcriptions, unleſs theſe notes are paid; ſo the loſs can only be the difference between the ſubſcriptions and money in value; and I think, it would be hard for me to bear the loſs, becauſe the clerks took by far the greateſt part of them, as thinking them better than none; and moſt of them would have been non-payments, if they had been refuſed: However, I ſubmit this to the company. I have taken with me but little more than a ſufficiency to maintain myſelf, and the effects left will more than anſwer for all deficiencies. I have bought no land in truſt for me, nor have I ever conveyed or ſettled any part of that I had formerly, or have bought lately; it remains to anſwer any demands on me from the company or the legiſlature. I have withdrawn myſelf only

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who delivered it to the committee of ſecrecy, then ſitting at the South-Sea houſe. They immediately repaired to the houſe of commons, and acquainted them with what had happened. Two addreſſes were voted and preſented for a proclamation to apprehend Mr. Knight, and for another to ſtop the ports to prevent him, or any of the directors, from eſcaping out of the kingdom. Then general Roſs, and other members of the ſecret committee, informed the houſe, 'That they had already diſcovered a train of the deepeſt villany and fraud that hell ever contrived, to ruin a nation, which, in due time, they would lay before the houſe; and that, in the mean while, in order to a further diſcovery, they thought it highly neceſſary to ſecure the perſons of ſome of the directors and principal South-Sea officers, and to ſeize their papers.' Upon which the books and papers of Mr. Knight, Mr. Surman, Mr. Turner, Sir George Caſwal, and Mr. Grigſby, were ordered to be ſecured, and Surman and Grigſby to be taken into cuſtody; as were alſo Sir John Blunt, Sir John Lambert, two of the directors, and Sir John Fellows, ſub-governor of the South-Sea company. Then Mr. Sawbridge and Sir Theodore Janſen being come into the houſe, a motion was made and carried, 'That they were guilty of a notorious breach of truſt, as directors of the South-Sea company, and had occaſioned very great loſs to numbers of his majeſty's ſubjects, and highly prejudiced the public credit:' They were both expelled the houſe, and taken into cuſtody, with Sir Robert Chaplin and Francis Eyles, two other directors, and members of parliament.

The ſame evening a council was held, in which Mr. Aiſlabie reſigned his places of chancellor of the Exchequer and lord of the Treaſury. Orders were alſo given for re-

to avoid the weight of an inquiry, which I found too heavy for me; and I am ſenſible that it would have been impoſſible for me to have avoided the appearance and charge of prevarication and perjury, not from my own intention to do ſo, but from the largeneſs and extent of the enquiry, and the nature and largeneſs of the tranſactions. I am ſure I am a great deal concerned to add to your preſent difficulties; though I muſt ſay, that I have deſerved better uſage than I had from the court the laſt week: But this I ſay without any reſentment, otherwiſe than that it has been an addition to the weight I had before upon me,

I am preſſed for time, ſo can only aſſure you that I am, with all reſpect, in inclination though not in power, gentlemen, your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

Robert Knight.

Sunday Evening, Jan. 22, 1720.

moving

moving all South-Sea directors from any place they had in the government (e). Geo. I. 1720-21.

The lords, on the 24th of January, examined Mr. Joye, deputy-governor of the South-Sea company, who made a very frank confeſſion of ſeveral important matters, and communicated Mr. Knight's letter, which was read. After this, upon earl Stanhope's motion, five directors, Sir William Chapman, Mr. Holditch, Mr. Hawes, Mr. Gibbon, and Mr. Cheſter, were ordered to be taken into cuſtody, with their papers, and thoſe of Mr. Clark, the company's ſolicitor. Of which notice was ſent to the commons with a meſſage, that theſe perſons and their papers ſhould be produced in ſuch a manner as they ſhould direct. This meſſage contributed very much to the preſerving a good underſtanding between the two houſes.

Two days after, the directors, Mr. Aſtell and Sir Harcourt Maſters, were examined by the lords, and, among other diſcoveries, named ſeverel perſons both in the adminiſtration and in the houſe of commons, to whom large ſums in South-Sea ſtock had been given, for procuring the paſſing the South-Sea act. After this, upon the motion of earl Stanhope, ſeconded by the lord Townſhend and earl Cowper, it was unanimouſly reſolved, 'That the taking in of ſtock, the transferring of ſtock belonging to the South-Sea company, or giving credit for the ſame, without a valuable conſideration actually paid, or ſufficiently ſecured; or the purchaſing ſtock by any director or agent of the South-Sea company, for the uſe or benefit of any perſon in the adminiſtration, or any member of either houſe of parliament, during ſuch time as the late bill relating to the South-Sea company was depending laſt year in parliament, was a notorious and moſt dangerous corruption.' This reſolution was ſoon followed by another, after the examination of Mr. Waller (ſon-in-law to Mr. Aiſlabie) and Mr. Aſtell, relating to a great quantity of South-Sea ſtock, transferred to, and negotiated by Mr. Waller, who pretended not to have kept minutes of what he had done in Exchange-Alley. This being looked upon as prevarication, it was reſolved, 'That the directors of the South-Sea company having ordered great quantities of

(e) Accordingly, Francis Hawes, receiver-general of the cuſtoms; Sir Harcourt Maſters, receiver-general of the city of London; Mr. Reynolds, commiſſioner of the victualling-office; Mr. Holditch, treaſurer of the ſtamp-office; Mr. Arthur Ingram, treaſurer of the duty on ſalt, were all removed from their employments.

Geo. I. 1720-21. their ſtock to be bought for the ſervice of the company, when ſtock was at a very high price, and on pretence of keeping up the price of the ſtock; and, at the ſame time, ſeveral of the directors, and other officers belonging to the company, having, in a clandeſtine manner, ſold their own ſtocks to the company; ſuch directors and officers are guilty of a notorious fraud and breach of truſt; and their ſo doing was one great cauſe of the unhappy turn of affairs that has ſo much affected public credit (f).

On the 4th of February, the lords deſigned to have examined Sir John Blunt, the chief projector of the South-Sea ſcheme, and it was expected, he would make great diſcoveries: But, inſtead of that, he would not ſo much as be ſworn to anſwer to ſuch interrogatories, as ſhould be put to him, alledging, that he had already been examined before the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, and to ſuch extent of affairs, that, unleſs he had a copy of his examination, he could not remember every particular; and, as no man is obliged to accuſe himſelf, he would not run the hazard of prevaricating. The lords were ſurprized at this proceeding; but, upon a ſurmiſe, that Sir John Blunt might deſign to break the harmony, which had hitherto been preſerved in this affair between the two houſes, they thought fit not to ſhew immediately their indignation againſt his obſtinacy. In the debate how they ſhould proceed in this unprecedented caſe, ſome reflections were made againſt the miniſtry by a noble duke, who obſerved, that the government

(f) Three days after, Mr. Hawes, a director, having been examined with ſome brokers, the lords came to the following reſolutions:

1. That the directors, &c. buying the Midſummer dividend about the fourth of January 1719-20, and paying 5 s. down and 3 l. after the receipt of the dividend, was a fraud to the perſons with whom they contracted.

2. That the giving a premium, for the refuſal of ſtock, at higher prices than they knew the value was, was a fraudulent artifice to raiſe the price of ſtock.

3. That promoting the third ſubſcription at 1000 per cent. was to anſwer a particular end, and to cheat the public.

4. That the declaring 30 l. per cent. dividend for the half year ending at Chriſtmas, and 50 l. per cent per annum for no leſs than twelve years after, was a villainous artifice to delude and defraud his majeſty's good ſubjects.

5. That the declaring the Midſummer dividend to be paid in ſtock, when they had money by them to anſwer the ſame, was a notorious fraud, and was one occaſion of the misfortunes that enſued.

of

of the beſt of princes was ſometimes made intolerable to their ſubjects by ill miniſters; and alledged the example of Sejanus, who had made a diviſion in the imperial family, and rendered the reign of the emperor Claudius odious to the Romans. This reflection was highly reſented by earl Stanhope, who undertook to vindicate the miniſtry. He ſpoke with ſuch vehemence, that, finding himſelf taken ſuddenly with a violent head-ach, he went home, and was cupped, which eaſed him a little. The next morning he was let blood, and continued pretty well till about ſix o'clock in the evening, when he fell into a drowzineſs, and then into a ſuffocation, in which he inſtantly expired. The king was ſo ſenſibly touched with the news of his death, that he retired for ſeveral hours into his cloſet, to lament the loſs of a faithful and able miniſter, whoſe ſervice he ſo much wanted at that time. The lord Townſhend was appointed ſecretary of ſtate in his room. Geo. I. 1720-21.

Death of earl Stanhope.

Two days after, Mr. ſecretary Craggs was taken ill of the ſmall-pox, of which he died the ninth day, on the 16th of February. Thus, in the ſpace of eleven days, England loſt two ſecretaries of ſtate.

and of Mr. ſecretary Craggs.

Mr. Knight, after his eſcape into France, went to Bruſſels, from whence (not thinking himſelf ſafe there) he intended to retire to Liege. As the king had ſent orders to his miniſters in foreign courts, to make application for the ſeizing Mr. Knight, in caſe he ſhould ſhelter himſelf in the dominions of any ſtate in alliance with him, Mr. Gaudot, ſecretary to Mr. Leathes, the Britiſh reſident at Bruſſels, having information that Mr. Knight was going towards Louvain, applied to the marquiſs de Prié, governor of the Auſtrian Netherlands, who ordered a major and ſixteen dragoons to attend him, and follow his directions. With theſe Gaudot ſets out for Louvain, where he was informed, that two Engliſh gentlemen had, that morning, taken the road to Tirlemont. Upon this, Gaudot, with the major and four dragoons, haſted to Tirlemont, and, by means of a poſtillion ſent before to make inquiry, they put up at the ſame inn where the gentlemen had ſtopped. Gaudot, entering the inn, met Mr. Knight and his companion, who inſtantly yielded themſelves priſoners. Soon after Mr. Knight's ſon, who had followed his father from Bruſſels, arrived at Tirlemont, and was alſo ſeized. They were all carried back to Bruſſels, and, by a warrant from the marquiſs de Prié, the major conducted Mr. Knight to the citadel of Antwerp, where he was kept in ſafe cuſtody by an officer who

Proceedings about Mr. Knight.

Geo. I. 1720-21. who lay in the room with him, and four ſentinals without the houſe, and as many within, and was not allowed the uſe of pen, ink, and paper. His ſon went with him to the citadel.

Great was the joy at the news of Mr. Knight's being in cuſtody. Addreſſes were preſented by both houſes to thank the king for giving ſuch effectual directions for ſecuring Mr. Knight, and to deſire that orders might be given to his miniſters at Vienna and Bruſſels, to make proper applications that Mr. Knight, with his papers and effects, might be delivered to ſuch perſons as ſhould be appointed to receive him. Purſuant to theſe addreſſes, the king ſent colonel Charles Churchill to the court of Vienna, to make inſtances for the delivering up Mr. Knight; who, on the other hand, made application to the ſtates of Brabant, for the protection of their conſtitution. By an article of the charter, called the Joyful Entry (granted by the emperor Charles V. and ſworn to by all his ſucceſſors) no perſon charged with, or apprehended for any crime, can be removed to be tried out of Brabant. When therefore Mr. Leathes made preſſing inſtances with the marquiſs de Prié to have Mr. Knight delivered up, the ſtates of Brabant inſiſted upon their privilege, and the marquiſs would proceed no farther in the affair, without particular inſtructions from Vienna; for which purpoſe, colonel Charles Churchill was ſent to that court. In the beginning of March, the colonel ſent word, that he was juſt arrived at Vienna, and would immediately apply to the imperial court, for the delivering up Mr. Knight, and did not doubt of ſucceſs, unleſs the privileges of the ſtates of Brabant interfered. This letter being communicated to the houſe of commons, reflections were made (particularly by the lord Moleſworth) upon the frivolous pretence, uſed to fruſtrate the king's endeavours to bring over Mr. Knight. But the houſe came to no reſolution in the affair. About three weeks after, a letter from the emperor to the king was laid before the commons, wherein the emperor expreſſes 'his inclination to comply with his majeſty's deſires, but, the ſtates of Brabant inſiſting on their privileges, it would be neceſſary to make application to them, which he would not fail to ſupport.' In a debate on account of this letter, Mr. Hutchinſon repreſented, 'How much, on the one hand, the public was concerned in having the authors of the preſent diſtreſs fully diſcovered, and brought to condign puniſhment; and how impracticable it was on the other, to proceed in that important inquiry, ſo long as the principal agent of the South-Sea directors, and their

their accomplices, was kept out of the way; that, in the mean time, the public calamity increaſing every day, the nation called aloud for juſtice; and therefore, if the means already uſed for bringing over Mr. Knight proved abortive, it were adviſeable to have recourſe to more ſpeedy and effectual methods.' Sir Joſeph Jekyll alſo ſhewed, 'That it was incumbent on ſome perſons in the adminiſtration to have Mr. Knight brought over, in order fully to clear their own innocence, otherwiſe, though acquitted, they would ſtill be looked upon as criminal: Urging, moreover, that it was matter of wonder, that ſo frivolous a pretence, as the privileges of the ſtates of Brabant, ſhould be uſed to put a ſtop to ſo important an inquiry, eſpecially conſidering how little thoſe privileges had been regarded in more material points, and what obligations the houſe of Auſtria lay under to the Britiſh nation.' On the other hand, Mr. Lechmere repreſented, 'That, in all probability, the court of Vienna had not fully conſidered the importance of the inſtances made to them in his majeſty's name, and at the deſire of the commons of Great-Britain: But it was to be preſumed, when ſo wiſe a prince as the emperor ſhould be apprized, that the welfare and ſafety of England depended in ſome meaſure on the delivering up of Mr. Knight, he would readily comply with their deſires.' Then Mr. Lechmere moved for an addreſs to thank the king for the inſtances he had made, by a letter under his own hand to the emperor about Mr. Knight, to expreſs their diſſatisfaction at the obſtacles raiſed againſt a compliance with his endeavours, and to deſire his moſt preſſing inſtances for the obtaining what was thought of ſuch importance to the juſtice due to his people. This addreſs was agreed to and preſented to the king, who aſſured them, he would continue to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for obtaining what they deſired, and hoped they would prove effectual. But, notwithſtanding all this, before the emperor had ſent any inſtructions to the marquiſs de Prié, Mr. Knight found means to make his eſcape out of the citadel of Antwerp. Geo. I. 1720-21.

Proceedings of the ſecret committee.

The committee of ſecrecy, appointed to look into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the South-Sea act, made their firſt report to the houſe of commons the 16th of February, the day Mr. ſecretary Cragg's died. At the entrance into their inquiry, they obſerved, the matters referred to them were of great variety and extent. Many perſons were intruſted with different parts in the execution of that act, and, in an unwarrantable manner, diſpoſed of the properties

of

Geo. I. 1720-21. of many thouſands of perſons, amounting to many millions. In the progreſs of their inquiry, they found it attended with many difficulties.

In ſome of the books, falſe and fictitious entries were made; in others, entries with blanks; in others, entries with razures and alterations; and in others, leaves torn out. They found, ſome books had been deſtroyed, others ſecreted: However, they were enabled to lay ſome matters of importance before the houſe.

The firſt matter, that occurred to their conſideration, was a ſcene of iniquity and corruption, the diſcovery of which they conceived to be of the higheſt concern to the honour of parliaments, and the ſecurity of the government.

It appeared, that, before the paſſing the South-Sea act, and before any ſubſcription could be made, a fictitious ſtock of no leſs than 574,000 l. had been diſpoſed of by the directors, in order to facilitate the paſſing the bill. This ſtock was ſet down as ſold at ſeveral days, and at ſeveral prices, from 150 per cent. to 325 per cent. (amounting in all to 1,259,325 l. and was from thoſe times to be eſteemed as holden of the company, for the benefit of the pretended purchaſers, though no mutual agreement was then made for the delivery or acceptance of the ſtock at any certain time, and though no money was paid down, nor any ſecurity given for payment by the ſuppoſed purchaſers. So, if the price of ſtock had fallen, no loſs could have been ſuſtained by them; but, if it ſhould advance, the difference was to be made good to the pretended purchaſers. As this fictitious ſtock was deſigned for promoting the bill, the ſub and deputy-governors, Sir John Blunt, Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Cheſter, Mr. Holditch, with the caſhier Mr. Knight, had the diſpoſal of this ſtock, of which the following particulars were taken for ſeveral perſons:

For the earl of Sunderland, at the requeſt of Mr. Craggs, ſen.	50,000
For the ducheſs of Kendal	10,000
For the counteſs of Platen	10,000
For the counteſs's two nieces	10,000
For Mr. Craggs, ſen.	30,000
For Charles Stanhope	10,000
For the Sword-blade	50,000

The difference of the laſt parcel amounting to 250,000 l. was ſuppoſed to be paid to Mr. Charles Stanhope by Sir George

George Caſwal and company; but that Sir George ordered the name Stanhope to be partly eraſed out of the book, and made Stangape. It alſo appeared, that Mr. Aiſlabie, chancellor of the Exchequer, had great quantities of South-Sea ſtock given him; but that his affairs were chiefly managed by Mr. Edmund Waller, his ſon-in-law, and Mr. Weymondſel, a broker: That Mr. Aiſlabie's laſt account with Turner, Caſwal, and company, was 794,451 l. That 68,000 l. part thereof, was paid in caſh to Mr. Waller, as was alſo 44,600 l. more by a bond of Caſwal and company; and 33,000 l. by another bond of Caſwal and company, was paid to Mr. Weddal: That Mr. Aiſlabie, as a commiſſioner of the treaſury, had 4000 l. in the firſt money-ſubſcription; but that as ſoon as it came to bear an advance of about 40 per cent. he had 20,000 more; That no warrant was found for making the ſecond money-ſubſcription more than one million; but that afterwards ſome of the leading directors, by the advice of Mr. Aiſlabie, made it 500,000 l. more: That the third money-ſubſcription at 1000 l. was promoted by Mr. Aiſlabie, whoſe liſt amounted to 70,000 l. the earl of Sunderland's liſt to 160,000 l. Mr. ſecretary Cragg's liſt to 659,000 l. and Mr. Charles Stanhope's to 47,000 l. That Mr. Aiſlabie likewiſe adviſed the lending money on ſtock; and that the directors ſold part of the pawned ſtock at high prices; but that of 2,800,000 l. that ſhould have been transferred by Mr. Knight to four of the directors, there appeared to be but 2,400,000 l. ſo that there was 400,000 l. ſtock wanting. The committee obſerved, that, in the account of ſtock ſold, they found the names of ſeveral members of parliament, not concerned in the adminiſtration, whoſe caſes they could not particularly examine, without the direction of the houſe in what manner to proceed. The report ended, with an account of the divers practices uſed to raiſe the nominal value of South-Sea ſtock, to the extravagant rate to which it was afterwards advanced above the real value (g). This report was fol-

Geo. I. 1720-21.

(g) As this part of the report gives a brief hiſtory of all the contrivances for ſupporting the ſcheme, it will not be improper to inſert it at large:

Your committee find, that, by computation made by their direction, it appears, that the directors of the South-Sea company might have raiſed the whole ſum ſtipulated for the public, with a profit of near one million and an half for the benefit of the proprietors of the old ſtock, without ſetting their ſtock to ſale at any higher price than 150 l. per cent.

That

Geo. I. followed by six others, and, at the close of the last, the com-
1720-21. mittee said, they were under a necessity of ending their enquiry;

That after the said directors had taken in the first money-subscription at 300l. per cent. and the second money-subscription at 400l. per cent. and the first subscription of the long and short annuities at 375l. per cent. the value of 100l. South-Sea stock was but 120l. or thereabouts, supposing the whole money of the said first and second subscriptions (amounting to 12,750,000l.) had been all paid in.

That the said court of directors did afterwards proceed to take in a third and a fourth money-subscription at the rate of 1000l. per cent. and a second subscription of the long and short annuities, and a subscription of the redeemable debts at the rate of 800l. per cent. after which the value of 100l. South-Sea stock was but 332l. or thereabouts, supposing the whole money of the said four money-subscriptions (amounting to 68,750,000l.) had been all paid in.

That, if all the remaining public debts had been taken in, and all the remaining stock of the company sold, on the terms which the said directors pretended to expect, 100l. South-Sea stock would have been worth but 547l. or thereabouts, supposing the money of the said four subscriptions, and the money for the remaining stock (which together would have amounted to 205,039,401l.) had been all paid in.

That, on the 30th day of August last, the court of directors of the South-Sea company came to a resolution (which on the 8th day of September last was confirmed by a general court) to declare a dividend of 30l. per cent. to be made at Christmas 1720, and of not less than 50l. per cent. per ann. for not less than twelve years to come from that time.

That soon after this resolution (viz. at a general court held the 20th day of September last) the sub-governor acquainted the general court, that the affairs of the company, in relation to the price of their stock, and subscriptions, had taken an unexpected turn, and thereupon proposed their giving a power to the court of directors to relieve the last subscribers of the public debts, and the proprietors of the two last money-subscriptions, which was accordingly granted; and, at a court of directors held the 29th day of September last, it was resolved, That the said subscribers should have the same terms with the bank, viz. That their subscriptions should be reduced from 1000l. and 800l. per cent. to 400l. and that they should also have the benefit of the Midsummer dividend of 10l. per cent. which was accordingly confirmed by a general court held the 30th day of the same month; upon which your committee observes, That it appears to them very extraordinary, that the directors

quiry, by reaſon of the abſence of Mr. Knight, who appeared to have been principally and in many inſtances ſolely intruſted Geo. I. 1720-21.

rectors on the 8th day of September (when the ſaid high dividend was declared in a general court) ſhould have had no foreſight of the turn which ſo ſoon after (viz. on the 20th day of the ſame month) happened in their affairs.

That, on the ſaid 8th day of September, the ſub-governor acquainted the general court, that their directors had been unanimous in all their proceedings, which, amongſt other things, includes the before-mentioned ſeveral ſubſcriptions by them taken in, except the firſt; and upon the examination of the directors it doth not appear to your committee, that any one of them proteſted againſt, or declared any public diſſent from any of the ſaid proceedings; and it appears, that all of them took their ſhares and proportions of the ſubſcriptions, which were allotted for the reſpective directors to diſpoſe of.

And your committee have been informed by Sir Theodore Janſſen, that there was a meeting at the houſe of Sir John Fellows, betwixt ſixteen of the court of directors, Mr. ſecretary Craggs and Mr. Aiſlabie, at which time it was propoſed, that a ſubſcription ſhould be taken in at 300l. per cent. which was approved of by Mr. ſecretary Craggs and Mr. Aiſlabie; and that, when the ſaid company broke up, it was agreed, that every perſon ſhould uſe their beſt endeavours to promote it; which is alſo confirmed by the information of Sir Lambert Blackwell.

And, at a court of directors held the 13th day of April laſt, it was reſolved, to take in a ſubſcription for two millions, at the rate of 300l. per cent. but the ſame was afterwards increaſed, without any previous reſolution to that purpoſe, to 2,250,000l. and your committee obſerve, that the imaginary value of the ſaid ſubſcriptions roſe very faſt; and that thoſe who had the benefit of the ſaid additional ſubſcription, if they ſold, and diſpoſed of the ſame, made very great gains thereby.

That, at a court of directors held the 28th day of April laſt, it was reſolved to take in a ſecond money-ſubſcription, at the rate of 400l. per cent. for 1,000,000l. but, by the accounts delivered into this houſe, it appears, that the ſaid ſubſcription was for 1,500,000l. yet it does not appear that there was any previous reſolution of the court of directors for the addition of 500,000l. nor was the ſaid addition declared till the 8th of September laſt, at which time the ſub-governor acquainted the general court therewith; upon which your committee cannot but obſerve the great diſtance of time between the taking in of the ſecond ſubſcription at 1,000,000l. and the 8th of September, when the ſame was reported to the general court at 1,500,000l. during which interval the imaginary value of that ſubſcription was ex-

Geo. I. 1720-21. truſted in the execution of the black and deſtructive South-Sea ſcheme.

Soon

exceſſively increaſed, whereby the perſons, who had the ſame, had the advantage of that extraordinary riſe.

That, at a court of directors held the 15th day of June laſt, it was reſolved to take in a third money-ſubſcription at the rate of 1000l. per cent. one tenth part whereof was to be paid down at the time of ſubſcribing; and, at a court of directors held the 23d day of the ſame month, the ſub-governor acquainted the court, That the ſaid third money ſubſcription was compleated, without mentioning to what ſum; but at the before-mentioned general court, held the 8th day of September laſt, he declared the ſame to be for five millions; and Mr. Knight, late caſhier of the South-Sea company, by an article dated the 20th day of June laſt, in the caſh-book, fol. 125, charges the ſaid ſum of five millions as received; which account was paſſed, and allowed by the company's committee of treaſury, on, or ſome time after the 4th day of Auguſt laſt; and yet, in the account of the third money-ſubſcription delivered in to this houſe, it is ſtated at 4,400,000l. only the remaining ſum of 600,000l. being entered on the credit ſide of the caſh-book, on the 19th of December 1720, as a ſuppoſed deficiency of the payment on this ſubſcription; although it appears to your committee, upon the evidence of Mr. Lockyer, and others, that not only the whole ſum of five millions, but even a conſiderable exceeding thereon was paid in; that a great deal of money was repaid back to reduce the ſubſcription to five millions; and that they had money enough paid in for near eight millions.

That, at a court of directors held the 12th day of Auguſt laſt, it was reſolved to take in a fourth money-ſubſcription for one million, at the rate of 1000l. per cent. And, at a court of directors held the 25th of the ſame month, it was declared, That, upon caſting up the books, it was found the ſaid fourth money-ſubſcription, inſtead of one million, was increaſed to 1,250,000l. which was occaſioned by taking the ſaid ſubſcription in ſeveral books; and at the before-mentioned general court, held the 8th day of September laſt, the ſub-governor declared the fourth money-ſubſcription was compleated to 1,250,000l. And Mr. Knight the caſhier hath, in an article dated the 30th day of Auguſt laſt, and entered in the caſh-book, fol. 128, given the company credit for the firſt payment made on the 4th ſubſcription, viz. for 2,500,000l. which account was paſſed, and allowed by the committee of treaſury on the 4th day of October laſt; and yet, in the account of the ſaid fourth money-ſubſcription delivered into this houſe, it is ſtated at 1,200,000l. only: That, upon the examination of Mr. Knight, and ſeveral

Soon after the first report, the commons having taken it into consideration, came to these resolutions: Geo. I. 1720-21.

1. That

veral of the directors, in relation to the deficiency of the said third and fourth money subscriptions, their answers were very unsatisfactory: And your committee cannot but observe, That as, by the before mentioned additions to the first two money-subscriptions, some persons made great gains, whilst the price of the said subscriptions continued high; so, when the price of the subscriptions fell, many other persons were favoured, by having their subscriptions withdrawn, which was the cause of the deficiency.

That, on the second money-subscription each director was allowed, for himself and friends, 26,000l. and that the remainder of the million, at first resolved to be taken in, was at the disposal of the sub and deputy-governors; but, for whose benefit the additional subscription of 500,000l. was intended, your committee have not yet been able to discover.

That, on the third money-subscription each director was allowed 54,000l. for himself and friends; and that several large lists of the names of persons were sent to the sub-governor, to be admitted into the said third subscription; viz. by the earl of Sunderland, first lord commissioner of the treasury, a list amounting to 167,000l. by John Aislabie, Esq; late chancellor of the Exchequer, another of the lords of the treasury, a list amounting to 75,300l. by James Craggs, Esq; one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, two lists, amounting to 695,000l. and by Charles Stanhope, Esq; one of the secretaries of the treasury, a list amounting to 49,700l. Which four last-mentioned lists amount to 987,000l.

That, upon examination, it appears, that other lists have been given in, as well on the third as on the second subscription; but, the same being lost or mislaid, as your committee have been informed, they are thereby disabled, at present, from making any report thereon.

They find 25,000l. of the second subscription hath been given unto John Aislabie, Esq; about eight or ten days after the opening of that subscription, at which time the subscriptions were at an advanced price, of about 40l. per cent. and soon after rose vastly higher.

That it doth not appear to your committee that any of the persons, who had the honour to serve his majesty in the treasury, or in any other part of the administration, used any endeavours to prevent the directors of the South-Sea company from taking in subscriptions at the aforesaid extravagant prices; but on the contrary it doth appear, that some of them, by the lists they gave in as aforesaid, did not only encourage and promote the said subscriptions, but did greatly enlarge the same.

Your committee observing that Sir John Fellows, late sub-governor

Geo. I. 1. That the ſub-governor, deputy-governor, and directors
1720-21. of the South-Sea company, and their officers, and their aiders

vernor of the South-Sea company, did at a general court of the ſaid company, held the 21ſt of April 1720, acquaint that court, that the deſign of the government's million of Exchequer-bills to be lent to the company, by virtue of the late act of parliament for iſſuing Exchequer-bills to be circulated at or near the Exchequer, was to enable the company to lend money upon their ſtock; and finding that, by order of the court of directors of the ſaid company, the ſame had been ſo lent out, your committee proceeded to enquire into this affair.

And on the examination of Mr. Robert Knight, late caſhier of the ſaid company, he declared, that he did not remember that any application was made by the directors to have thoſe bills iſſued; but that the firſt diſcourſe of this matter was by John Aiſlabie, Eſq; then chancellor of the Exchequer, a week before the propoſals of the South-Sea company were offered to this houſe; that Mr. Aiſlabie ſaid, it would be more acceptable to have thoſe bills circulated at the Exchequer, than to ſend them to the Bank or elſewhere, and that the company might afford to circulate them for nothing, they being to be lent to the company to enable them to execute their ſcheme: That the examinant believed, the intention of lending the ſaid bills upon ſtock had been communicated to Mr. Aiſlabie, and that he (the examinant) on his attending at the treaſury to ſollicit the iſſuing of theſe bills, did mention that deſign, and never heard that the treaſury diſapproved of it.

That Sir John Blunt declared it would be better to employ thoſe bills in the lending upon ſtock, than in paying off the redeemables, which would take up more time.

Hereupon your committee examining Sir John Fellows, he ſaid, that he and others of the directors treated with Mr. Aiſlabie and others at the treaſury about the iſſuing the ſaid Exchequer-bills; but that it was firſt propoſed to Mr. Aiſlabie, and the examinant believed, it was at firſt mentioned by Sir John Blunt, in a committee of the directors, and that it was the general opinion of the directors.

Your committee examining Sir John Blunt upon this tranſaction, he declared, that he ſpoke to Mr. Aiſlabie to haſten the iſſuing of the ſaid bills; and that himſelf, or ſome other of the directors, acquainted Mr. Aiſlabie (as he believes) at the treaſury, with the company's deſign to lend them upon ſtock; that it did not at firſt ariſe from the directors, but that it was intimated to them before, or very ſoon after the company's propoſals were laid before the houſe, by ſome of the treaſury; and on reco[illegible]lection, the examinant ſaid, it was by Mr. Aiſlabie, to enable the company to carry on their ſcheme, and thereby to raiſe the price of their ſtock, the bor-

aiders and abettors, in lending out the company's money upon ſtock and ſubſcriptions, without taking ſecurity for re-payment. Geo. I. 1720, 21.

borrowers being enabled to buy ſtock.

That by the book of loans delivered in to this houſe, it appears that the ſum of 9,039,936l. 11s. was lent to ſeveral perſons on the ſecurity of 2,563,117l. 17s. 5d. ſtock: And that the further ſum of 2,219,089l. was lent on the ſecurity of 773,600l. ſubſcription receipts; the money ſo lent, and ſtill remaining due, amounting in the whole to the ſum of 11,259,025l. 11s.

That by ſeveral reſolutions of the court of directors of the 21ſt of April, the 20th of May, and the 9th of June laſt, for three ſeveral loans, it appears, that the ſum, reſolved by them to be lent on ſtock from the 21ſt of April to the 21ſt of May, was limited to 500,000l. in the whole, and that not more than 5000l. ſhould be lent to any one perſon, and ſuch loan to be only at the rate of 250l. on 100l. ſtock; that, from the 20th of May to the 9th of June, the rule of lending was at the rate of 300l. on 100l. ſtock; and that not more than 3000l. ſhould be lent to any one perſon; and, from the 9th of June, the rule of lending was at 400l. on 100l. ſtock, and that not more than 4000l. ſhould be lent to any one perſon.

That, on examination of the book of loans, it appears that on the firſt loan the rules of lending were greatly exceeded, viz. That there was lent in the whole 943,631l. more than the ſum of 500,000l. to which the ſaid loan was confined. That the exceſs above 250l. on 100l. ſtock amounts to 316,740l. and and the exceſs above 5000l. to one perſon amounts in the whole to 779,231l. That on the ſecond loan the exceſs above the rate of 300l. on 100l. ſtock amounts to 30,750l. and the exceſs above 3000l. to one perſon amounts in the whole to 169,025l. And that on the third loan the exceſs above 400l. on 100l. ſtock amounts to 59,413l. and the exceſs above the rate of 4000l. to one perſon amounts in the whole to 1,447,677l. For the particulars of all which your committee refer to the book marked N°. IV, in which the ſame are diſtinctly expreſſed, and the reſolutions of the general court, and court of directors, in relation to loans, are tranſcribed.

That your committee do not find any reſolution, either of a general court, or a court of directors, for lending money on ſubſcription-receipts; but, by the examinations which they have taken, it appears, That Mr. Knight, the late caſhier of the South-Sea company, and his under-caſhier and clerks, by his directions, did lend money on the ſubſcription-receipts, by verbal orders from the directors of the ſaid company, and under colour of an order of a general court, made the 21ſt of April 1720, to impower the court of directors from time to time, as they ſhall ſee for the intereſt

Geo. I. 1720-21. payment thereof, have been guilty of a notorious breach of truſt, and have thereby occaſioned great loſs to the company, for

intereſt of the company, to lend any ſum or ſums of the company's money, on the company's preſent and to be increaſed capital ſtock; and to do all ſuch matters and things, as they ſhould judge moſt for the good of the company.

But your committee find, that by the ſecond by-law of the ſaid company, relating to the keeping the caſh of the company, it was ordained, That the caſh of the corporation ſhould from time to time be kept under three ſeveral locks, with different wards, the keys of which to be kept, one by the caſhier, and the other two by ſuch of the governor, ſub-governor, deputy-governor, or directors, as the ſaid court ſhould from time to time appoint, except ſuch ſum or ſums as the court of directors ſhould think neceſſary to let remain in the cuſtody of the caſhier; and no money relating to the trade or affairs of the ſaid company ſhould be diſpoſed of, without an order of the ſaid court of directors; and that the intereſt of all other advantages, ariſing and growing upon the caſh of the ſaid company, ſhould be brought to the account of the ſaid company. However, it appears that the ſaid loans on ſubſcriptions were generally known, and never objected againſt, by any of the directors in a general court, or in any court of directors.

That, on the ſaid loans on ſtock, the ſtock was transferred to perſons for that purpoſe nominated, in the ſame manner as if the ſame had been abſolutely ſold, without any defeazance on the part of the company, or of the perſons to whom the ſtock was transferred, for re-transferring the ſame, on repayment of the money; nor was any covenant or other ſecurity taken, for repayment from the borrowers, except the ſtock ſo transferred; nor doth there appear any diſtinction between the ſaid transfers on loans, and the other transfers, which were made of ſtock abſolutely purchaſed, on account of the company: Upon which your committee obſerve, that it was in the power of the perſons, to whom the ſaid pawned ſtock was transferred, to diſpoſe thereof at any time, as they thought fit, when the price of ſtock was high, and to replace the ſame when it fell.

And your committee do find, that, on the 19th day of October laſt, the ſaid Mr. Knight, to whom the ſaid pawned ſtock was transferred, did, purſuant to an order of the court of directors, transfer ſtock to the amount of 2,141,867 l. 17 s. 5 d. to Sir Harcourt Maſters, colonel Hugh Raymond, Edward Gibbon, and John Gore, truſtees, for that purpoſe nominated by the court of directors, in whoſe names the ſame now remains; but the ſum is 421,250 l. ſhort of the aforeſaid ſum of 2,563,117 l. 17 s. 5 d. which is mentioned in the ſaid book of loans to have been pledged for the

for which they ought to make ſatisfaction out of their own eſtates. Geo. I. 1720-21.

2. That

the ſecurity of the repayment of the aforeſaid ſum of 9,039,936l. 11s. from which it is evident, that the ſaid ſum of 421,250l. of the ſtock mortgaged or pawned on loans, as aforeſaid, has been ſold, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, by the truſtees, or agents of the South-Sea company; and, till replaced, cannot be re-transferred to thoſe, by whom the ſame was pawned or mortgaged: Upon which your committee obſerve how eaſy it was for the truſtees of the company to have ſold the ſaid ſtock, when it was at high prices, and to have replaced the ſame again when it fell; for on examination it appears, that there was no diſtinct and ſeparate account kept of the ſaid mortgaged and pawned ſtock, nor was the ſame any ways diſtinguiſhed from the other ſtock of thoſe perſons, to whom it was at firſt transferred.

That, as to the ſaid ſum of 2,219,087l. lent on 773,600l. ſubſcription-receipts, it appears by the aforeſaid book of loans, that the general rule of lending was at the rate of 300l. on 100l. ſubſcription-receipts; but, excluding from the ſaid loans on ſubſcriptions the two great loans; the one to the million-bank, and the other to Turner and company, the loans to the other borrowers will, at an average, come out above 300l. per cent. It appears that on the firſt ſubſcription-receipts, at the time of the ſaid lending, there was paid in only from 90l. to 150l. per cent. and on the ſecond ſubſcription-receipts generally 40l. and on ſome few 80l. per cent. but how much more there hath been paid in ſince, or whether all the ſaid ſubſcription-receipts on which money was lent be now remaining in the cuſtody of any perſon for the ſecurity of the company, your committee cannot at preſent diſcover, the receipts not having been as yet produced to them.

That it appears that Turner and company were employed by the directors, to lend out 500,000l. on ſubſcription-receipts, and that they accordingly lent 150,000l. on ſuch receipts, after the rate of 190l. per cent. on the firſt ſubſcription, and 40l. per cent. on the ſecond. But, ſuch rates being by the ſaid directors thought too low, the ſaid Turner and company were ordered to proceed no farther in diſpoſing of the remaining part of the ſaid 500,000l. and were told at the ſame time, that by lending at ſuch low rates on ſubſcriptions, they were ruining the ſtock. And it alſo appears, that Mr. Knight did iſſue a conſiderable ſum to be diſpoſed of by brokers, for the refuſal of South-Sea ſtock at certain times, at very high prices; and likewiſe, that, on the declenſion of the price of the ſtock, large ſums were iſſued to purchaſe ſtock, on account of the company, at very high prices; and part of the ſtock then bought appears to have belonged to ſome of the directors of the ſaid company.

Geo. I. 1720-21.

2. That the ſelling or diſpoſing of ſtock or ſubſcriptions, transferred or depoſited as a ſecurity for the repayment of the money ſo lent, was a notorious breach of the truſt repoſed in the ſub-governor, deputy-governor, directors, and their officers, and a fraud on the proprietors, in order to in-

And, although your committee are not yet prepared to ſet this matter in a full light, they cannot but obſerve, that the ſaid directors, in all their proceedings in the execution of their ſcheme, appear to have had chiefly in view the raiſing and ſupporting the imaginary value of the ſtock, at an extravagant and high price, for the benefit of themſelves, and thoſe who were in the ſecret with them.

That, as to the aforeſaid loans or ſubſcription-receipts, it appears, there were no defeazances executed by thoſe with whom the receipts were depoſited, for a re-delivery of the ſame, on repayment of the money, nor any ſecurity given by the borrowers, beſides the receipts by them ſo delivered; nor doth any thing elſe appear to diſtinguiſh the receipts ſo pledged from ſuch receipts as were, or might have been, abſolutely ſold to the company; for all the ſaid receipts were made out in one name, viz. Joſeph Safford, and by his indorſement the bearer became intituled to the property thereof; Upon which your committee obſerve, the ſecurity of the company, as to the money lent on the ſaid ſubſcription-receipts, is more precarious than the loans on ſtock; for by the transfer-book it might appear by whom ſuch ſtock was transferred; but it hath not yet appeared to your committee that any books have been kept, or entries made, of the names of the perſons to whom ſuch loans have been made on ſubſcription-receipts: And your committee do farther obſerve, That it was in the power of the perſons, with whom ſuch ſubſcription-receipts were depoſited, to ſell the ſame at high prices, and to replace them again when the price fell. And upon the whole, it doth appear to your committee, that the ſaid loans on ſtock, and on ſubſcriptions, have been managed with the utmoſt negligence, with reſpect to the intereſt of the company, and were contrived for the raiſing and keeping up the price of ſtock at an extravagant height.

Before your committee concludes this report, they think it proper to obſerve, That it has appeared to them throughout their examination, that Mr. Knight, caſhier of the South-Sea company, was principally concerned in their moſt ſecret tranſactions. And your committee have been informed by Sir Theodore Janſſen, ſoon after Mr. Knight's withdrawing himſelf, That upon his preſſing Mr. Knight, two or three days before he went away, to make a diſcovery of whatſoever he knew relating to the whole proceedings, Mr. Knight anſwered, that, if he ſhould diſcloſe all he knew, it would open ſuch a ſcene as the world would be ſurprized at.

rich

rich themſelves; for which they ought to make ſatisfaction out of their own eſtates. Geo. I. 1726-21.

3. That the taking in or holding of ſtock, by the South-Sea company, for the benefit of any member of either houſe of parliament, or perſon concerned in the adminiſtration, during the time that the company's propoſals, or the bill thereto relating, were depending in parliament, without any valuable conſideration paid, or ſufficient ſecurity given for the acceptance of, or payment for ſuch ſtock; and the company's paying or allowing ſuch perſon the difference ariſing by the advanced price of the ſtock, were corrupt, infamous, and dangerous practices, highly reflecting on the honour and juſtice of parliaments, and deſtructive of the intereſts of his majeſty's government.

4. That any of the directors of the South-Sea company ſelling their own ſtock at high prices to the company or others, at the ſame time that they gave orders for buying ſtock upon account of the company, under pretence of keeping up the nominal value of the ſtock, was a ſcandalous practice, tending to inrich themſelves, to the great loſs and detriment of the company, and of others his majeſty's ſubjects, for which they ought to make ſatisfaction out of their own eſtates.

5. That the declaring a dividend of 30 per cent. for Chriſtmas laſt, and not leſs than 50 per cent. per ann. for not leſs than twelve years after, was an infamous contrivance to give his majeſty's ſubjects falſe notions of the value of the ſtock, that the directors might more eaſily diſpoſe of their ſtock at exorbitant prices.

6. That the ſetting the ſtock of the South-Sea company to ſale by ſubſcriptions, at high prices, above the intrinſic value of the ſame, by the ſub-governor, deputy-governor, and directors of the company, was a groſs and notorious fraud; and has been one great cauſe of the ſinking of the public credit, and bringing upon the nation the diſtreſs it at preſent labours under.

7. That the adviſing the ſub-governor, deputy-governor, and directors of the South-Sea company, to ſet the ſtock of the company to ſale by ſubſcriptions at high and extravagant prices, or to declare the high and extravagant dividends for Chriſtmas laſt, and twelve years after, by any perſons in the adminiſtration, was a notorious breach of the truſt repoſed in them to the prejudice of his majeſty's government, and the intereſt of the kingdom.

C c 4 8. That

Geo. I. 1720-21.

8. That the entry in the cash-book of the South-Sea company of 574,500l. stock, pretended to be sold for 1,213,575l. between the 4th of February 1719, and the 12th of April following, was contrived with design to conceal the names of persons, for whose benefit stock was taken in by the company.

9. That every person, for whom stock was taken in or held, such stock being part of the 574,500l. pretended to be sold by the South-Sea company, from the 4th of February 1719, to the 12th of April, without money paid, or sufficient security given for the acceptance of, and payment for such stock, be obliged to pay to the company all such sums of money, as have been received by way of difference, or otherwise, for such stock.

10. That the addition of 250,000l. to the first money-subscription, after it had been declared to have been opened for two millions, and the addition of 500,000l. to the second money-subscription, after it had been declared to be opened for one million, were fraudulently contrived to give corrupt advantages to particular persons, and were injurious to public credit.

Upon these resolutions, a bill was brought in, for the relief of the unhappy sufferers in the South-Sea-company.

Mr. Stanhope's case.

Mr. Stanhope, one of the secretaries of the Treasury, having been charged, in the report of the secret committee, for having large quantities of stock and subscriptions held for him, pressed the house, that a short day might be appointed to examine the matter, that he might have an opportunity to clear himself. A day being appointed, several of the directors and others were ordered to attend, who were examined concerning the charge against him, consisting of two articles: 1. That 10,000l. South-Sea stock was taken in for his benefit by Mr. Knight, without any valuable consideration; and that the difference, arising by the advanced price thereof, had been paid him out of the cash of the South-Sea company. 2. That Turner and company had bought 50,000l. stock, at a low price, of the South-Sea company, in the name, and for the benefit of Mr. Stanhope, the difference of the advanced price whereof, amounting to 250,000l. had been paid him by Sir George Caswal and company. To prove these articles, the secret committee caused the examinations of Sir John Blunt, Mr. Holditch, Mr. Sawbridge, Mr. Henry Blunt, and others, to be read, and those persons themselves to be examined; but some of them

them rather weakened than confirmed their former depoſi- Geo. I.
tions: Sir John Blunt, in particular, owned, as to the firſt 1720-21.
article, that Mr. Knight had ſhewn him a letter, which he told him was ſigned by Mr. Stanhope, deſiring him to take 10,000 l. ſtock for him; but that he did not know whether that letter was genuine, nor what was become of it: And, as for the 50,000 l. ſtock transferred to the Sword-Blade company in Mr. Stanhope's name, Mr. Sawbridge and Mr. Turner owned they had made uſe of Mr. Stanhope's name without his privity or conſent. After the examinations, and the animadverſions of the members of the ſecret committee, Mr. Stanhope ſaid, 'That, for ſome years paſt, he had lodged all the money he was maſter of in Mr. Knight's hands, and whatever ſtock Mr. Knight had taken in for him, he had paid a valuable conſideration for it. And as for the 50,000 l. he could not anſwer for what had been done without his conſent.' When the queſtion was put, whether he was concerned in the manner repreſented by the two articles, he was cleared, though by three voices only, 180 againſt 177.

A few days after, Sir George Caſwal having been heard in his place, it was reſolved by the commons, 'That it appeared to the houſe, that Sir George Caſwal, one of the co-partners of Turner and company, and a member of the houſe, did, on the 14th of December 1720, after the houſe had begun to inquire into the conduct of the directors of the South-Sea company, order Daniel Watkins, one of the book-keepers of Turner and company, to eraſe, in ſeveral places of the books, the name of Stanhope, and to make the ſame Stangape, which was accordingly done.' After this and ſome other reſolutions concerning him, a bill was ordered to be brought in, to make the eſtates real and perſonal of Sir George Caſwal, Jacob Sawbridge, and Elias Turner, anſwerable for 250,000 l. to the South-Sea company, the advanced price of the forementioned 50,000 l. South-Sea ſtock.

The caſe of the earl of Sunderland was alſo taken into conſideration. By the report of the ſecret committee it appeared, that 50,000 l. ſtock had been taken by Mr. Knight for the earl's uſe, without any thing paid, or ſecurity given for payment for the ſame. The houſe ſeemed to be intent upon the inquiry: A warm diſpute aroſe, and much was ſaid for and againſt him. But upon the queſtion, the vote paſſed in his favour, by a majority of 233 againſt 132. Notwithſtanding this, it was generally thought, the ſecret committee

The earl of Sunderland's caſe.

Geo. I. 1720-21. mittee would not have accuſed the prime miniſter, if the charge had not been at leaſt probable. The earl did not loſe the confidence of his maſter, though he reſigned his poſt of firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury, which was given to Mr. Walpole, as one of the moſt capable to hold it in ſuch critical circumſtances.

Mr. Aiſlabie expelled the houſe.

Mr. Aiſlabie did not eſcape ſo well as the earl of Sunderland. When that part of the report of the ſecret committee which related to Mr. Aiſlabie, came to be conſidered, Mr. Hawes's depoſition againſt him, That he had cauſed the book of accounts between them to be burnt, and given him a diſcharge for the balance, amounting to 842,000 l. appeared ſo ſtrong, that the commons came to ſeveral reſolutions againſt him, particularly, that he had promoted the deſtructive execution of the South-Sea ſcheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and combined with the directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of the public credit; and therefore he was expelled the houſe, and ordered to be committed to the Tower.

Mr. Craggs ſen. dies.

Mr. Craggs would have been called to an account on the 17th of March, but he happened to die the day before of a lethargic fit, leaving behind him an immenſe eſtate to be divided among his three daughters, who were married to three members of parliament, Mr. Treſuſis, Mr. Newſham, and Mr. Elliot. About ſix weeks after his death, the commons having taken Mr. Craggs's affair into conſideration, it was reſolved, that a large quantity of South-Sea ſtock had been held by the company for his uſe, and that he was a notorious accomplice with Robert Knight, and ſome of the directors, in carrying on their ſcandalous practices; and therefore that all the eſtate he was poſſeſſed of from the 1ſt of December 1719, ſhould be applied towards the relief of the unhappy ſufferers in the South-Sea company.

Allowances to the South-Sea directors out of their eſtates.

The directors having delivered in the inventories of their eſtates, it was debated what allowances ſhould be given them. Mr. Lowndes propoſed an eighth part: But it was objected, ſuch an allowance would be too much for ſome who had the largeſt eſtates, and conſequently had been deepeſt in the guilt; and too little for others who had but ſmall eſtates, and were only paſſively criminal, by not entering their diſſent to the fraudulent management of the reſt. It was at laſt agreed, that the affair of each director ſhould be particularly conſidered, and more or leſs favour ſhewn, according as they ſhould appear more or leſs guilty. The commons began with the ſub and deputy-governors, and proceeded alphabetically

tically to the reſt. The value of their eſtates, as given in upon oath, amounted to about 2,014,000l. of which 334,000l. was left to the proprietors (a). Geo. I. 1720-21.

Mr.

(a) The debates in the grand committee about ſettling the allowances were as follows:

They began with Sir John Fellows, the ſub-governor, in whoſe behalf Mr. Sloper moved, 'That, ſince it did not appear that he had been ſo active in the late vile and pernicious practice, as ſome others, he might be allowed 20,000l. out of his eſtate.' Mr. Hungerford reduced it to 15,000l. others to 12,000l. and Mr. Walpole having at laſt propoſed 10,000l. it was agreed to without any diviſion. Mr. Joye, the deputy-governor, appearing to have been deeply concerned in the guilt, it was agreed to allow him 5,000l. The ſame ſum was allowed Mr. Aſtell: And the queſtion being put to allow Sir Lambert Blackwell 10,000l. ſome propoſing only 5,000l. it was carried for the former by a majority of four voices, one hundred and twelve againſt one hundred and eight. The allowance to Sir John Blunt occaſioned a long debate. Mr. Laurence Carter moved to allow him one ſhilling only; the lord James Cavendiſh, 1,000l. Mr. Plummer, 5,000l. Sir Joſeph Jekyll, 10,000l. which was ſeconded by general Roſſe, the lord Moleſworth, Mr. Jeffreys, and Mr. Windſor: But Mr. Sloper, Mr. John Smith, Mr. Horace Walpole, and Mr. Miſner, were of opinion, that he ought to be moſt ſeverely puniſhed. Mr. Sloper ſaid, That he was grown to that height of pride and inſolence, that he could not give a civil anſwer to perſons far above him; inſtancing in his behaviour one day at the Treaſury, when a relation of a great man aſking Sir John, in his (Mr. Sloper's) hearing, for a ſubſcription, Sir John, with a great deal of contempt, bid him 'go to his coulin Walpole, and deſire him to ſell his ſtock in the Bank, and by that means he might be ſupplied.' Mr. Walpole entered fully into Sir John Blunt's life and character, and ſhewed, that he had been a projector of many years ſtanding, and had been the author of ſeveral fallacious ſchemes, by which unwary people had been drawn in to their utter ruin, particularly in a project for the linen manufacture. To this Mr. Horace Walpole added, 'That was not the firſt; for there was a gentleman, who ſat next to him, meaning Mr. Jeſſop, whom Sir John Blunt had drawn into a project for bringing water to London from a great diſtance, which was to out-do the New-River water; by which the ſubſcribers loſt all their money, though Sir John himſelf got ſome thouſands by it.' This Mr. Jeſſop confirmed. However, the lord Hinchingbroke moved for allowing Sir John Blunt 10,000l. but the queſtion being put for allowing him 1,000l. it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of one hundred thirty-eight againſt ninety-four.

The

Geo. I. 1721. Mr. Aiſlabie's affair occaſioned debates proportionable to his great riches, and the multitude of his friends. He was

The next allowance in debate was for Sir Robert Chaplin, for whom the lord Moleſworth, Sir John Eyles, and other members ſpoke; and it was agreed, without dividing, to allow him 10,000l. The ſame allowance was given to Sir William Chapman, Mr. Cheſter and Mr. Child. A motion being made to give Mr De la Porte the like ſum, the lord Moleſworth was for reducing it to 7,000l. but upon the queſtion it was carried for 10,000l. by a majority of one hundred and fifty againſt ſixty-nine. The caſe of Sir Francis Eyles appeared in ſo favourable a light, that he was allowed 20,000l. without dividing. Mr. Edmondſon's eſtate amounting to little more than 5,000l. it was moved to allow him the whole, and leave him out of the bill; but, after ſome debate, it was agreed to allow him only 3,000l. The queſtion being put to allow Mr. Gibbon 15 000 or 10,000l. it was carried for the latter without dividing. It appearing, that Sir William Hammond and Mr. Gore had little or no ſhare in the fraudulent contrivances of the leading directors, Mr. Gore was allowed 20,000l. and Sir William Hammond 10,000l. It was propoſed to give Mr. Hawes, late receiver-general of the cuſtoms, 1,000l. But, Sir Nathaniel Gould, and ſome other members, having obſerved, that he was very active in the late vile practices, and had occaſioned the ruin of many people. Mr. Docminique moved, and it was agreed to allow him only 31l. the odd money of his inventory. Several members ſpoke in favour of Mr. Horſey, particularly the lord Hinchingbroke and Sir Robert Rich, who moved for allowing him 10,000l. which was carried without a diviſion. It was then debated, whether to allow Mr. Holditch 5,00l. 1,000l. or 5,000l. The voices were equally divided, eighty ſix and eighty-ſix; upon which Mr. Clayton, the chairman, gave the caſting vote for 5,000l. which met with general approbation. Mr. Horace Walpole and Sir Richard Steele ſpoke in favour of Sir Theodore Janſſen, and were anſwered by general Roſſe and the maſter of the rolls. But, after a ſmall debate, Mr. Trenchard moved for allowing him 50,000l. which was carried by a majority of one hundred and thirty-four voices againſt one hundred and eighteen. Sir Jacob Jacobſon's caſe coming next under conſideration, Mr. Hungerford moved for allowing him 11,000l. which was all his eſtate, except 481l. and it was agreed to without a negative. Mr. Ingram's caſe being much the ſame, Mr. Pulteney moved for allowing him 12,000l. near three parts in four of his eſtate; and, being ſeconded by the lord Hinchingbroke, it was carried without dividing. Sir John Lambert was allowed 5,000l. without a diviſion, as was Sir Harcourt Maſters; and Mr. Morley

1,800l.

allowed all the eſtate he was poſſeſſed of on the 20th of October 1718. His country-houſe, gardens, and park, with his wife's jewels, and houſhold goods, were all excepted from the forfeiture. Geo. I. 1721.

Soon after, an act paſſed for raiſing money upon the eſtates of the ſub and deputy-governors, caſhier, deputy-caſhier, and accountant of the South-Sea company, and of Mr. Aiſlabie and Mr. Craggs, towards making good the damages ſuſtained by the company, and for diſabling ſuch of theſe perſons,

1,800l. near his whole eſtate. Mr. Page had an allowance of 10,000l. without dividing. Mr. Heyſham moved for allowing colonel Raymond 30,000l. and, being ſeconded by Mr. Tufnel, the attorney-general, and Mr. Hungerford, no oppoſition was made to that motion. Mr. Sloper moved for allowing Mr. Read 10,000l. He was ſeconded by Sir John Ward and Mr. Docminique, and the motion carried without a debate; as was the allowance of 14,000l. to Mr. Reynolds. Mr. Hungerford moved for allowing Mr. Sawbridge 10,000l. and was oppoſed by Mr. Lowndes, the lord Moleſworth, Sir Adolphus Oughton, and Mr. Horace Walpole. But another member moving for 5,000l. it was agreed to without a diviſion. Mr. Tillard had in like manner an allowance of 15,000l. and Mr. Turner 8,000l. which was near his whole eſtate. The caſe of Mr. Surman, the deputy-caſhier, occaſioned a debate of about an hour and a half. He had not the beſt character amongſt the offenders; but, acting only as a ſervant, and by the command of Mr. Knight, or the directors; ſeveral members thought there ſhould be a mitigation in his puniſhment, as there was in his crime. Mr. Grey Nevill ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that he might be left out of the bill. Another member moved to allow him 30,000l. Mr. Hungerford would have reduced it to 20,000l. Mr. Lechmere to 12,000l. and two other members to 10,000 and 5,000l. All theſe were oppoſed by Sir Joſeph Jekyll, ſerjeant Pengelly, and Mr. Horace Walpole, who would not have allowed him above 20 or 30l. but at laſt the queſtion being put for allowing him 5,000l. it was agreed to without dividing. Mr. Arthur Moore moved for allowing John Grigſby, accountant to the South-Sea company, 10,000l. But another member ſaid, 'That, ſince that upſtart was once ſo prodigally vain, as to bid his coachman feed his horſes with gold, no doubt but he could feed on it himſelf:' And therefore he moved he might be allowed as much gold as he could eat; and that the reſt of the eſtate might go towards the relief of the ſufferers.' However, a motion being made for allowing him 2,000l. it was carried without dividing.

The

Geo. I. 1721. sons, as were living, to hold any place, or sit in parliament for the future.

The particulars of the estates and allowances were as follows:

	Inventories.				Allowances.		
	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Sir John Fellows, sub governor	243,096	00	06		10,000	00	0
Mr. Charles Joye, deputy-gov.	40,105	02	00		5,000	00	0
Mr. Astell	27,750	19	08	3/4	5,000	00	0
Sir John Blunt	183,349	10	08	3/4	1,000	00	0
Sir Lambert Blackwell	83,529	17	11		10,000	00	0
Sir Robert Chaplin	45,875	14	05		10,000	00	0
Sir William Chapman	39,161	06	08	1/2	10,000	00	0
Mr. Chester	140,372	15	06		10,000	00	0
Mr. Child	52,437	19	01		10,000	00	0
Mr. Delaport	17,151	04	06		10,000	00	0
Mr. Eyles	34,329	16	07		20,000	00	0
Mr. Edmondson	5,365	00	00		3,000	00	0
Mr. Gibbon	106,543	05	06		10,000	00	0
Mr. Gore	38,936	15	05		20,000	00	0
Mr. Hawes	40,031	00	02	1/4	31	00	2
Sir William Hammond	22,707	04	02		10,000	00	0
Mr. Horsey	19,962	05	03		10,000	00	0
Mr. Holditch	39,527	10	04		5,000	00	0
Sir Theodore Janssen	243,244	05	11		50,000	00	0
Sir Jacob Jacobson	11,481	04	00		11,000	00	0
Mr. Ingram	16,795	00	00		12,000	00	0
Sir John Lambert	72,508	01	05		5,000	00	0
Sir Harcourt Masters	11,814	12	03	1/2	5,000	00	0
Mr. Morley	1,869	10	03		1,800	00	0
Mr. Page	34,817	12	03		10,000	00	0
Mr. Raymond	64,373	06	03		30,000	00	0
Mr. Read	117,297	16	00		10,000	00	0
Mr. Reynolds	18,368	15	02		14,000	00	0
Mr. Sawbridge	77,254	01	08		5,000	00	0
Mr. Tillard	19,175	14	04		15,000	00	0
Mr. Turner	881	17	46		800	00	0
Mr. Surman, deputy-cashier	121,321	10	09		5,000	00	0
Mr. Grigsby	31,687	06	00		2,000	00	0

Some alterations were afterwards made in these allowances. Mr. Astell had 10,000 *l.* instead of 5,000 *l.* Sir John Blunt 5000 *l.* instead of 1,000 *l.* Sir Lambert Blackwell 15,000 *l.* instead of 10,000 *l.* and Mr. Hawes 5,000 *l.* instead of 31 *l.* A motion was made, to reduce Sir Theodore Janssen's allowance to 30,000 *l.* but it was rejected.

When

When the motion was made in the house of commons for joining Mr. Aislabie in the same bill with the directors, his friends represented the hardship of putting a man of his eminence on the same level with them, and the danger of such a president: But it was to no purpose, for the motion was approved. Mr. Aislabie, when the bill was depending in the house of lords, petitioned to be heard by his council. He was himself heard at their bar, and made two very long and eloquent speeches in his defence, but they met with more applause than success, for the bill passed as sent up by the commons. Geo. I. 1721.

After these proceedings against the managers of the South-Sea scheme, the commons, with the same moderation and wisdom, applied themselves to repair the mischiefs that scheme had produced, and at several times came to the following resolutions: Resolutions in favour of the South-Sea sufferers.

I. That, for the re-establishing of public credit, relief be given to the South-Sea company, with regard to the payment of the 4,156,306 l. and the four years and half's purchase on the annuities and other national debts, the company giving such consideration to the proprietors, as the house shall think proper.

II. That, in order to put an end to all disputes between the company and the proprietors of the redeemable funds, and of the second, third, and fourth money-subscriptions, who have stock allowed them at 400 l. per cent. with the Midsummer dividend, an addition of 33 l. 6 s. 8 d. be given to the proprietors by the company.

III. That the seven millions, payable to the public by the company, be remitted so, as, from the 24th of June 1722, two millions of the stock be annihilated, and a proportionable part of their annuity or yearly fund, from that time, cease.

IV. That the second subscription of the irredeemables be made equal to the first, by an addition of stock at 150 l. per cent.

V. That all the stock belonging to the company, which, after the proposed distribution, shall remain undisposed of, shall be divided among the proprietors.

VI. That such persons as have borrowed money of the company upon South-Sea stock, or upon subscription-receipts, shall, upon payment of 100 l. per cent. be discharged from all future demands.

VII. That all contracts for the sale or purchase of subscriptions or stock of the South-Sea company, or any other, which

Geo. I. 1721. which ſhall be unperformed before the 29th of September next, be entered in books before the 1ſt of November next, or elſe be void.

VIII. That no ſpecial bail be required for any action brought upon any contract, ſince the 1ſt of December 1719, for the ſale or purchaſe of any ſubſcription or ſtock.

IX. That no execution be awarded, or any judgment obtained in any ſuch action, till the end of the ſeſſion of parliament, which ſhall be next after the 29th of September enſuing.

X. That all contracts for the ſale, or purchaſe of any ſubſcription or ſtock, unperformed before the 29th of September next, where the ſeller, or the perſon on whoſe behalf ſuch contract was made, was not, at the time of ſuch contract, or within a time to be limited, actually poſſeſſed of or intitled to ſuch ſubſcription or ſtock, ſhall be declared null and void.

With theſe reſolutions, the commons preſented to the king an addreſs, demonſtrating both the neceſſity and wiſdom of their proceedings, and which deſerves to be inſerted at large:

'We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the commons of Great-Britain in parliament aſſembled, being ſenſibly affected with the miſery and calamities, that have befallen great numbers of your majeſty's faithful ſubjects, occaſioned by the heavy loſſes they have ſuſtained, from the fatal execution of the South-Sea ſcheme; and taking into our ſerious conſideration the low ſtate of public and private credit, which it ſeems impoſſible to us ſhould ever revive under the preſent uncertain and unſettled poſture of affairs, have come to ſeveral reſolutions, which we humbly beg leave to lay before your majeſty.

When we firſt entered upon the conſideration of this extenſive and perplexed affair, we thought it moſt adviſeable to leave every man's property to be determined by due courſe of law, and were of opinion, that no relief or abatement could properly be preſcribed or given, but from the South-Sea company. But, the diſcontents of the people daily increaſing, and the uncertain and doubtful events, that threatened very great and valuable properties, creating ſuch infinite anxieties and diſſatisfaction, as had a moſt fatal and general influence upon all public and private credit, the interpoſition of parliament became unavoidable, and we found ourſelves under a neceſſity

neceſſity of reſuming the conſideration of this nice and intri- Geo. I.
cate matter, and to endeavour to remove, as far as poſſible, 1721.
the chief and greateſt inconveniencies.

The greateſt difficulty in remedying theſe miſchiefs ſeemed to ariſe from the ſeveral contending intereſts engaged in the South-Sea company, which made it impoſſible to give relief to ſome but at the expence of others: And as all the new proprietors, as well thoſe concerned in the public funds, as the other adventurers, were equally impoſed upon by the artifices of the late directors, and equally drawn in by their own too great credulity and deſire of gain; to have diſcharged any particular ſett had been not only an injuſtice to the reſt, but, by diſſolving the whole ſyſtem, had involved them in utter ruin, which made a diſtribution of loſſes, and ſome abatement to all, abſolutely neceſſary. It was indeed very much to be wiſhed, that ſuch eaſe could have been given to the proprietors of the public debts, as would have made their property as valuable to them, as they had enjoyed it for many years: But, as they had voluntarily conſented to take ſtock at ſome rate or other, even at the time when they ſaw the ſtock raiſed to the higheſt pitch, the giving ſtock at one and the ſame price to them and all others, that were moſt immediately concerned, make the proviſion as juſt and equitable, as the nature of the thing will admit; it being impracticable, ſo far to reconcile the different intereſts in this general concern, as to make the conditions of thoſe equal, that had engaged themſelves at different rates, and upon unequal terms.

The great and principal miſchiefs aroſe from ſeveral concurring circumſtances; from the hard terms of moſt of the proprietors, occaſioned by the high prices at which they had purchaſed ſtock, or the exceſſive rates, at which, as well the proprietors of public debts, as the money-ſubſcribers, had obliged themſelves to take ſtock; from the demand of above ſeven millions, payable to the public, which could only be raiſed out of the properties of thoſe, that were already too great ſufferers, and which rendered the company incapable of giving them any further eaſe or relief; from the diſputes and conteſts at law, which were preparing to be carried on, not only between the company and the ſubſcribers of the redeemable funds, but between infinite numbers of private perſons, engaged in contracts for the ſale and purchaſe of ſtock and ſubſcriptions; from the impoſſibility of the money-ſubſcribers making any farther payments; from the great loſs the company had ſuſtained by the late directors, having lent

Geo. I. 1721. out above eleven millions of the company's money, without any, or without ſufficient ſecurity; and from the very little proſpect of recovering any conſiderable part thereof; without which it was impoſſible for the company to comply with the demand of the public, but at the infinite expence and inſupportable loſs of all their adventurers, which muſt have proved deſtructive to the trade and credit of the kingdom.

Theſe conſiderations induced us to come to the foregoing reſolutions; being, as we conceive, the moſt proper means to give relief to ſuch of their proprietors, as moſt wanted and deſerved it; to put an end to all diſputes at law; and to fix, ſettle, and aſcertain the ſeveral properties and intereſts of all perſons concerned with the South-Sea company; to deliver infinite numbers of your majeſty's good ſubjects from the apprehenſion of vexatious law-ſuits and proſecutions, and from the farther demand of ſuch exceſſive ſums of money, as muſt ſink and depreſs all public and private credit.

And as the greateſt miſchiefs, which we now ſo juſtly complain of, have ariſen from the unwarrantable methods uſed by the late directors of the South-Sea company, in ſelling and diſpoſing of ſuch part of their increaſed capital ſtock, as belonged to the company; to remove ſuch a foundation of ſtock-jobbing; and to prevent the like fatal conſequences for the future, we thought it neceſſary to take care, that all the increaſed capital ſtock belonging to the company, which, after the propoſed diſtribution is made, ſhall remain undiſpoſed of, be divided among all the proprietors of the company, in proportion to their ſeveral and reſpective intereſts.

Theſe reſolutions, if paſſed into a law, and duly put in execution, we humbly hope will tend very much to the re-eſtabliſhing of public credit, to the quieting of the minds of your majeſty's ſubjects, and contribute to the eaſe and relief of great numbers, though not ſufficient to give ſatisfaction to, or repair the loſſes of all that are unhappily involved in the preſent calamity.

But, as the antient uſage and eſtabliſhed rules of parliament make it impracticable for us to prepare bills for the royal aſſent, during the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, for ſome of the purpoſes contained in our reſolutions, we have humbly preſumed to lay the ſame before your majeſty for your royal conſideration; not doubting but that your majeſty will, out of your great wiſdom and accuſtomed grace and goodneſs to your people, as ſoon as the public and private bills, now

&c.

depending in parliament, ſhall be diſpatched, give us an early opportunity of perfecting this great and neceſſary work.' Geo. I. 1721.

The king returned for anſwer; 'That he had ſuch an intire confidence in the parliament's duty and affection to him; and their zeal for the public ſervice; that he ſhould very readily comply with what they deſired, and would ſoon give them opportunity of doing what they propoſed for ſettling and eſtabliſhing the credit of the kingdom.'

The next day being the 29th of July, the king came to the houſe of peers, and, paſſing the bills that were ready, the lord chancellor prorogued the parliament for two days only, to the laſt of July, when the king came again to the houſe of lords, and made the following ſpeech: A prorogation of two days only. The parliament meets again.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"THE occaſion of my calling you together again, ſo ſuddenly, is to give you an opportunity of reſuming "the conſideration of the ſtate of public credit.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"The progreſs, that you made in this affair during the "laſt ſeſſion, laid ſuch a foundation of this neceſſary work, "that the world is fully appriſed of what is reaſonably to be "hoped for at this preſent conjuncture.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I muſt recommend to you, all poſſible diſpatch, and am "perſuaded, that at this ſeaſon of the year your deliberation "will be confined to what is abſolutely neceſſary upon this "extraordinary occaſion."

Purſuant to this ſhort ſpeech, the commons came again to their former reſolution, and ordered a bill to be brought in under the title of, 'a bill for making proviſions to reſtore 'public credit, which ſuffered by the frauds and miſmanagements of the late South-Sea directors and others.' An act in favour of the South-Sea ſufferers.

This bill was formed upon the forementioned reſolutions, and it may here be obſerved, that the whole capital ſtock, at the end of the year 1720, amounted to above 37,800,000l. and the ſtock, allotted to all the proprietors in their ſeveral ſhapes, did not amount to 24,500,000l. The remaining capital ſtock, being about 13,300,000l. belonged to the Remarks on the act.

Geo. I. 1721. company in their corporate capacity, and was the profit arising from the execution of the South-Sea ſcheme, and out of which the ſeven millions was to be paid to the public.

When this ſcheme was blown up, and the calamities and ruin attending numberleſs families appeared, the parliament, in favour of the unhappy ſufferers, by the preſent act directed ſeveral additions to be made to the ſtock of the proprietors out of the ſtock poſſeſſed by the company, in their own right, and made a particular diſtribution of ſtock, which amounted to above 2,200,000l. and upon remitting five millions of the ſeven, that was to be paid to the public, annihilated two millions of their capital, which was inſiſting upon the payment of two millions: Then they enacted, that, after theſe diſtributions, the remaining capital ſtock ſhould be divided among all the proprietors, which came to 33l. 6s. 8d. per cent. and this took from the company above 8,900,000l.

There was then due, and owing to the company, above eleven millions for money lent by them on ſtock unredeemed, and of this the parliament diſcharged all the debtors to the company upon paying 10l. per cent. (which ſome did comply with, and others refuſed) and the loſs to the company was upon this article above 6,900,000l.

This act gave ſome relief to the ſufferers, and the cries and lamentations of undone multitudes were leſs heard, but the proprietors of the ſtock loudly complained of the two millions taken from them: Upon which (as will hereafter be related) the parliament, in 1723, revived the two millions that had been annihilated, and directed it to be diſtributed among the proprietors, which made an addition of 6l. 5s. to every man's capital.

Petitions and Pamphlets againſt the South-Sea directors and others.

Whilſt the affair of the South-Sea was depending in parliament, petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs, were ſent up, crying for juſtice, and pamphlets were daily publiſhed, exaſperating the minds of the people againſt the South-Sea directors and their abettors. But the loudeſt cries for juſtice were contained in letters directed to the author of the London Journal, and ſuppoſed to have been moſtly penned by Mr. Gordon, under the borrowed name of Cato (a).

The

(a) A committee was appointed to inquire into the authors, printers, and publiſhers of ſeditious libels. They ſent for Mr. Peele, publiſher of the London Journal, and for the reputed author of the letters, but they both kept out of the way. Miſt, the printer and publiſher of a Weekly Journal, was,

The affairs of the South-Sea being thus ſettled, the company were ſoon in condition to ſatisfy their engagements with the public. On the 1ſt of September a general court was held, which Sir John Eyles, the ſub-governor, opened with a ſpeech, ſetting forth the regulations of the parliament, without which the directors would have been involved in difficulties inſuperable, and confuſions without end. He enlarged upon his majeſty's care of their intereſts in the late treaties with Spain, and upon the advantages that might be gained by the Aſſiento Contract, to which end the directors were fitting out the Royal George, whoſe cargo amounting to 280,000l. was provided. He acquainted them with the intention of carrying on a trade hitherto not meddled with by the company, the Greenland trade, ſo beneficial to Holland and Hamburgh. He then told them, that the forfeited eſtates of the late directors, and the 10l. per cent. on the borrowed ſtock, with ſome other particulars, were abundantly ſufficient for diſcharging the debts of the company, and maintaining the credit of their bonds: That therefore the directors had diſcharged part of the bonds due at Chriſtmas, and hoped to give a ſpeedy determination to the reſt, that ſo their credit might be eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid foot: That the court of directors had alſo reſolved to divide (if thought fit) 3l. 6s. 8d. in ſtock upon the preſent capital. That, as all the remaining ſtock was, by act of parliament, to be divided equally among the proprietors, the directors had, in great meaſure, executed that appointment, amounting, upon a calculation, to 33l. 6s. 8d. upon every 100l. capital. After this, he mentioned the company's being empowered, by a late act, to ingraft part of their ſtock into the capitals of the Bank and Eaſt-India; but, as the act for reſtoring the public credit had adjuſted the concerns of the company upon a new foot, he only barely mentioned the ingraftment.

This ſpeech met with applauſe, not only in the court, but from the public; and the matters contained in it were agreed

Geo. I. 1721.

General court of the South-Sea, Sept. 1.

was, for reflections caſt on the king for his interpoſitions on behalf of the Proteſtants in the Palatinate, ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory, to pay a fine of fifty pounds, and after three months impriſonment to give ſecurity for his good behaviour ſeven years. His Journal was carried on under the title of Fog's, and two months after (May 27) was cenſured again by the commons as a traiterous libel, tending to alienate the affections of his majeſty's ſubjects, and excite rebellion. However, the Journal continued many years afterwards.

Geo. I. 1721.

to, except the affair of the ingraftment, which was let reſt. At this court it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the directors ſhould take the moſt effectual meaſures to oblige the Bank to ſtand to their contract, for taking ſtock at 400 l. per cent. in lieu of the 3,775,000 l. the company was to have paid them; and the contract was ordered to be regiſtered.

During theſe proceedings concerning the affairs of the South-Sea company, the following tranſactions paſſed in the parliament.

Hell-fire club.

There was formed (at leaſt, it was pretended ſo) a ſcandalous ſociety at London, with the ſhocking name of the Hell-Fire-Club. The members whereof were guilty of the like extravagancies with the Mohocks, formerly mentioned. Several perſons of quality, particularly the duke of Wharton, were marked out as belonging to this club. The king, being informed of their wicked proceedings, publiſhed a proclamation (April 29) againſt blaſphemous and ſcandalous clubs, declaring, he was determined to ſhew all marks of diſpleaſure to any, who even lay under the ſuſpicion of ſuch deſtructive practices. He gave orders alſo to the officers of his houſhold, to make ſtrict inquiry, whether any of his ſervants were guilty of ſuch horrid impieties. The ſame day this order was given, the earl of Nottingham, who had lately anſwered Mr. Whiſton's tenets about the Trinity (b), took this

(b) About the latter end of March, a full convocation of the univerſity of Oxford unanimouſly reſolved, That the ſolemn thanks of the univerſity ſhould be returned to the earl of Nottingham, for his moſt noble defence of the Chriſtian Faith, contained in his anſwer to Mr. Whiſton's letter to him, 'concerning the eternity of the 'Son of God, and of the Holy 'Ghoſt.' It was alſo agreed, that Dr. Shippen, the vice-chancellor, with their repreſentatives, Mr. Bromley and Dr. Clarke, ſhould wait upon the earl with their thanks. The example of the univerſity was followed by the clergy, at the viſitations held for the dioceſe of Oxford, at Witney, Chipping-Norton, and Henley. The archdeacon of Hereford, and forty-five of the clergy, ſigned an addreſs of thanks to the earl, wherein they hinted, that he had aſſerted the Convocation to be a part of the parliament. The ſame was done likewiſe by the clergy of Cheſter and Shropſhire. About the ſame time Mr. Joſeph Hall, mace-bearer to the king, and juſtice of the peace, was ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory, to pay 200 l. fine, to lie three months in priſon, and give ſecurity alſo for ſeven years, for his 'ſober' reply to 'Mr. Higgs's merry argument 'for the Tritheiſtical Doctrine 'of the Trinity.'

In

his occasion to complain, in the house of lords, of the growth of atheism, profaneness, and immorality. Upon this, Dr. Verney, lord Willoughby of Brooke, dean of Windsor, brought in a bill for suppressing of blasphemy and profaneness. It contained several articles, which had little relation to the practices complained of, and was chiefly designed to secure the belief of the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, and restrain the liberty granted by the laws of the former session to the non-conformists. The substance of it was: Geo. I. 1721.

A bill against blasphemy and profaneness.

I. If any one spoke or writ against the Being of God, the Divinity of Jesus Christ, or the Holy Ghost, or the Doctrine of the Trinity, as set forth in the thirty-nine articles, or the Truth of the Christian Religion, or the Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures, he should, upon conviction, be imprisoned many months, unless he should, within such a time, publickly renounce his error, in a form prescribed.

II. If any preacher in a separate congregation should deny any of the fundamental articles of the Christian Religion, he should be deprived of the benefit of the act of Toleration.

III. The archbishops in their provinces, and every bishop in his diocese, should be authorized to summon any person in holy orders, to appear before, and subscribe the declaration aboyementioned, and, upon refusal, such person should be incapable to hold any ecclesiastical benefice.

IV. The justices at their quarter-sessions are authorized, in like manner, to summon any dissenting preacher, and, upon his refusal to subscribe the declaration of Faith, he should be deprived of the benefit of the act of Toleration.

At the second reading of this bill (May 2) all the lords about London being summoned to attend, the archbishop moved to have it committed. Upon which the lord Onslow

In May, the king published directions to the archbishops and bishops, for the preservation of unity in the church, and the purity of the Christian Faith, particularly in the doctrine of the Trinity. They were required to see That no preacher whatsoever, in his sermon, or lecture, do presume to deliver any other doctrine, concerning the great and fundamental truths of our most holy religion, and particularly concerning the blessed Trinity, than what are contained in the Holy Scriptures, and are agreeable to the three creeds, and the thirty-nine articles of religion. All persons denying one of the Persons in the Trinity to be God, &c. were to be incapable of any office, and to suffer imprisonment three years.

Geo. I. 1721.

ſaid: 'He was as much againſt blaſphemy, and for promoting religion, as it is profeſſed in the Church of England, as any body; but he could not be for any law, that was for perſecution, of which nature he took this bill to be; and therefore he moved, that it might be thrown out.' He was ſeconded by the duke of Wharton, who ſaid, 'He was not inſenſible of the common talk and opinion of the town concerning himſelf; and therefore he was glad of this opportunity to juſtify himſelf, by declaring, he was far from being a patron of blaſphemy, or any enemy to religion; but, on the other hand, he could not be for this bill, becauſe he conceived it to be repugnant to the holy ſcripture.' Then, taking an old family Bible out of his pocket, he quoted and read ſeveral paſſages of the Epiſtles of St. Peter and St. Paul; concluding, That the bill might be thrown out. He was ſupported by the duke of Argyle, and the earls of Sunderland and Stay, the lord Townſhend, and earl Cowper. The earl of Peterborough ſaid, 'Though he was for a parliamentary king, yet he did not deſire to have a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary religion: And, if the houſe were for ſuch a one, he would go to Rome, and endeavour to be choſen a cardinal; for he had rather ſit in the conclave, than with their lordſhips upon thoſe terms.' Dr. Kennet, biſhop of Peterborough, ſpoke likewiſe on the ſame ſide, and ſaid, 'That neither himſelf, nor, he hoped, any of that bench, would be executioners of ſuch a law, which ſeemed to tend to the ſetting up of an inquiſition.' On the other hand, the earl of Nottingham, the lord Bathurſt, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Litchfield and Coventry; and ſome others, ſpoke for the bill; as did likewiſe the lord Trevor. One of theſe having ſaid, 'That he verily believed, the preſent calamity, occaſioned by the South-Sea project, was a judgment of God on the blaſphemy and profaneneſs the nation was guilty of:' The lord Onſlow replied, 'That noble peer muſt then have been a great ſinner; for he heard, he had loſt conſiderably by the South-Sea.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the bill was put off to a long day, by a majority of 60 voices againſt 31.

Debate about the Subſidy to Sweden.

The ſupplies were, contrary to cuſtom, granted very late, and not with the uſual readineſs. The king, not to increaſe the ill humour, had not mentioned the ſubſidy he was obliged, by the laſt year's treaty, to give Sweden for her ſupport againſt Ruſſia. However, on the 16th of June, he thought proper to ſend the following meſſage to the houſe of commons:

'His

'His majeſty, having taken the firſt opportunity, upon the death of the late king of Sweden, to renew the ancient alliances between this kingdom and Sweden, and having ſtipulated by a treaty to pay a ſubſidy to that crown, hath ordered that treaty to be laid before the houſe of commons; and hopes from their known zeal and affection for the Proteſtant religion, and the true intereſt of their country, that they will enable him to make good the engagements he has entered into upon this occaſion. Geo. I. 1721.

His majeſty being informed, that two ſhips called the Briſtol Merchant and Turky Merchant (now lying under quarentine) did arrive from Cyprus, and other parts of Turky, infected with the plague, and have cotton wool and other goods on board, which are dangerous to ſpread the infection; and conceiving it neceſſary for the preſervation of the health of his ſubjects, that theſe ſhips and their ladings be burnt and deſtroyed, and that a reaſonable ſatisfaction be given to the owners, hath, by the advice of his privy-council, cauſed the value thereof to be computed by his majeſty's officers, and ordered thoſe computations to be laid before the houſe of commons, that proviſion may be made for ſatisfying the ſame.'

This meſſage occaſioned a long debate. Mr. Shippen, Sir William Windham, Sir Joſeph Jekyll, the lord Molesworth, Mr. Butler, and ſome others, deſired to know, 'Whether we were to give 72,000 l. (for that was the ſubſidy) to Sweden, beſides the maintaining a great fleet, with ſix thouſand ſeamen, in the Baltic, which they thought a ſufficient charge to the nation, without paying ſo great a ſubſidy? Urging, that, before this laſt treaty with Sweden, there had been a rupture between the two nations, and hoſtilities, and great depredations commmitted by the Swediſh privateers on our merchants; ſo that, before any ſubſidy be given to that crown, accounts ought firſt to be ſtated and ſettled, and it might appear upon the balance, that Sweden is indebted to us.' To this it was anſwered by Mr. Walpole and his brother, Mr. Lechmere, the lord Barrington, and ſome others, 'That the ſubſidy allowed to Sweden by this laſt treaty, and the ſquadron ſent to their aſſiſtance, was no more than had been ſtipulated by former engagements; but that the ſubſidy was not like to be demanded any more, the preliminaries of the peace between the czar of Muſcovy and the crown of Sweden being in a manner ſettled. Neither did the king deſire any new tax for it, the land and malt-tax being ſufficient to anſwer all this year's expence.' Mr. Walpole

Geo. I. 1721. pole added, 'He was extremely glad, he could at the ſame time acquaint the houſe, that his majeſty's endeavours to procure a general peace had been ſo ſucceſsful, that an advantageous treaty with Spain was actually agreed on and ſigned.' The lord Moleſworth obſerved, 'That he would go as far as any man to maintain and ſupport the honour and dignity of the crown of Great-Britain; but that, on the other hand, he was not for ſquandering away unneceſſarily the ſmall remainder of the wealth of the nation. That by our late conduct we were become the allies of the whole world, and the bubbles of all our allies; but, when we have occaſion for our allies, we are obliged to pay them well:' And to that purpoſe he inſtanced in the Dutch troops, that came over to our aſſiſtance in the rebellion in 1715. He added, 'That, as to our alliances with Sweden, it was a matter of great intricacy and nicety, becauſe the treaties, which England has in divers times made with Sweden, are partly contradictory.' He then entered into a detail of the treaties of Roſchield and Travendal made in the reigns of king Charles II. and William III. 'That the engagements lately entered into with the crown of Sweden were likewiſe, in ſome meaſure, contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting with Denmark; particularly as to the ſecuring to the duke of Holſtein the duchy of Sleſwick; and directly oppoſite to the meaſures formerly concerted with the czar of Muſcovy, in order to engage him to check the fierceneſs and ambition of the late king of Sweden: And therefore, in order to engage the czar to yield what he had gained, it were but juſt, that the king of Pruſſia ſhould give up Stetin, and the elector of Hanover, Bremen and Verden. He owned, that the diſtreſſed condition, to which the Swedes had been reduced, was really worthy of compaſſion: But that, on the other hand, it muſt be conſidered, they had been, in great meaſure, the authors of their own misfortunes, by their tame ſubmiſſion to a deſpotic tyrannical prince, and by ſacrificing their whole ſubſtance to enable him to carry on his unjuſt, raſh, and ambitious deſigns; and that any nation, who followed their example, deſerved the ſame fate. To this purpoſe he took notice of the hard uſage of the ſubjects of Mechlenburg from their prince, which he inſinuated to have been one of the cauſes of the late rupture with the czar; but that, after all, England ought not to intermeddle with the affairs of the empire. That the getting naval ſtores for our ſhipping was the main advantage we reaped from our trading in the Baltic: And he owned, that hemp was a very neceſſary commodity, particularly at

this

this juncture; but that, if due encouragement were given to some of our plantations in America, we might be ſupplied from thence at a much cheaper rate than from Sweden and Norway.' Mr. Lechmere diſtinguiſhed himſelf alſo on this occaſion; but the ſubſidy was at laſt granted by a majority of 197 againſt 136. A ſupply was alſo given to ſatisfy the owners of the ſhips that were to be burnt, on account of their being ſuſpected to be infectious. Geo. I. 1721.

A tax on the civil liſt revenues.

Notwithſtanding this warm debate about the Swediſh ſubſidy, the king ſent, about three Weeks after, another meſſage to the commons, relating to the debts of the civil liſt.

'His majeſty finds it neceſſary to acquaint his loyal houſe of commons with the difficulties he labours under, by reaſon of debts contracted in his civil government; which, being computed at Lady-Day laſt, do amount to more than 550,000l.

If the proviſion, made by an act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament for diſcharging this debt, had not hitherto proved in a very great degree ineffectual, his majeſty had not been under a neceſſity of applying again to parliament upon this occaſion. But being reſolved to cauſe a retrenchment to be made of his civil liſt expences for the future, and finding, that ſuch a retrenchment cannot well be effected, without diſcharging the preſent arrears, has ordered the accounts thereof to be laid before the houſe, and hopes he may be impowered to raiſe ready money for that purpoſe on the civil liſt revenues, which, to avoid laying any new burden on his people, his majeſty propoſes ſhall be replaced to the civil liſt, and reimburſed by a deduction to be made out of the ſalaries and wages of all officers, and the penſions, and other payments from the crown.' After the reading of this meſſage, Mr. Shippen ſtood up, and made a long ſpeech, wherein he took notice of 'this new and unuſual method of aſking for money, not from the throne, and at the beginning of a ſeſſion, as it had always been the cuſtom in the former reigns; but now, by a meſſage, towards the end of the ſeſſion, when moſt of the members were gone home. Look round the houſe, Gentlemen, ſaid he, and ſee how few members are preſent, when a buſineſs of this conſequence is to be debated.' But, beſides the unſeaſonableneſs of the time, he obſerved, 'That this meſſage was no leſs extraordinary as to another circumſtance; for, whereas the ways and means of raiſing ſupplies were always left to the commons, here, not only the ſum, but the way of raiſing it, was pointed out to them, which was making the houſe a perfect parliament of Paris.

That

Geo. I. 1721. That, if things were brought to that paſs, it might be eaſy for any king, whenever he thought fit, to make himſelf arbitrary and abſolute maſter of our liberties and properties; concluding, he was ſure, that the gentleman who had adviſed the aſking for ſuch a ſum in that manner, would have been of a quite contrary mind two years ago; but that it was uſual for men's judgments to alter as their intereſts lead them. Mr. Shippen was anſwered by Mr. Walpole, who ſhewed the occaſion and the reaſonableneſs of the king's meſſage, the tenderneſs and regard he expreſſed in it for the eaſe of his ſubjects, and the neceſſity of complying with his deſires. He was ſeconded by Mr. Lowndes, who ſaid, that ſix-pence in the pound on all the civil liſt funds would anſwer the purpoſe, But Mr. Pulteney, and Sir Joſeph Jekyll were of opinion, that it would not do, and therefore moved for one ſhilling in the pound; adding, that, if this were too much for the preſent occaſion, the overplus might go towards the diſcharge of the public debts. Mr. Sloper agreed with them, and upon this laſt conſideration moved for one ſhilling and ſix-pence in the pound; and that the tax might extend to all military officers, whoſe pay was above ten ſhillings a day. But this motion was dropped, and after ſome other debates it was at laſt agreed, that 500,000 l. ſhould be raiſed for the debts of the civil liſt, by a deduction of ſix-pence in the pound out of ſalaries, wages, penſions, and other payments from the crown. For this purpoſe a bill paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. At the ſame time paſſed alſo an act for a general pardon.

The parliament is prorogued, Aug. 10.

The act for reſtoring public credit was paſſed the 10th of Auguſt, when the king came to the houſe of peers, and concluding the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech:

The king's ſpeech.

'My lords and gentlemen,

'I Am glad, that the buſineſs of this, and the former ſeſſion, is at length brought to ſuch a period, that I have now an opportunity of giving you ſome receſs, after the great pains you have taken in the ſervice of the public.

'The common calamity, occaſioned by the wicked execution of the South-Sea ſcheme, was become ſo very great before your meeting, that the providing proper remedies for it was very difficult. But it is a great comfort to me to obſerve, that public credit now begins to recover, which gives me the greateſt hopes, that it will be intirely reſtored, when

when all the provisions, you have made for that end, shall be duly put in execution. Geo. I. 1721.

'I have great compassion for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty; and have readily given my assent to such bills, as you have presented to me, for punishing the authors of our late misfortunes; and for obtaining the restitution and satisfaction due to those, who have been injured by them, in such manner, as you judged proper. I was at the same time willing and desirous, by my free and general pardon, to give ease and quiet to the rest of my subjects, many of whom may, in such a general infatuation, have been unwarily drawn in to transgress the laws.

'Gentlemen of the house of commons,

'I return you my hearty thanks for the supplies you have granted for the current service of this year, and particularly for your inabling me to discharge the debts and arrears on the civil list, and to make good the engagements I was under for procuring peace in the North, which, in all probability, will now very soon be concluded. These instances of your faithful endeavours to support the honour and dignity of the crown at home and abroad, are fresh marks of your zeal and affection to my person and government.

'My Lords and gentlemen,

'I take this opportunity of acquainting you, that we have renewed all our treaties of commerce with Spain, upon the same foot as they were settled before the late war, which must necessarily prove an immediate and valuable advantage to the trade and manufactures of this kingdom.

'I earnestly recommend to you all, in your several stations, to suppress profaneness and immorality, and to preserve the peace and quiet of the kingdom.

'You are all sensible that the discontents occasioned by the great losses, that many of my subjects have sustained, have been industriously raised and inflamed by malicious and seditious libels: But I make no doubt, but that, by your prudent conduct in your several countries, all the enemies of my government, who flattered themselves they should be able to take advantage from our misfortunes, and blow up the sufferings of my people into popular discontent and dis-

'affection,

Geo. I. 1721. 'affection, will be diſappointed in their wicked deſigns and 'expectations.'

The zeal of the parliament deſerved the praiſes beſtowed by the king, for having in great meaſure reſtored the public credit, when under ſuch difficulties, and his thanks, not only for the ſupplies for the ſervice of the year, but for the diſcharge of the civil liſt debts, and the ſubſidy to Sweden. The king was ſenſible of the injurious ſuſpicions raiſed on his account with regard to the South-Sea company: The emperor's refuſal to deliver up Mr. Knight, and the favour ſhewn to the directors and their abettors, were conſidered as his work, and greatly increaſed the number of the diſaffected. Hence it was that he ſo ſtrongly expreſſed his apprehenſions, that the enemies to his government would endeavour to blow up the ſufferings of the people into diſcontent, that the members of parliament might be the more zealous to diſappoint their deſigns.

After the ſpeech the parliament was prorogued to the 19th of October.

During theſe proceedings, ſeveral changes had been made in the miniſtry. Mr. Walpole (as has been ſaid) was made firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, and chancellor of the Exchequer (c). The lords Townſhend and Carteret were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate. The earl of Ilay was made privy-ſeal of Scotland, and the earl of Bute a lord of the bedchamber.

Foreign affairs. Whilſt the parliament was employed in ſettling affairs at home, the king had continued his negotiations abroad, and ended them with ſucceſs.

Peace with Spain. On the 13th of June, N. S. the treaty of peace between Great-Britain and Spain was ſigned at Madrid. It contained only ſix articles, by which all the regulations with regard to commerce, agreed upon by the former treaties, were renewed; and both the contracting parties promiſed to execute it with the utmoſt ſincerity, and to renounce all interpretations, which had been made uſe of to reſtrain and to weaken

(c) The other commiſſioners of the treaſury were Bailie, Turner, Edgecomb, and Pelham. Mr. Horatio Walpole was made ſecretary of the treaſury: And Edward Carreret and Galfredus Walpole, Poſt-Maſters-General. Benjamin Mildmay, brother to the lord Fitzwalter, was made a commiſſioner of the exciſe, and Charles Stanhope, treaſurer of the chamber to the king. Hue Fortescue was called up to the houſe of lords, by the title of baron Clinton.

theſe

theſe conventions. They engaged to reſtore mutually all the effects ſeized and confiſcated on both ſides. His Britannic majeſty, in particular, was to reſtore all the Ships of the Spaniſh fleet, which had been taken by that of England, in the action near Sicily, with the guns, ſails, rigging, &c. in the ſame condition, in which they then were, or the value of them, if they were ſold. The deciſion of the other difficulties and pretenſions were referred to the congreſs of Cambray. It was ſtipulated likewiſe, that the publication of this treaty ſhould be deferred till the general peace, which was negotiating at Cambray, or ſome other agreement ſhould be made. It was, however, to take place immediately after its being ratified, and the letters of which ratification were to be exchanged in ſix weeks, or ſooner, if poſſible. To theſe was added a ſecret article, by which king George promiſed not to interfere any longer in the affairs of Italy, and the king of Spain made an abſolute ceſſion of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. Geo. I. 1721.

The ſame day another treaty was ſigned at Madrid, which was little expected: It was a defenſive alliance between Great-Britain, France, and Spain; by which they were to defend the dominions of each other, wherever ſituated, as they were fixed by the treaties of Utrecht, Baden, and London. Each of the allies was to furniſh him, who ſhould have occaſion for aſſiſtance, or be attacked, with 8000 foot, and 4000 horſe, or an equivalent in money and ſhips.

One deſign of this alliance was the maintenance and obſervation of the treaty, which was to be made at Cambray, in order to terminate the differences between the emperor and king of Spain.

'Their Britannic, moſt Chriſtian, and Catholic majeſties (ſaid the fifth article of this treaty) being entirely ſatisfied with the ſentiments, the duke of Parma has always ſhewn towards them, and being deſirous to give him marks of the ſingular eſteem and affection they have for him, promiſe and engage, by virtue of the preſent treaty, to grant him a particular protection for the preſervation of his territories and rights, and for the ſupport of his dignity; ſo that, if he ſhall be diſturbed, they will join their good offices and endeavours to obtain a juſt ſatisfaction; and, if that be refuſed, they will agree upon meaſures to procure it him by all other methods, which ſhall be in their power.'

The States-general were, on the firſt opportunity, to be invited to enter into this treaty; and it was promiſed to maintain the treaty of defenſive alliance, made at the Hague,

the

Geo. I. 1721. the 4th of January 1717, and that nothing ſhould be done either directly or indirectly, to the prejudice thereof.

Congreſs of Cambray fruitleſs.

The congreſs at Cambray, to which all the difficult points were referred, was at laſt opened. The ambaſſadors of England and France had the title of mediators, and were to terminate the numberleſs differences between the courts of Vienna and Madrid; but they could not ſucceed, the demands on both ſides being ſo oppoſite. The imperial miniſters talked in ſo high and deciſive a ſtrain, that there was no treating with them: 'All the pretenſions of their maſter were inconteſtable, and equity itſelf; to oppoſe or conteſt them, was attacking his ſacred majeſty.' It was thus they expreſſed themſelves, in ſpeaking of the pretenſions of the duke of Parma, who had inſiſted, That the emperor and empire had no right to exerciſe any ſuperiority over the duchies of Parma and Placentia. The imperial miniſters declared, 'They were amazed the duke of Parma ſhould have the aſſurance to draw up ſuch a memorial, and engage the mediators to preſent it to them. It violates (ſaid they) the reſpect due to his imperial majeſty, by denying, he has any ſovereignty over the duke. The mediators ſhould have ſuppreſſed ſuch unreaſonable pretenſions, which they neither could regard, nor had time to diſcuſs. If the duke had any juſt complaints to propoſe, and would repreſent them with reſpect to the imperial court, they would undoubtedly be treated there with equity.'

The mediators anſwered, that the terms uſed by the imperial miniſters were not very becoming between princes: That the memorial in queſtion could not, without cenſure, have been ſuppreſſed: That the duke of Parma had reaſon to apply to the congreſs for juſtice, and that he had not met with ſufficient encouragement, in his repreſentations to the court of Vienna, to addreſs himſelf thither again. To this it was added, that the negotiations had been always delayed, by continual obſtructions from the plenipotentiaries of the emperor.

With ſuch diſpoſitions, nothing was concluded, and never was congreſs more fruitleſs. To amuſe and ſurpriſe one another was the chief buſineſs; and, when they broke up, they were farther than ever from agreeing.

Peace between Ruſſia and Sweden.

After the peace with Spain, king George had the ſatisfaction to ſee the tranquillity of Europe reſtored, by a reconciliation between Sweden and Ruſſia. Though this was not done by his mediation, yet, it is certain, the aſſiſtance he had given Sweden, and the peace he had procured between that

that crown and thoſe of Pruſſia, Denmark, and Poland, had determined the czar to bound his pretenſions, and hearken to an accommodation. As the czar had no quarrel with France, he accepted the mediation of that crown, but abſolutely refuſed to hear of the mediation of Great-Britain. Geo. I. 1721.

Sweden was forced to yield up to the czar almoſt all his conqueſts, after the battle of Pultowa; as Livonia, Ingria, Eſtonia, part of Carelia, and of the territory of Wyburg, Ryga, Revel, Narva, &c. and, in return, the czar reſtored only part of Finland, with two millions of rix-dollars, promiſing not to concern himſelf with the regulations of their government. Treaty of Nieſtadt.

The czar included in the treaty the king and republic of Poland, and conſented alſo to the including of the king of Great-Britain, in ſuch ſort, that the differences between them ſhould be adjuſted in an amicable manner.

Theſe differences daily increaſed; and, if theſe princes had been neighbours, a war would certainly have enſued. Their enmity was in great meaſure perſonal. The czar's was founded upon the conduct of king George, who, whilſt only elector of Hanover, had entered into the views of the northern ſtates againſt Sweden, and, after reaping the fruit of that alliance, had declared, on all occaſions, againſt Ruſſia. Hence the czar always diſtinguiſhed the king of England from the elector of Hanover, and ſhewed all poſſible regard for the Engliſh, whilſt he endeavoured, by all methods, to annoy their king; and, perhaps he would have ſucceeded, had it not been for the death of Charles XII. That prince and the czar, how much ſoever they were offended with each other, were more ſo with king George, and were going to lay aſide or ſuſpend their reſentments, in order to be revenged. About the time of the king's laſt arrival from Hanover, Mr. Baſtugef, the czar's reſident at London, for ſome expreſſions in a memorial, was ordered to depart the kingdom in a fortnight. The czar, in revenge of this affront, took occaſion to publiſh a declaration (which was delivered to the Engliſh factory at Peterſburg, and printed in Holland) in order to raiſe diſcontents in England. The declaration was as follows: Perſonal enmity between king George and the czar.

Peterſburg, Jan. 29, 1720-21.

'It is notorious in what an unjuſt and injurious manner our reſident was ſent away from the court of England; which, having done us a great and ſenſible wrong, ought naturally to have engaged us to uſe repriſals, according to

Geo. I. 1721. what is practiſed every where elſe. But as we perceive that all this is done without any regard to the intereſt of England, and only in favour of the Hanoverian intereſt; for which the miniſters of Great-Britain not only neglect the friendſhip of foreign powers, but do not even ſpare their own country, which more nearly, and more ſenſibly concern them; we were unwilling that the Engliſh nation, which has no ſhare in that piece of injuſtice, ſhould ſuffer for it; and therefore we grant to them all manner of ſecurity and free liberty to trade in all our dominions.'

Theſe two princes, without mentioning their other qualities, had great talents for negotiation; but king George excelled; for, it muſt be owned, no prince could more wiſely improve any favourable circumſtances to diſconcert his enemy's projects.

Beſides theſe treaties, in which king George had ſo great an influence, there was one made with the Moors, and ſigned the 12th of Auguſt. Spain, being then at war with the Moors, loudly complained of the treaty, but without any effect.

Death of Clement XI. This year died pope Clement XI. His name was John Francis Albani, native of Urbino. He had ſate in the papal chair above twenty years. When he was cardinal, he was, for his abilities, courted by all the powers of Europe, and had a great hand in the will of king Charles II. of Spain. He was revengeful to the laſt degree, inflexible in his reſolutions, and rejected all advice. His greateſt policy was to keep princes at variance. He expreſſed great kindneſs for the pretender. When he found he was going to die, he ſent for the pretender, who being come, he told the cardinals then in his bed-chamber, that he wanted to ſpeak with him in private; but, one of them repreſenting, that it would redound moſt to his holineſs's honour to deliver his laſt thoughts to him in their preſence, the pope complied, and recommended to them the three following points:

1. To let the pretender reſide conſtantly in the palace which he had aſſigned him.

2. To continue the penſion granted to him, that he may be always enabled to ſupport the royal dignity, till he recover his kingdoms.

3. To oblige the ſucceſſor in the holy ſee, to aſſiſt the pretender in all things againſt the attempts of his enemies.

The

The cardinals assured the pope they would take care to perform the 1st and 3d articles; but that, as to the 2d, they would be inexcusable, if they should continue to exhaust the treasure of the church, which was by no means appropriated for the preservation of one prince alone, but for the defence of the Roman Catholic religion in general. To this the pope answered, that his successor might, with a very safe conscience, draw out sums from the treasury for the maintenance of the pretender, because he had been deprived of his dominions for the sake of the Catholic religion; moreover, the pretender himself made a very moving speech against the inhumanity of abandoning one that was so helpless: But the cardinals replied, That they would consider of it, and give their answer next day. The pope, acquiescing therewith, desired the cardinal d'Althan to engage the emperor to espouse the pretender's interest, and not to forsake him in the present juncture; but that cardinal begged to be excused, and shewed, that it was impossible to be done, not only on account of solemn treaty, but also by reason of the signal services which England did to his imperial majesty, in the late war against the Spaniards. Geo. I. 1721.

Clement XI. was succeeded by Michael Angelo, of the family of Conti, who took the name of Innocent XIII. in memory of pope Innocent III. the most worthy of all the popes chosen from among the cardinals of that family (a).

On the 15th of April, the princess of Wales was delivered of a son at Leicester-House, and, the next day the city of London having presented a congratulatory address, the king in his answer, said, 'I cannot omit taking this opportunity of assuring you, that I am truly concerned at the calamity brought upon you by the wicked management of the South-Sea company. I have, however, this comfort, that the report of any part of this misfortune cannot with the least justice be imputed to me. Nothing will give me more ease and satisfaction than the seeing you delivered from your present sufferings, your trade revived, and public credit re-established.' This declaration was thought to be necessary, by reason of the insinuations raised by the disaffected. The princess of Wales delivered of a son. April 15.

The young prince was christened the 2d of May: The godfathers were the king of Prussia and the duke of York, represented by the earl of Grantham and the lord Lumley.

(a) The family of Conti is one of the four chief families of Rome; the other three are those of Colonna, Orsino, and Savelli, which last is extinct.

Geo. I. 1721. The godmother was the queen of Pruſſia, repreſented by the ducheſs of Dorſet. The young prince was named William Auguſtus, the preſent duke of Cumberland.

Chapter of the Garter. The king held, on the 27th of March, a chapter of the order of the Garter, to fill up the vacancies occaſioned by the death of the dukes of Rutland and Buckingham (b). In their room were choſen Charles Fitzroy, duke of Grafton, and Henry Clinton, earl of Lincoln.

The parliament had but one ſeſſion left, ſince the ſeven years expired at Lady-Day next. It was propoſed in council to diſſolve the preſent, and call a new parliament; but it was repreſented by the majority, that it would be more expedient to hold another ſeſſion, as farther meaſures were to be taken towards a perfect reſtoration of the public credit, which another parliament might not ſo readily come into. It had been inſinuated, that a deſign was formed for the continuance of the parliament beyond the next ſeſſion; and ſo far believed, that ſeveral members of the common-council of London, demanded, in form, of the lord-mayor, that a council ſhould be ſummoned, in which it was intended to move for an addreſs to the king, to thank him for his great care of the trade and commerce with Spain, but principally to expreſs their hopes of his calling frequent and new parliaments. The lord-mayor, perceiving their intentions, refuſed to comply with their requeſt on various pretences. Upon this, they publiſhed an account of their proceedings, with the heads of their intended addreſs, under the artful title of "An apology for the citizens of London, for their not addreſ-

(b) John Sheffield, duke of Buckingham, died February 24, 1720-21. He had himſelf made the following epitaph, and ordered it to be engraven on his tomb: But it was not orthodox enough:

"Pro rege ſæpè; pro republicâ ſemper, dubius, non improbus vixi. Incertus nec perturbatus morior. Chriſtum veneror. In Deo confido æterno ac omnipotente. ENS ENTIUM MISERERE MEI."

He was made knight of the Garter by king Charles II. and lord chamberlain by his ſucceſſor: He was always in the oppoſition againſt king William, and made privy ſeal by queen Anne. Notwithſtanding his dying in a ſtate of uncertainty, as he owned in his epitaph, he had appeared very zealous for the Church. He left a ſon by a natural daughter of king James the Second, who are ſince both dead, and the family extinct.

This year, Sept. 15, died Matthew Prior, for whom a monument was erected in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

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"dreſſing his majeſty under the preſent circumſtances of af- Geo. I.
"fairs." 1721.

The plague raged this year in the ſouthern parts of France, particularly at Marſeilles. On this occaſion a proclamation was publiſhed, forbidding any perſon to come into England from any part of France, between the bay of Biſcay and Dunkirk, without certificates of health. The ſtreets were ordered to be paved and kept clean; and an act of parliament paſſed the laſt ſeſſion for prevention of infection, by building of peſt-houſes (to which the infected perſons, or healthy of an infected family, were to be removed) and by ordering trenches or lines to be drawn round any city, town, or place infected. Theſe precautions, appearing to ſome to be unreaſonable, cauſed great debates, as will hereafter be ſeen. Plague in France.

The parliament met on the day appointed, October 19, and the ſeſſion was opened with the following ſpeech from the throne: The laſt ſeſſion of the firſt parliament of King George.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I Acquainted you, when we parted laſt, with our having "renewed all our treaties of commerce with Spain; "ſince which, peace is happily reſtored in the North, by "the concluſion of the treaty between the czar and the king "of Sweden, and by that, which I have made with the "Moors, a great number of my ſubjects are delivered from "ſlavery; and all ſuch of them, as trade to thoſe parts of "the world, are, for the future, ſecured from falling under "that dreadful calamity.

"In this ſituation of affairs, we ſhould be extremely "wanting to ourſelves, if we neglected to improve the fa- "vourable opportunity, which this general tranquillity gives "us, of extending our commerce, upon which the riches, "and grandeur of this nation chiefly depend. It is very ob- "vious, that nothing would more conduce to the obtaining "ſo public a good, than to make the exportation of our own "manufactures, and the importation of the commodities, "uſed in the manufacturing of them, as practicable and eaſy "as may be. By this means the balance of trade may be "preſerved in our favour, our navigation increaſed, and "greater numbers of our poor employed.

"I muſt therefore recommend it to you, gentlemen of "the houſe of commons, to conſider how far the duties "upon theſe branches may be taken off and replaced, with-

Geo. I. 1721. "out any violation of public faith, or laying any new burthen upon my people. And I promiſe myſelf, that, by a due conſideration of this matter, the produce of thoſe duties, compared with the infinite advantages that will accrue to the kingdom by their being taken off, will be found ſo inconſiderable, as to leave little room for any difficulties or objections.

"The ſupplying ourſelves with naval ſtores, upon terms the moſt eaſy and leaſt precarious, ſeems highly to deſerve the care and attention of parliament. Our plantations in America naturally abound with moſt of the proper materials for this neceſſary and eſſential part of our trade and maritime ſtrength: And if, by due encouragement, we could be furniſhed from thence with thoſe naval ſtores, which we are now obliged to purchaſe and bring from foreign countries, it would not only greatly contribute to the riches, influence, and power of this nation, but, by employing our own colonies in this uſeful and advantagious ſervice, divert them from ſetting up and carrying on manufactures, which directly interfere with thoſe of Great-Britain.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"It will be a great pleaſure to me, if, in raiſing the ſupplies of this year, it may be ſo ordered, that my people may reap ſome immediate benefit from the preſent circumſtances of affairs abroad. I have ordered eſtimates to be prepared for the ſervice of the enſuing year, and likewiſe an account of the debts of the navy to be laid before you. You cannot but be ſenſible of the ill conſequences, that ariſe from ſuch a large debt remaining unprovided for; and that, as long as the navy and victualling bills are at a very high diſcount, they do not only affect all other public credit, but greatly increaſe the charge and expence of the current ſervice. It is therefore very much to be wiſhed, that you could find a method of diſcharging this part of the national debts, which of all others is the moſt heavy and burdenſome; and by that means have it in your power to eaſe your country of ſome part of the taxes, which, from an abſolute neceſſity, they have been obliged to pay.

"My

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The unſpeakable miſery and deſolation, that has of late "raged in ſome parts of Europe, cannot but be a ſufficient "warning to us, to uſe all poſſible precautions to prevent the "contagion from being brought in among us; or, if theſe "kingdoms ſhould be viſited with ſuch a fatal calamity, to "be in a condition, with the bleſſing of God, to ſtop its "farther progreſs. And as all other proviſions will be alto-"gether vain and fruitleſs, if the abominable practice of "running goods be not at once totally ſuppreſſed, I moſt "earneſtly recommend to you, to let no other conſideration "ſtand in competition with a due care of preſerving ſo many "thouſand lives,

"The ſeveral affairs, which I have mentioned to you, "being of the higheſt and moſt immediate concern to the "whole kingdom, I doubt not but you will enter into the "conſideration of them with that temper, unanimity, and "diſpatch, that the neceſſity and importance of them re-"quire."

The king, in this ſpeech, propoſes the affairs to be conſi-dered: Shews the beſt manner of extending commerce, and ſupplying naval ſtores: Expreſſes his concern for the debts of the navy, and hopes they will be taken care of in the ſup-plies for the preſent year: Concludes with recommending all poſſible means to prevent the plague, or ſtop the progreſs of its contagion, particularly by providing againſt the practice of ſmuggling.

The addreſſes of thanks were ſuitable to the ſpeech; the king was congratulated upon his ſucceſs for reſtoring the tranquillity of Europe, and ſecuring the trade of the nation by treaties: Aſſurances were given to proceed to the conſi-deration of the affairs recommended by him, with temper, unanimity and diſpatch. Notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances of unanimity, the debates ran very high this ſeſſion, and no-thing paſſed without great oppoſition.

Mr. Law returns to England.

One of the firſt debates that happened in the houſe of lords was about the famous Mr. Law. He came to England, on the 20th of October, in the fleet under Sir John Norris from the Baltic. Mr. Law, after the downfall of the Miſ-ſiſſippi ſtock, had been forced to leave France, to avoid the reſentment of the enraged people, who had more than once attempted his life. Having ſpent ſome time at Venice, and

Geo. I. 1721. paid a visit to the pretender at Rome, people were not a little surprised, some time after, to hear, that he was gone to Hanover, from whence he designed shortly to come into England. He was brought up to London by a lord, with whom he had negotiated for great parcels of South-Sea stock; was privately admitted to court; and having taken a house in Conduit-street, near Hanover-Square, he was, for some days, visited by great numbers of persons of quality and distinction. This gave so much umbrage, that, on the 26th of October, earl Coningsby represented to the house of lords, how dangerous it might be, on several accounts, to entertain and countenance such a man as Mr. Law; and a day being, at his motion, appointed to consider of that matter, the earl said, 'That he, the earl, could not but entertain some jealousy of a person, who had done so much mischief in a neighbouring kingdom, and who being so immensely rich, as he was reported to be, might do a great deal more hurt here, by tampering with any, who were grown desperate, by being involved in the calamity occasioned by the fatal imitation of his pernicious projects. That this person was the more dangerous, in that he had renounced, not only his natural affection to his country, and his allegiance to his lawful sovereign, by being naturalized in France, and openly countenancing the pretender's friends, but, which was worst of all, he had also renounced his God, by turning Roman Catholic: Concluding, that they ought to enquire, Whether Sir John Norris had orders to bring him over?' The lord Carteret answered, 'That Mr. Law had many years ago the misfortune to kill a gentleman in a duel; but that, having, at last, received the benefit of the king's clemency, and the appeal lodged by the relations of the deceased being taken off, he was come over to plead his majesty's pardon. That there was no law to keep any Englishman out of his country; and as Mr. Law was a subject of Great-Britain, it was not even in the king's power to hinder him from coming over, if he thought fit.' To this the lord Trevor replied, 'That Mr. Law was indeed a subject of Great-Britain, and therefore, as such, had an undoubted right to come hither; but the circumstances of a person of his character being brought over on board an English admiral, and at this juncture of time, might deserve the consideration of that house.' Earl Cowper spoke much to the same effect. But, however, the affair was dropped, and Mr. Law, attended by the duke of Argyle, and the earl of Ilay, pleaded his pardon at the king's-Bench according to form.

The

The navy debt, which was increaſed to 1,700,000l. and of which the conſideration had been recommended from the throne, occaſioned great debates in both houſes. Mr. Freeman in the houſe of commons, reflected with ſome warmth upon the perſons concerned in that part of the adminiſtration, ſaying, 'It was matter of wonder, how ſo great a debt could be incurred, when the parliament had provided what had been deſired on that head.' Mr. Shippen hinted, 'That ſuch extraordinary expences could not be for the immediate ſervice of Great-Britain, but, in all probability, for the preſervation of ſome foreign acquiſitions.' Sir Joſeph Jekyll ſaid, 'That he was not againſt providing for any juſt public debt; but that, in his opinion, they could not anſwer it, either to themſelves, or thoſe they had the honour to repreſent, if they gave away the nation's money blindfold; and therefore he deſired, that the houſe might be informed, How ſo great a debt had been contracted?' To this Mr. Walpole replied, 'Nothing in the world was more reaſonable; and therefore he backed the motion, for having a particular account of that debt laid before the houſe; but, in the mean time, he might aſſure them, that near 1,100,000l. of it was contracted in the laſt reign; and, as the perſons now in the adminiſtration were not anſwerable for that part, neither did they deſire, that above one million of it ſhould be this year provided for.' This was agreed to without dividing. Geo. I. 1721. Debates about the navy debt.

The ſame affair was more warmly debated in the houſe of lords: When a ſurprize was expreſſed, how the navy debt came to be ſo large, it was anſwered (as in the houſe of commons) that near two thirds of the debt had been contracted in the laſt reign, of which the proofs were ready. Upon this the earl of Rocheſter ſaid, 'That, ſince the debt was incurred, it was but juſtice, that they, who truſted the government, ſhould be paid; but, on the other hand, it became the wiſdom of that houſe to endeavour to prevent the like for the future, and to reſtore the navy on the ancient foot, that is, not to exceed the expences provided for by parliament.' And moved for an addreſs to that purpoſe. This was oppoſed by the earl of Ilay, who urged, that the public good, and the ſafety of the nation, being the grand object and rule of government, ſome latitude muſt of neceſſity be given, and allowance made, to thoſe who are in the adminiſtration, for extraordinary expences, upon unforeſeen exigencies. And therefore, if the miniſters, as they had promiſed it, gave the houſe a ſatisfactory account, how the debt in queſtion came

to

Geo. I. 1721. to be contracted, there was, in his opinion, no occaſion for ſuch an addreſs.' The lord chancellor Parker and others, ſpeaking on the ſame ſide, the motion for an addreſs was rejected by 64 voices (among which was the lord Harcourt's, who had been lately made a viſcount) againſt 22.

In ſeveral other debates on this affair, it was urged, 'That the navy debt was increaſed by employing more ſeamen than were provided for by parliament, particularly by ſending large fleets to the Baltic and Mediterranean, and keeping the ſailors in pay during the winter: That theſe extraordinary expences were not neceſſary for the ſervice of Great-Britain, and therefore it was proper to have all the papers relating to the northern tranſactions, particularly the lord Carteret's private inſtructions, laid before the houſe, in order to have full ſatisfaction concerning the grounds of theſe expeditions, and ſee whether the act of ſettlement had been no ways infringed by them, a point of the utmoſt conſequence to the preſent eſtabliſhment. To this it was anſwered, That the employing more ſeamen for ſeveral years, than were provided for by parliament, was occaſioned by ſervices which either were purſuant to the previous advice, or had the ſubſequent approbation of one or both houſes, and were alſo neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, and tranquillity of Europe: That, the nature of theſe ſervices detaining the ſquadrons till the months of November or December, the paying off the ſeamen was inconſiſtent with having the ſhips ready to ſail early in the ſpring, and nothing would be ſaved by it. By a great majority it was voted, that the lord Carteret's private inſtructions ſhould not be addreſſed, and that the ſending a ſquadron to the Baltic did no way break into the act of ſettlement.

The affairs of Spain and the North.

The affairs of Spain and the North were ſo equally concerned in the increaſe of the naval debt, that the inquiry into the one, naturally led to the inquiry into the other. The debate was opened by the duke of Wharton, who animadverted upon the conduct of the miniſters, both as to the war and peace with Spain; and moved that the treaty with that crown might be laid before the houſe. The earl of Sunderland ſaid, 'He did not doubt but his majeſty would be always ready to comply with the deſires of that houſe, and even in this particular, as well as in others; but that, for his part, he would be ſo free as to declare his judgment againſt adviſing his majeſty to communicate the treaty in queſtion at this juncture, becauſe, to his knowledge, there was in it a ſecret article, which the king of Spain had deſired

fired might not be made public, till after the treaty of Cambray was over; and, his majeſty having granted that requeſt, he therefore hoped that houſe would not deſire his majeſty to break his promiſe.' Upon this the duke of Wharton's motion was rejected by a majority of 59 voices againſt 22. In another debate the earl of Strafford ſuggeſted, 'That, as the war with Spain was undertaken without neceſſity, or a juſt provocation, ſo the peace was concluded without any benefit or advantage. That, contrary to the law of nations, the Spaniſh fleet was fallen upon without any declaration of war, and even while a Britiſh miniſter and a ſecretary of ſtate were amicably treating at Madrid; ſo that the Spaniards might think themſelves ſecure from any hoſtilities. And, as the manner of beginning the war did not appear juſtifiable, ſo neither could the war itſelf be eaſily reconciled with ſound politics, ſince it was an interruption to one of the moſt valuable branches of our trade, and at a time, when the nation groaned under the preſſure of heavy debts, occaſioned by a former long expenſive war: Concluding with a motion for an addreſs to his majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to cauſe the inſtructions, that were given to Sir George Byng (now lord Torrington) to be laid before the houſe.' But as the motion for the treaty, ſo this for the inſtructions of Sir George Byng, was upon the queſtion rejected by a majority of 67 againſt 24. A proteſt was entered, repreſenting, that a motion for admiral's inſtructions had never been denied; that, without a ſight of the lord Torrington's inſtructions, the war with Spain, in which the action in the Mediterranean involved us, did not appear juſtifiable, and it was plainly prejudicial to the nation, as it interrupted our commerce with Spain, and occaſioned a ſtrict union between the French and Spaniſh crowns, which it was the intereſt of Great-Britain to have kept always divided. Nor did it appear that Great-Britain reaped any fruits from that war. Geo. I. 1721.

After this it was moved, that the houſe would inquire what was become of the ſhips taken from the Spaniards, and how they were diſpoſed of, and an addreſs for that purpoſe was voted.

The debates on the navy debt being put off for three weeks, a proteſt (Feb. 19). was entered againſt it, in which the ſeveral particulars that were deſigned to be proceeded upon were ſpecified, but they were afterwards expunged by an order of the houſe.

The

Geo. I. 1721.

The bill to prevent infection from the plague cauſed likewiſe long and warm debates in the houſe of lords. Earl Cowper moved, 'That a clauſe might be added to the bill for repealing ſo much of the late quarentine act, as impowers the government to remove to a lazaret, or peſt-houſe, any perſons whatſoever, infected with the plague, or healthy perſons out of an infected family, from their habitations; and alſo ſo much of the act, as gives power for the drawing lines or trenches round any city, town, or place infected. He repreſented, that theſe powers were altogether unknown to our conſtitution, inconſiſtent with the lenity of our free government, ſuch as could never be wiſely or uſefully put in practice; and the more odious, becauſe they ſeemed to be copied from the arbitrary government of France, and could not be executed but by military force.' The earl alſo oppoſed the forcing perſons to accept of nurſes and phyſicians appointed by the government. Though the repeal of the obnoxious clauſes in the quarentine act, met with much oppoſition, and a petition from the city of London, for that purpoſe, had been rejected by the lords: Yet an act paſſed at laſt for repealing the clauſes for removing perſons to peſt-houſes, and drawing lines round any city or town that was infected.

A bill about the plague.

Debates on the army.

The mutiny and deſertion bill occaſioned the uſual diſputes about the army. The lord Trevor opened the debate with a long ſpeech, wherein he excepted againſt the clauſes for puniſhing ſoldiers with death for deſertion, and for exempting them from being arreſted for debt. He urged, 'That the exerciſe of martial law in time of peace was unknown, and repugnant to our conſtitution: That ſuch a law was indeed neceſſary during the late rebellion; but, there being at preſent no ſuch reaſon, and all being quiet and eaſy under his majeſty's mild government, the puniſhment of offences committed by the ſoldiery ought to be left to the civil magiſtrate; And that, on the other hand, it was unreaſonable to grant ſoldiers a protection from their lawful creditors, ſince a great many poor people, who might be drawn in to truſt them, might be ruined.' After a warm debate, the bill paſſed without any alteration or reduction of the forces.

On the French buying ſhips in England.

There was at this time great clamour againſt the French building and buying ſhips in England. Some were built for them at Briſtol, and more at London. When this matter was conſidered in the houſe of lords, it was ſuggeſted, 'That the practice of building ſhips for foreigners might be attended with very ill and dangerous conſequences; for, as ſuch foreigners,

reigners, though at present in amity with us, may yet, one time or other, become our enemies, they will, in such a case, make use of these very ships to fight against us: Besides this general consideration, the present great scarcity of timber in England made such a practice so much the more unjustifiable, especially if it was considered what a great number of ships had lately been built for the French, some of which were sixty or seventy gun-ships.' To this it was answered, 'That they knew of no law in being to hinder any ship-carpenter from working for any one, that would employ him. That the French, though now in amity, may be one day our enemies; but yet, if they built not here such ships as they have occasion for, they might get them built in Holland, or at Hamburgh; and they were of opinion, that it was better for us to get their money than our neighbours: That indeed, if we could hinder the French from building ships at all, it would be prudent to do it; but, since they can have them in other places, our prohibiting them to buy them here would rather be detrimental than advantageous to us.' After some other speeches, it was agreed to consult the judges. Upon which chief-justice Pratt, in the name of all the judges present (except baron Mountague, who desired further time to consider of it, before he gave his opinion) declared, 'That they knew of no law, whereby the king was impowered to hinder any of his subjects from building ships for any one, that would employ them, whether natives or foreigners.' Earl Cowper said, if there was no such law, it was high time there should be one, to put a stop to such a pernicious practice for the future; and therefore moved, that the judges be ordered to bring in a bill for that purpose. But, after some disputes about certain provisoes, the consideration of the bill was put off, and never more resumed. Geo. I. 1722.

The Quakers having petitioned the commons for leave to bring in a bill for taking out of their solemn affirmation the words, 'In the presence of Almighty God,' a bill passed the house for that purpose, and was sent up to the lords, where it occasioned a debate. The bishop of Rochester having, among other things, said, 'He did not know why such distinguishing indulgence, as was intended by this bill, should be allowed to a set of people, who were hardly Christians:' The earl of Ilay answered, 'He wondered that reverend prelate should call in question, whether the Quakers were Christians, since they were so, at least, by act of parliament, being included in the toleration act, under the general denomination of Protestant Dissenters.' The bishop replied, It The Quakers bill.

was

Geo. I. 1721-22.

was againſt the ſtanding orders of that auguſt aſſembly to make any perſonal reflections; and he thought it a much greater indecency to make a jeſt of any thing, that was ſacred; and that the calling the Quakers Chriſtians, by act of parliament, was a ſort of ſide-wind reflection upon Chriſtianity itſelf: however, he would let that paſs, and reſerve to another opportunity what he had to offer againſt the bill. Accordingly, he afterwards endeavoured to prove the Quakers were no Chriſtians, and was ſeconded and ſupported by the earl of Strafford, lord North and Grey, and the archbiſhop of York. When the bill was committed, a petition from ſome of the London Clergy was preſented by the archbiſhop of York, ſetting forth, "That, the bill might, in its conſequences, nearly affect the property of the ſubject in general, ſo it would, in a more eſpecial manner, indanger the legal maintenance of the clergy by tythes, inaſmuch as the people called Quakers pretend to deny the payment of tythes upon a principle of conſcience; and therefore might be under ſtrong inducements to eaſe their conſciences in that reſpect, by violating them in another, when their ſimple affirmation, on behalf of friends of the ſame perſuaſion, ſhall paſs in all courts of judicature for legal evidence." However, that the injuries, which the petitioners in their private affairs might poſſibly ſuffer, were, as they ought to be, of ſmall account with them, in compariſon of the miſchiefs, which might redound to ſociety from the indulgence intended, as it ſeemed to imply, that juſtice may be duly adminiſtered, and government ſupported, without the intervention of any ſolemn appeal to God as a witneſs of the truth of what is ſaid, by all perſons, in all caſes of great importance to the common welfare; whereas the petitioners were firmly perſuaded, that an oath was inſtituted by God himſelf, as the ſureſt bond of fidelity among men, and hath been eſteemed, and found to be ſo by the wiſdom and experience of all nations in all ages. But that what chiefly moved the petitioners to apply to their lordſhips, was their ſerious concern, leſt the minds of good men ſhould be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Chriſtianity triumph, when they ſhould ſee ſuch condeſcenſions made by a Chriſtian legiſlature to a ſet of men, who renounce the divine inſtitutions of Chriſt; particularly that, by which the faithful are initiated into his religion, and denominated Chriſtians; and who cannot, on this account, according to the uniform judgment and practice of the Catholic Church, be deemed worthy of that ſacred name. The petitioners moreover repreſented, that, upon the beſt information

Petitions againſt it.

mation they could get, the inſtances, wherein any Quaker had refuſed the ſolemn affirmation preſcribed by an act in the 7th and 8th years of William III, had, from the paſſing that act to that day, been exceeding rare; ſo that there might be ground to hope, that the continued uſe of the ſaid ſolemn affirmation would, by degrees, have entirely cured that people of all thoſe unreaſonable prejudices againſt an oath, which the favour deſigned them by the bill might tend to ſtrengthen and confirm. And the petitioners humbly left it to their lordſhips wiſe deliberations, whether ſuch an extraordinary indulgence granted to a people already, as is conceived, too numerous, might not contribute to multiply their ſect, and tempt perſons to profeſs themſelves Quakers, in order to be exempted from the obligation of oaths, and to ſtand upon a foot of privilege, not allowed to the beſt Chriſtians in the kingdom.'

Geo. I. 1721-22.

The receiving and reading of this petition was warmly oppoſed, and the queſtion being at laſt put, it was rejected. All the biſhops preſent (except the two archbiſhops, the biſhops of Oxford *, Litchfield and Coventry †, and Rocheſter) were againſt the petition. The biſhop of Saliſbury endeavoured to mitigate the matter, and propoſed, that the petitioners might have leave to withdraw their petition, but this was oppoſed by the earl of Sunderland, who ſaid, that a committee ought to be appointed to enquire into the authors and promoters of it, for he looked upon it to be no better than a libel. The lord Townſhend took notice of the irregular way, in which the petition was preſented, for if it was a petition of the London clergy, it ought to be offered either by the biſhop of that dioceſe, or the archbiſhop of Canterbury; whereas it was preſented by the archbiſhop of York, who was metropolitan of another province. However, a proteſt was entered by ſeveral lords and biſhops againſt rejecting the petition. After this, the archbiſhop of Canterbury moved, that the Quakers affirmation might not be admitted in courts of judicature, but among themſelves; and the archbiſhop of York moved for a clauſe, that the Quakers affirmation ſhould not go in any ſuit at law for tythes: But, after ſome farther debate, the bill was gone through, and ſent back to the commons; but a proteſt was entered againſt it by ſeveral lords and biſhops.

it is rejected.

* Potter.
† Hough.

As nothing had paſſed without being proteſted againſt, the earl of Sunderland, towards the end of the ſeſſion, took notice, 'That the privilege of entering proteſts had, of late, been ſo much abuſed, that, in his opinion, ſome reſtraint ought

An order about proteſts.

Geo. I. 1721-22. ought to be put to it by limiting the time for entering proteſts upon aſking leave of the houſe, which was never denied: And therefore he moved, that ſuch lords, as ſhall enter their proteſtations with reaſons, ſhall do the ſame before two o'clock the next ſitting day, and ſign them before the houſe riſes.' This was oppoſed by the lord Cowper, who alledged, 'That, the time being ſo ſhort, and very few lords coming ſo early, ſuch an order would in effect put an end to all proteſting, which was an ancient privilege of that houſe.' The biſhop of Rocheſter added, 'That, if proteſts were limited to ſo ſhort a time, this was at leaſt the way to have them crude and indigeſted; and he thought it unbecoming the dignity of that auguſt aſſembly to have any thing entered upon their journals, which were records for after ages, before it had been duly conſidered, and well digeſted.' However, it was reſolved, that it ſhould be a ſtanding order of the houſe (inſtead of the order of the 5th of March, 1641) That ſuch lords, as ſhall enter their proteſtations with reaſons, ſhall do the ſame before two o'clock the next ſitting day, and ſign them before the houſe riſes.

The bill for freedom of elections rejected by the lords.

The commons, after having granted the neceſſary ſupplies, brought in a bill for ſecuring the freedom of elections of members of parliament. Great debates aroſe about ſeveral clauſes that were offered to be inſerted in the bill; particularly, that no officer of the cuſtoms or exciſe ſhould vote at any election for parliament men. This was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, as taking away from thoſe officers their birthright, as Engliſhmen and Freeholders; upon which that clauſe was dropped. Another was propoſed, that no perſon, who did not pay ſcot and lot, ſhould have a vote in a corporation. This was alſo oppoſed, 'becauſe (as it was urged) it had already been adjudged at committees of elections, and agreed to by the houſe in ſeveral caſes, that ſuch perſons, in ſome places, ſhould have no votes; and in other places they ſhould be allowed to vote, provided they did not receive alms from the pariſh.' As this clauſe was not inſiſted upon, the bill paſſed, and was ſent up to the lords. The earl of Sunderland endeavoured to ſhew the impoſſibility of the ſeveral clauſes of the bill being put in execution, without expoſing the moſt innocent perſons to the guilt of perjury. After ſeveral ſpeeches on both ſides, the bill was rejected by 48 voices againſt 30.

The parliament is diſſolved.

An act paſſed this ſeſſion, to enable the South-Sea company to diſpoſe of the effects in their hands by way of lottery or ſubſcription, in order to pay the debts of the company.

By

By a clauſe in this bill, the South-Sea company were impowered to ſell 200,000 l. a year of their capital ſtock for the ſame purpoſe. Another act paſſed, to prolong the times for hearing and determining claims upon the eſtates of the South-Sea directors, and of Mr. Aiſlabie and Mr. Craggs. Geo. I. 1721-22.

On the 7th of March, the buſineſs of the ſeſſion being over, the king came to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the parliament, with the following ſpeech to both houſes: The parliament diſſolved.

'My lords and gentlemen,

'YOU could not have given me a more acceptable inſtance of your zeal and affection, than by diſpatching, with ſo much unanimity, the ſeveral particulars I recommended to you at the beginning of this ſeſſion, for the eaſe and advantage of my people.

'The many and great encouragements you have given to our trade and manufactures, and the proviſion you have made for our being ſupplied with naval ſtores from our own plantations, will, I make no doubt, excite the induſtry of my ſubjects, employ a greater number of the poor, increaſe our navigation, and be a conſiderable addition to the riches and ſtrength of this nation.

'Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

'The raiſing the current ſupplies of the year, and the making a proviſion for the diſcharge of ſo conſiderable a part of the debt of the navy, is a farther proof of your affection to me, and your regard for the public; and your doing it in a manner ſo little burthenſome to my people, gives me the greateſt ſatisfaction.

'My lords and gentlemen,

'I cannot in juſtice part with this parliament, without returning you my ſincereſt thanks for your ſteady and reſolute adherence to my perſon and government, and to the intereſt of the Proteſtant cauſe both at home and abroad. The enemies of our happy conſtitution have given the ſtrongeſt and moſt honourable teſtimony of your behaviour in theſe particulars, by the implacable malice, which they have, upon all occaſions, expreſſed againſt you.

'you muſt all be ſenſible, that they are at this juncture reviving, with the greateſt induſtry, the ſame wicked arts

Geo. I. 1721-22.

'of calumny and defamation, which have been the conſtant 'preludes to public troubles and diſorders: And ſuch is their 'infatuation, that they flatter themſelves, the groſſeſt miſre-'preſentations will turn to their advantage, and give them an 'opportunity of recommending themſelves to the favour and 'good opinion of my people. But I have ſo juſt a confi-'dence in the affection of my ſubjects, and in their regard 'for their own welfare, that I am perſuaded they will not 'ſuffer themſelves to be thus impoſed upon, and betrayed 'into their own deſtruction.

'For my part, as the preſervation of the conſtitution in 'church and ſtate ſhall always be my care, I am firmly de-'termined to continue to countenance ſuch, as have mani-'feſted their zeal for the preſent eſtabliſhment, and have the 'religious and civil rights of all my ſubjects truly at heart; 'and I queſtion not but that behaviour, which has juſtly re-'commended them to me, will effectually ſecure to them 'the good-will of all that are well-affected to my govern-'ment, and will convince the world, that the expectations 'of thoſe are very ill grounded, who hope to prevail with a 'Proteſtant free people, to give up their religion and liberties 'into the hands of ſuch as are enemies unto both.'

After this ſpeech the parliament was prorogued to the 15th of March, but, on the 10th, a proclamation was publiſhed to diſſolve the parliament, and, three days after, another for calling a new one.

1722.

Death of the earl of Sunderland, April 9.

Soon after the diſſolution of the parliament, died Charles Spencer, earl of Sunderland, whoſe abilities as a miniſter were indiſputable, but who expoſed himſelf to great odium by the violence of his temper, and the ſhare he was thought to have had in the South-Sea ſcheme; and in the latter part of his life it is thought, upon goood grounds, that he had entered into correſpondencies and deſigns, which would have been fatal to himſelf, or to the public.

and of the duke of Marlborough. June 16.

His death was followed in leſs than a month by that of his father-in-law the duke of Marlborough, whoſe character has been given in the former part of this hiſtory (a). He was in-

(a) It may not be improper to inſert here the monumental inſcription on the pillar in the park, before the caſtle of Blenheim, which enumerates the duke of Marlborough's exploits in a plain, elegant, and maſculine ſtyle:

The

In the Collection of the Hon.ble John Spencer. Sc. Müller sculp.

interred the 9th of Auguſt, with great funeral pomp, in Weſtminſter-Abbey; and was ſucceeded as maſter-general of —— Geo. I. 1722.

The Caſtle of Blenheim was founded by Q. Ann.
In the fourth Year of her Reign;
In the Year of the Chriſtian Æra 1705;
A Monument deſigned to perpetuate the Memory of the ſignal
Victory
Obtained over the French and Bavarians,
Near the Village of Blenheim,
On the Banks of the Danube,
By JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH;
The Hero not only of his Nation, but of his Age;
Whoſe Glory was equal in the Council and in the Field;
Who by Wiſdom, Juſtice, Candour and Addreſs,
Reconciled various, and even oppoſite Intereſts;
Acquired an Influence, which no Rank, no Authority can give,
Nor any Force but that of ſuperior Virtue;
Became the fixed important Center,
Which united in one common Cauſe
The principal States of Europe;
Who by military Knowledge, and irreſiſtible Valour,
In a long Series of uninterrupted Triumphs,
Broke the Power of France,
When raiſed the higheſt, when exerted the moſt;
Reſcued the Empire from Deſolation;
Aſſerted and confirmed the Liberties of Europe.

PHILIP, a grandſon of the houſe of France, united to the intereſts, directed by the policy, ſupported by the arms of that crown, was placed on the throne of Spain. King William the Third beheld this formidable union of two great, and once rival, monarchies. At the end of a life ſpent in defending the liberties of Europe, he ſaw them in their greateſt danger. He provided for their ſecurity, in the moſt effectual manner. He took the duke of Marlborough into his ſervice.

Ambaſſador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
To the States-General of the United Provinces.

Geo. I. 1722. of the ordnance, and colonel of the firſt regiment of foot-guards by the earl of Cadogan.

The duke contracted ſeveral alliances before the death of king WILLIAM. He confirmed and improved theſe. He contracted others, after the acceſſion of Queen ANNE; and reunited the confederacy, which had been diſſolved at the end of a former war, in a ſtricter and firmer league.

Captain-General and Commander in Chief Of the Forces of GREAT-BRITAIN.

The duke led to the field the army of the allies. He took with ſurprizing rapidity Venlo, Ruremonde, Stevenſwaert, Liege. He extended and ſecured the frontiers of the Dutch. The enemies, whom he found inſulting at the gates of Nimweghen, were driven to ſeek for ſhelter behind their lines. He forced Bonne, Huy, Limbourg in another campaign. He opened the communication of the Rhine, as well as the Maes. He added all the country between theſe rivers to his former conqueſts. The arms of France, favoured by the defection of the elector of Bavaria, had penetrated into the heart of the empire. This mighty body lay expoſed to immediate ruin. In that memorable criſis, the duke of MARLBOROUGH led his troops with unexampled celerity, ſecrecy, order, from the Ocean to the Danube. He ſaw; he attacked; nor ſtopped, but to conquer the enemy. He forced the Bavarians, ſuſtained by the French, in their ſtrong intrenchments at Schellenberg. He paſſed the Danube. A ſecond royal army, compoſed of the beſt troops of France, was ſent to reinforce the firſt. That of the confederates was divided. With one part of it the ſiege of Ingolſtadt was carried on. With the other the duke gave battle to the united ſtrength of France and Bavaria. On the ſecond day of Auguſt, 1704, he gained a more glorious victory than the hiſtories of any age can boaſt. The heaps of ſlain were dreadful proofs of his valour. A marſhal of France, whole legions of French, his priſoners, proclaimed his mercy. Bavaria was ſubdued. Ratiſbon, Augsburg, Ulm, Meminghen, all the uſurpations of the enemy, were recovered. The liberty of the diet, the peace of the empire, were reſtored. From the Danube the duke turned his victorious arms toward the Rhine, and the Moſelle. Landau, Treves, Traerbach, were taken. In the courſe of one campaign the very nature of the war was changed. The invaders of other ſtates were reduced to defend their own. The frontier of France was expoſed in its weakeſt part to the efforts of the allies.

That he might improve his advantage, that he might puſh the ſum of things to a ſpeedy deciſion, the duke of MARL-

BO-

The elections for members of parliament were carried on with great zeal on both ſides, but the majority of the elected, Geo. I. 1722.

BOROUGH led his troops early in the following year once more to the Moſelle. They, whom he had ſaved a few months before, neglected to ſecond him now. They, who might have been his companions in conqueſt, refuſed to join him. When he ſaw the generous deſigns he had formed fruſtrated by private intereſt, by pique, by jealouſy, he returned with ſpeed to the Maes. He returned; and fortune and victory returned with him. Liege was relieved; Huy re-taken; the French, who had preſſed the army of the States-General with ſuperior numbers, retired behind intrenchments, which they deemed impregnable. The duke forced theſe intrenchments, with inconſiderable loſs, on the 7th day of July, 1705. He defeated a great part of the army, which defended them. The reſt eſcaped by a precipitate retreat. If advantages proportionable to this ſucceſs were not immediately obtained, let the failure be aſcribed to that misfortune, which attends moſt confederacies, a diviſion of opinions, where one alone ſhould judge; a diviſion of powers, where one alone ſhould command. The diſappointment itſelf did honour to the duke. It became the wonder of mankind how he could do ſo much under thoſe reſtraints, which had hindered him from doing more.

Powers more abſolute were given him afterwards. The increaſe of his powers multiplied his victories. At the opening of the next campaign, when all his army was not yet aſſembled, when it was hardly known that he had taken the field, the noiſe of his triumphs was heard over Europe. On the 12th of May, 1706, he attacked the French at Ramilies. In the ſpace of two hours, the whole army was put to flight. The vigour and conduct, with which he improved this ſucceſs, were equal to thoſe, with which he gained it. Louvain, Bruſſels, Malines, Liere, Ghent, Oudenard, Antwerp, Damme, Bruges, Courtray ſurrendered. Oſtend, Menin, Dendermond, Aeth were taken. Brabant and Flanders were recovered. Places which had reſiſted the greateſt generals for months, for years; provinces, diſputed for ages, were the conqueſts of a ſummer. Nor was the duke content to triumph alone. Solicitous for the general intereſt, his care extended to the remoteſt ſcenes of the war. He choſe to leſſen his own army, that he might enable the leaders of other armies to conquer. To this it muſt be aſcribed that Turin was relieved, the duke of Savoy reinſtated, the French driven with confuſion out of Italy.

Theſe victories gave the confederates an opportunity of carrying the war, on every ſide, into the dominions of France. But ſhe continued to enjoy a kind of peaceful neutrality in Germany. From Italy ſhe was once alarmed, and had no more to fear. The entire reduction of this power, whoſe ambition had

Geo. I. 1722. ted, was clearly in favour of the court; as was likewiſe that of the ſixteen Scots peers, who were the dukes of Montroſe and

had cauſed, whoſe ſtrength ſupported the war, ſeemed reſerved for him alone, who had ſo triumphantly begun the glorious work.

The barrier of France, on the ſide of the Low-Countries, had been forming for more than half a century. What art, power, expence could do, had been done to render it impenetrable. Yet here ſhe was moſt expoſed; for here the duke of MARLBOROUGH threatened to attack her.

To cover what they had gained by ſurprize, or had been yielded to them by treachery, the French marched to the banks of the Schelde. At their head were the princes of the blood, and their moſt fortunate general, the duke of Vendoſme. Thus commanded, thus poſted, they hoped to check the victor in his courſe. Vain were their hopes. The duke of MARLBOROUGH paſſed the river in their ſight. He defeated their whole army. The approach of night concealed, the proximity of Ghent favoured their flight. They neglected nothing to repair their loſs; to defend their frontier. New generals, new armies, appeared in the Netherlands. All contributed to enhance the glory, none were able to retard the progreſs of the confederate arms.

Liſle, the bulwark of this barrier, was beſieged. A numerous garriſon and a marſhal of France defended the place. Prince Eugene of Savoy commanded, the duke of MARLBOROUGH covered and ſuſtained the ſiege. The rivers were ſeized, and the communication with Holland interrupted. The duke opened new communications with great labour, and much greater art. Through countries, over-run by the enemy, the neceſſary convoys arrived in ſafety. One alone was attacked. The troops which attacked it, were beat. The defence of Liſle was animated by aſſurances of relief.

The French aſſembled all their force. They marched towards the town. The duke of MARLBOROUGH offered them battle, without ſuſpending the ſiege. They abandoned the enterprize. They came to ſave the town. They were ſpectators of its fall.

From this conqueſt the duke haſtened to others. The poſts taken by the enemy on the Schelde were ſurprized. That river was paſſed the ſecond time; and notwithſtanding the great preparations made to prevent it, without oppoſition.

Bruſſels, beſieged by the elector of Bavaria, was relieved. Ghent ſurrendered to the duke in the middle of a winter remarkably ſevere. An army, little inferior to his own, marched out of the place.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted him to open another campaign, the duke beſieged and took Tournay. He inveſted Mons. Near this city the French army, covered by thick

and Roxburgh, the marquiſs of Twedale, the earls of Sutherland, Rothes, Loudon, Haddington, Buchan, Selkirk, Orkney, Stair, Deloraine, Ilay, Hoptoun, Bute, and Aberdeen (b). Geo. I. 1722.

thick woods, defended by treble intrenchments, waited to moleſt, nor preſumed to offer battle. Even this was not attempted by them with impunity. On the laſt day of Auguſt, 1709, the duke attacked them in their camp. All was employed, nothing availed againſt the reſolution of ſuch a general; againſt the fury of ſuch troops. The battle was bloody. The event deciſive. The woods were pierced. The fortifications trampled down. The enemy fled. The town was taken. Douay, Bethune, Aire, St. Venant, Bouchain underwent the ſame fate in two ſucceeding years. Their vigorous reſiſtance could not ſave them. The army of France durſt not attempt to relieve them. It ſeemed preſerved to defend the capital of the monarchy.

The proſpect of this extreme diſtreſs was neither diſtant, nor dubious. The French acknowledged their conqueror; and ſued for peace.

These are the Actions of the Duke of MARLBOROUGH:
Performed in the Compaſs of few Years,
Sufficient to adorn the Annals of Ages.
The Admiration of other Nations
Will be conveyed to lateſt Poſterity,
In the Hiſtories even of the Enemies of BRITAIN.

The Senſe, which the BRITISH Nation had
Of his tranſcendent Merit,
Was expreſſed,
In the moſt ſolemn, moſt effectual, moſt durable Manner.

The ACTS of PARLIAMENT, inſcribed on this Pillar,
Shall ſtand
As long as the BRITISH Name and Language laſt,
Illuſtrious Monuments
Of MARLBOROUGH's Glory
And
Of BRITAIN's Gratitude.

(b) About this time David earl Graham, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Montroſe, was created earl Graham of Belford in Northumberland, and Robert Ker, only ſon of the duke of Roxburgh, Ker of Wakefield in Yorkſhire. John Leſtlie, earl of Rothes, dying ſoon after his election, James Ogilvie, earl of Finlater and Seafield was elected in his room.

CHAP. V.

A plot discovered—several persons taken up—first session of the second parliament—debates on the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act—the pretender's declaration—a tax upon Papists—trial and execution of Layer—act against bishop Atterbury—Burford's club--the Hamburgh lottery--the Ostend East-India company--the session ends--the king goes abroad--his clemency--state of foreign affairs—Wood's half-pence—death of earl Cowper—of the duke of Orleans—the king returns—the second session of the second parliament—its proceedings and end—the king's letters to the universities—king Philip's abdication—persecution in France—and at Thorn—the third session of the second parliament—affair of the masters in chancery—trial of the earl of Macclesfield--debts of the civil list discharged—Bolingbroke petitions the parliament—bill passed in his favour—other bills passed—birth of the princess Louisa—session ends—revival of the knights of the Bath—riots in Scotland—foreign affairs—treaty of Vienna—a private one between Spain and the emperor—treaty of Hanover—the king's stormy passage to England—the fourth session of the second parliament—proceedings of the commons—Mr. Hampden's affair—the king's message for an extraordinary supply—the session ends—Sir Charles Wager sails to Russia—and Hosier to the West-Indies--Ripperda dismissed—Holland accedes to, and Prussia falls off from the treaty of Hanover—the fifth session of the second parliament—debates on the king's speech—proceedings of the commons—Palm's memorial censured by the parliament—Sweden accedes to the treaty of Hanover—treaty with Denmark—and with Hesse-Cassel—motion for a clause in the malt tax—and for raising part of the supply in the coal tax—session ends—

Gibraltar beſieged——a fleet ſent to the Baltic—preliminary articles for peace agreed on—ceſſation of arms—death and character of king George I. Geo. I. 1722.

IT was king George's lot to meet with continual diſturbances. The affair of the South-Sea, and the favour ſhown to the managers of that ſcheme, had raiſed great diſcontents. It was natural for the enemies of his perſon and government to improve ſuch a juncture: Accordingly they did ſo; and, though without hope of any foreign aſſiſtance, they imagined it poſſible to ſucceed in their deſigns, unleſs prevented by a diſcovery. The king had ſome ſuſpicion of a plot, which he had intimated in his ſpeech to both houſes, but, preſently after, his ſuſpicions were turned into certainty. In the beginning of May he had full information of a conſpiracy formed againſt him, the firſt notice of which came from the duke of Orleans. A plot diſcovered.

Upon this information, a camp was marked out in Hyde-Park, to which the troops of the king's houſhold marched the next day. Orders were iſſued to all military officers immediately to repair to their reſpective commands. Lieutenant-general Maccartney was diſpatched to Ireland, to bring over ſome troops from thence into the weſt of England. Meſſengers were ſent to Scotland to ſecure ſome ſuſpected perſons; and Mr. Horace Walpole, who, ſome days before, went over to Holland, was inſtructed to deſire the States, to keep in readineſs the guarantee troops, in order to be ſent into England in caſe of neceſſity. On the other hand, colonel Churchill was ſent to the court of France, with a private commiſſion, probably to ſee how far the aſſurances from thence were to be depended upon. By theſe precautions the public tranquillity was preſerved in Great-Britain. However, the apprehenſions of the plot did not a little affect public credit; for, on May the 7th, South-Sea ſtock fell from 90 to 77; and the timorous or diſaffected began to run upon the Bank. But, a few days after, the funds gradually roſe to their former value. Precautions againſt the plot.

To authorize theſe precautions, and ſound the temper of the people, the lord Townſhend writ the following letter to the lord-mayor of London:

My

Geo. I. 1722.

My lord, Whitehall, May 8, 1722.

A letter to the lord-mayor about it.

'His majeſty having nothing more at heart than the peace and ſafety of his good city of London, the protection of its inhabitants, and the ſupport of public credit, has commanded me to acquaint your lordſhip, that he has received repeated and unqueſtionable advices, that ſeveral of his ſubjects, forgetting the allegiance they owe to his majeſty, as well as the natural love they ought to bear to their country, have entered into a wicked conſpiracy, in concert with traitors abroad, for raiſing a rebellion in this kingdom in favour of a Popiſh pretender, with a traiterous deſign to overthrow our excellent conſtitution both in church and ſtate, and to ſubject a Proteſtant free people to tyranny and ſuperſtition; but I am perſuaded, that it will be a great ſatisfaction to your lordſhip and the city, to find, that, at the ſame time I am ordered to inform you of this deſign, I am likewiſe commanded by his majeſty to let you know, that he is firmly aſſured that the authors of it neither are, nor will be ſupported, nor even countenanced by any foreign power. And as his majeſty has had timely notice of their wicked machinations, and has made the proper diſpoſitions for defeating them, he has no reaſon to doubt, but by the continuance of the bleſſing of almighty God, and the ready aſſiſtance of his faithful ſubjects, this effort of the malice of his enemies will be turned to their own confuſion.

His majeſty makes no doubt, but your lordſhip, purſuant to the truſt repoſed in you, will, in conjunction with the other magiſtrates of his good city of London, exert, with the utmoſt care and vigilance, your authority at ſo important a conjuncture, for the preſervation of the public peace, and the ſecurity of the city.'

I am, &c.

TOWNSHEND.

The reception this letter met with was very acceptable to the court. An addreſs was preſented by the court of aldermen, thanking the king for his indulgent regard to the city of London, by informing them of the wicked deſigns of his enemies both at home and abroad, and congratulating him upon the happy ſucceſs of his negotiations, which had procured aſſurances, that theſe traiterous purpoſes would not be ſupported by any foreign power.

When

When we reflect (continues the addreſs) on the many bleſſings, which Britons enjoy, under the protection of a prince, who makes the laws of this land his rule for the government of his people, when we conſider that neither the civil, or religious rights of your majeſty's ſubjects, have met with the leaſt inſtance of violation, ſince your majeſty's happy acceſſion to the throne of theſe realms, when we recollect your majeſty's royal clemency and benevolence, (ſince the laſt rebellion) to numbers of thoſe who offended, in the higheſt degree, againſt their king, and the laws of their country, we cannot but expreſs the utmoſt abhorrence of thoſe vile and deteſtable peſons, who ſhall again conſpire and attempt to bring a free and happy people under the yoke and tyranny of ſuperſtition, and to involve this nation in a ſtate of blood, miſery, and utmoſt confuſion. Geo. I. 1722.

And as theſe muſt be the unavoidable conſequences attending any enterprize to alter our preſent happy eſtabliſhment, and to introduce a Popiſh one;

As Engliſhmen that value our liberties; as honeſt men that have ſworn allegiance to your majeſty, and who have abjured and renounced the pretender; and as real friends to our excellent conſtitution in church and ſtate (with a Proteſtant prince at the head of it) we beg leave, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to declare to your majeſty, that, as we are bound in gratitude, we will exert ourſelves in our ſeveral ſtations, with the utmoſt care and vigilance, for the preſervation of the public peace and tranquillity, and for the reſtoring of public credit; and that we will uſe our ſincere and hearty endeavours for the firm ſupport of your majeſty upon the throne, and for the making your reign eaſy and happy.'

The example of London was followed by many other cities and burroughs, who all expreſſed the ſame zeal and devotion. But, notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances, the king's journey to Hanover was laid aſide, though the regency had been ſettled, in which the prince of wales had no part. The court, however, went to Kenſington, and the prince and princeſs retired to Richmond.

Various were the reports about the nature and diſcovery of the conſpiracy, as the government did not as yet think fit to publiſh the particulars. However, to remove all ſuſpicion of its reality, ſeveral perſons were taken up. On the 21ſt of May, Mr. George Kelly, who went under the name of Johnſon, an Iriſh clergyman, was ſeized at his lodgings in Bury-ſtreet, by three meſſengers, for treaſonable correſpondencies; and, having delivered his ſword and papers to them, they Several perſons taken up.

Geo. I. 1722. they placed them in a window, and went in ſearch of other things. Their negligence gave him an opportunity of recovering his ſword, which he drew, and ſwore he would run the firſt man through the body, that diſturbed him in what he was doing, which was burning his papers in a candle with his left hand, whilſt he held the drawn ſword in the other. When the papers were burnt, he ſurrendered himſelf.

On the 4th of Auguſt, Mr. Robert Cotton, of Huntingdonſhire, one of the gentlemen concerned in the late rebellion, and cleared by the act of grace, was ſeized at his lodgings over againſt Somerſet-houſe, as were alſo his footman and landlady. Two days after, Mr. Cochran and Mr. Smith were brought priſoners from Edinburgh, and Cochran was committed to the Tower. One John Sample, formerly a ſervant to Sir Robert Sutton, while he reſided as envoy extraordinary at the court of France, having been taken up for high-treaſon, and being in cuſtody of a meſſenger, found means, on the 5th of Auguſt, to make his eſcape, upon which a proclamation was iſſued out, with a reward of 1000l. for apprehending him. And, on the 13th, another proclamation, with the like reward, was publiſhed for apprehending Mr. Thomas Carte, a Nonjuring clergyman, againſt whom a warrant had been iſſued by one of the ſecretaries of ſtate.

On the 24th of Auguſt, Dr. Francis Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter, and dean of Weſtminſter, was apprehended by ſome of the king's meſſengers, who, having ſearched his houſe, and ſecured ſome of his papers, carried him before a committee of the privy-council, who, having examined him, committed him to the Tower for high-treaſon. The next day, Mr. Thomas Moore, vicar of St. Botolph Aldersgate, formerly ſecretary to the biſhop of Rocheſter, was likewiſe taken up, and afterwards examined, but ſoon after diſcharged.

About the middle of September, Mr. Bingley, Mr. Neynoe, a young Iriſh prieſt, and two other perſons, were ſeized at Deal, and brought up priſoners to London. About the ſame time Mr. Layer, a young counſellor of the Temple, being alſo apprehended, he endeavoured, the next day, to make his eſcape; and ſucceeded ſo far in his deſign, that he found means to get out at a back-window two ſtory high, and, having reached the river-ſide, he gave a ſculler ſome guineas to carry him over the water to Southwark with all poſſible expedition. But being diſcovered, upon his going

off,

off, by a ſervant maid, he was immediately purſued, and, a hue-and-cry being raiſed after him, he was taken and brought back, and the next morning committed to the Tower. On the 21ſt of September, he was brought under a ſtrong guard to the Cock-pit at White-hall, and, having been ſome hours under examination, before a committee of the privy-council, was remanded to his confinement. The day before, Mr. Sayer, of the Temple, was taken into cuſtody; as was alſo, the next day, Mr. Stewart, clerk to Mr Layer, while his maſter was under examination. The ſame day, John Plunket, ſerjeant to a company of invalids at Plymouth, was ſeized at Chelſea, upon ſuſpicion of being concerned with Mr. Layer, and, after examination, committed to the cuſtody of a meſſenger. On the 24th, Mr. Shippen's houſe in Norfolk-ſtreet was ſearched for papers, that might give light into ſome ſuſpicions. Warrants were likewiſe iſſued out for apprehending the lord North and Grey, who was gone as far as the Iſle of Wight, and had put himſelf on board a ſmuggler's ſloop, having been ſome time at Mr. Holmes's houſe in that Iſland. Colonel Morgan, the deputy-governor, being informed of his being on board the ſloop, ſent a captain of one of the king's frigates, to have an eye upon the ſloop, and, when going to ſail, to ſend his long-boat aboard, and ſecure all the paſſengers on ſuſpicion; which being done, the lord North and Grey at firſt pretended to be another perſon; but, finding that did him no ſervice, he confeſſed who he was; and he and the reſt of the paſſengers were carried before the governor, who told them, he muſt ſecure them till he could write to court; and, upon an anſwer from thence, he had orders to ſend them up in cuſtody. The lord North and Grey's houſe, in Great-Queen-Street, being alſo ſearched for papers, the meſſenger found there Mr. Swathfegger, ſecretary to the earl of Orrery, who was ſeized and committed to cuſtody; and, the next morning, September 27, the earl himſelf was brought to town from his ſeat at Brittel in Buckinghamſhire, and, having been examined at the Cock-pit, was ordered to be confined that night at his own houſe in Glaſs-Houſe-Street, under a guard of thirty ſoldiers; and, the next day, in the evening, was again examined by a committee of the privy-council, and committed to the Tower; as was alſo the lord North and Grey, being brought up from Portſmouth by lieutenant-general Maccartney, colonel Gordon, and a meſſenger.

1 Geo. I. 1722.

On the 16th of September Mr. Fleetwood was taken into cuſtody, and Mrs. Layer, ignorant of her huſband's fate, and

Geo. I. 1722. and coming over from France, was about the ſame time ſeized at Dover.

Two days after, Mr. Stephen Neynoe, the Iriſh prieſt, ſeized at Deal, being cloſely confined in the houſe of Mr. Crawford, one of the king's meſſengers, in Mancheſter-court near the Thames, found means about three in the morning, to make his eſcape from a window two ſtory high, by tying the blanket and ſheets together, and got to the wall of a neighbouring garden anjoining to the river; but not knowing, that the tide was high, he leaped into the water, and being unſkilled in ſwimming, was drowned.

After the biſhop of Rocheſter had lain a fortnight in priſon, Sir Conſtantine Phipps preſented a petition to the court at the ſeſſions houſe in the Old-Bailey, in the name of Mrs. Morris, the biſhop's daughter, praying that, in conſideration of the biſhop's ill ſtate of health, he might be either brought to a ſpeedy trial, or bailed or diſcharged: But it was overruled, as were alſo the petitions of two other priſoners for the plot, Cochran and Dennis Kelly.

The commitment of the biſhop of Rocheſter made a great noiſe through the whole kingdom, and gave occaſion to the diſaffected to heighten jealouſies and diſcontents. They pretended his confinement was injurious to the Church of England, and the epiſcopal order, and went ſo far as to offer up public prayers for him (under pretence of his being afflicted with the gout) in moſt churches and chapels in London and Weſtminſter, on Sunday the 16th of September. On the other hand, endeavours were uſed to remove the prejudices of the clergy againſt the miniſtry, and Dr. Gibſon, biſhop of Lincoln (now of London) wrote a circular letter, wherein he ſets forth the indulgence wherewith the biſhop was treated: The great reſpect the order of biſhops met with from the king, who in the diſpoſal of his preferments was directed by their advice: The improbability of ſo unpopular an act, without a juſt and even neceſſary foundation: And laſtly, the ſafety of the nation, which requires that all delinquents ſhould be cenſured as ſuch, without any regard to the office, or title, or honour they bear (c).

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(c) Whilſt the public was employed in condemning or acquitting the impriſoned biſhop, the king thought proper to ſhow himſelf to the people. He ſet out the latter end of Auguſt for his weſtern progreſs, accompanied by the prince of Wales. He came to Hackwood, a ſeat of the duke of Bolton, near Baſingſtoke

The noiſe made by the conſpiracy ſeemed to require the meeting of the parliament as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit. Accordingly, on the 9th of October, the king came to the houſe of lords, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech very proper to remove any doubts which might have been entertained of the plot: Geo. I. 1722. First ſeſſion of the ſecond parliament.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I AM concerned to find myſelf obliged, at the opening of this parliament, to acquaint you, that a dangerous conſpiracy has been for ſome time formed, and is ſtill carrying on, againſt my perſon and government, in favour of a Popiſh pretender. The king's ſpeech.

"The diſcoveries I have made here, the informations I have received from my miniſters abroad, and the intelligences I have had from the powers in alliance with me, and indeed from moſt parts of Europe, have given me moſt ample and concurrent proofs of this wicked deſign.

"The conſpirators have, by their emiſſaries, made the ſtrongeſt inſtances for aſſiſtance from foreign powers, but were diſappointed of their expectations. However, confiding in their numbers, and not diſcouraged by their former ill ſucceſs, they reſolved once more, upon their own ſtrength, to attempt the ſubverſion of my government.

"To this end they provided conſiderable ſums of money, engaged great numbers of officers from abroad, ſecured large quantities of arms and ammunition, and thought themſelves in ſuch readineſs, that, had not the conſpiracy been timely diſcovered, we ſhould, without doubt, before now, have ſeen the whole nation, and particularly the city of London, involved in blood and confuſion.

ſingſtoke in Hampſhire, on the 28th of Auguſt, lay there that night, and the next day arrived at Saliſbury, being received every where with demonſtrations of the greateſt affection and joy. On the 30th, he went to the camp near that city, and reviewed Londonderry's and Wade's regiments of horſe, and Evans's and Gore's regiments of dragoons; and Wills's, Cadogan's, Pocock's, Stanwix's, Groves's, Montague's, and Clayton's regiments of foot. The king returned by the way of Wincheſter, viſited Portſmouth, lay at Stanſtead, the ſeat of the earl of Scarborough, and arrived at Kenſington the firſt of September.

"The

Geo. I. 1722.

"The care I have taken, has, by the bleſſing of God, hitherto prevented the execution of their traiterous projects. The troops have been incamped all this ſummer: Six regiments (though very neceſſary for the ſecurity of that kingdom) have been brought over from Ireland: The States-General have given me aſſurances, that they would keep a conſiderable body of forces in readineſs to imbark on the firſt notice of their being wanted here, which was all I deſired of them, being determined not to put my people to any more expence than what was abſolutely neceſſary for their peace and ſecurity.

"Some of the conſpirators have been taken up, and ſecured, and endeavours are uſed for the apprehending others.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"Having thus in general laid before you the ſtate of the preſent conſpiracy, I muſt leave to your conſideration what is proper and neceſſary to be done for the quiet and ſafety of the kingdom. I cannot but believe the hopes and expectations of our enemies are very ill grounded, in flattering themſelves, that the late diſcontents, occaſioned by private loſſes and misfortunes, however induſtriouſly and maliciouſly fomented, are turned into diſaffection, and a ſpirit of rebellion.

"Had I, ſince my acceſſion to the throne, ever attempted any innovation in our eſtabliſhed religion; had I, in any one inſtance, invaded the liberty and property of my ſubjects, I ſhould leſs wonder at any endeavours to alienate the affections of my people, and draw them into meaſures, that can end in nothing but their own deſtruction.

"But to hope to perſuade a free people, in full enjoyment of all that is dear and valuable to them, to exchange freedom for ſlavery, the Proteſtant religion for Popery, and to ſacrifice at once the price of ſo much blood and treaſure, as have been ſpent in defence of our preſent eſtabliſhment, ſeems an infatuation not to be accounted for. But, however vain and unſucceſsful theſe deſperate projects may prove in the end, they have at preſent ſo far the deſired effect, as to create uneaſineſs and diffidence in the minds of my people; which our enemies labour to improve to their own advantage. By forming plots they depreciate all property, that is veſted in the public funds,

"and

" and then complain of the low ſtate of credit. They make " an increaſe of the national expences neceſſary, and then " clamour at the burthen of taxes, and endeavour to impute " to my government, as grievances, the miſchiefs and cala- " mities, which they alone create and occaſion. Geo. I. 1722.

" I wiſh for nothing more, than to ſee the public ex- " pences leſſened, and the great national debt put in a me- " thod of being gradually reduced and diſcharged, with a " ſtrict regard to parliamentary faith; and a more favoura- " ble opportunity could never have been hoped for, than the " ſtate of profound peace, which we now enjoy with all " our neighbours. But public credit will always languiſh " under daily alarms and apprehenſions of public danger. " And, as the enemies of our peace have been able to bring " this immediate miſchief upon us, nothing can prevent " them from continuing to ſubject the nation to new and " conſtant difficulties and diſtreſſes, but the wiſdom, zeal, " and vigorous reſolutions of this parliament.

" Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I have ordered the accounts to be made up, and laid be- " fore you, of the extraordinary charge, that has been in- " curred this ſummer, for the defence and ſafety of the king- " dom; and I have been particularly careful, not to direct " any expence to be made greater or ſooner than was of ab- " ſolute neceſſity.

" I have likewiſe ordered eſtimates to be prepared, and " laid before you, for the ſervice of the year enſuing; and I " hope the further proviſions, which the treaſonable prac- " tices of our enemies have made neceſſary for our com- " mon ſafety, may be ordered with ſuch frugality, as very " little to exceed the ſupplies of the laſt year.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" I need not tell you of what infinite concern it is to the " peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, that this parlia- " ment ſhould, upon this occaſion, exert themſelves with a " more than ordinary zeal and vigour. An intire union " among all, that ſincerely wiſh well to the preſent eſta- " bliſhment, is now become abſolutely neceſſary. Our " enemies have too long taken advantage from your diffe- " rences and diſſentions. Let it be known, that the ſpirit " of Popery, which breathes nothing but confuſion to the

Geo. I. 1722. "civil and religious rights of a Proteſtant church and king-
"dom, however abandoned ſome few may be, in deſpite of
"all obligations divine and human, has not ſo far poſſeſſed
"my people, as to make them ripe for ſuch a fatal change.
"Let the world ſee, that the general diſpoſition of the nation
"is no invitation to foreign powers to invade us, nor encou-
"ragement to domeſtic enemies to kindle a civil war in the
"bowels of the kingdom. Your own intereſt and welfare
"call upon you to defend yourſelves. I ſhall wholly rely
"upon the divine protection, the ſupport of my parliament,
"and the affections of my people, which I ſhall endeavour
"to preſerve, by ſteadily adhering to the conſtitution in
"church and ſtate, and continuing to make the laws
"of the realm the rule and meaſure of all my actions."

Addreſſes of thanks from both houſes.

The addreſſes of thanks were full of the ſentiments which ſo ſtrong and pathetic a ſpeech naturally produced. The deteſtation and abhorrence, as well as the indignation conceived by both houſes, at the hearing of theſe traiterous and dangerous deſigns againſt his majeſty, in favour of a Popiſh pretender, were unſpeakable. The commons eſpecially expreſſed themſelves in a very affecting manner: 'We cannot expreſs too great an abhorrence of ſuch unnatural practices, nor too great an indignation againſt thoſe who would have made the capital of this flouriſhing kingdom a ſcene of blood and diſolation. Wicked men! whilſt they have the malice to revile your government, and attempt to overturn it, at the ſame time have the inſolence to depend upon the clemency of it for their ſecurity: While they are endeavouring to deſtroy all liberty, they are clamouring that a few of them are, for the public ſafety, confined: Whilſt they are attempting to deſtroy all property, they are murmurring at the neceſſary taxes given to your majeſty for the ſecurity of it: And, whilſt they act againſt all law themſelves, they truſt, and are confident, that, even in their own caſes, the laws of the realm will be the rule and meaſure of your actions.' To this were added aſſurances of not only making good all the extraordinary expences already incurred, but of chearfully granting whatever ſhould be neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, as they were entirely convinced, that they could by no other means reſtore public credit, and attempt the gradual reduction of the great national debt, than by doing every thing in their power for the ſupport of his majeſty's government, and happy eſtabliſhment in his royal family.

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The expreſſions [of doing every thing in their power] were objected againſt by ſome members, as too general, and it was moved to add the words [with due regard to the liberty of the ſubject, the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and the laws now in force]. But the motion was rejected, upon Mr. Pulteney's repreſenting, that ſuch a clauſe would be injurious to the king, ſince it would look like making a condition or bargain with the king, and tacitly imply, either that the laws had already been infringed, or that the commons were jealous, leſt his majeſty ſhould, for the future, break in upon the conſtitution. Geo. I. 1722.

As the diſcovery of the plot made the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act neceſſary, a bill was brought in for that purpoſe, the very firſt day of the ſeſſion, by the duke of Grafton, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, who repreſented the neceſſity of ſtrengthening the hands of the king's miniſters, in order to a full detection and entire ſuppreſſion of the traiterous deſigns and practices againſt the government, by impowering his majeſty to ſecure all ſuſpected perſons. Accordingly, it was propoſed, that the Habeas Corpus act ſhould be ſuſpended till the 24th of October, 1723. Debates on the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act.

This was oppoſed chiefly by the earls of Angleſey, Cowper, Strafford, and Coningſby, and the lords Trevor, Bathurſt, and Bingley, who repreſented, that, the Habeas Corpus act being, on all hands, admitted to be the greateſt and ſtrongeſt bulwark of Engliſh liberty, it did not conſiſt with the wiſdom of parliament to ſuſpend it, without an abſolute neceſſity. That, indeed, in caſes of actual rebellion, or intended invaſion, that act had been, at times, before, ſuſpended; but yet this was done ſparingly, by degrees, and never for above the term of ſix months. That this conſideration put them under a very melancholy apprehenſion for the very being or effect of that excellent law, ſince the ſuſpenſion of it for a year might be as good a precedent for the ſuſpending it, on another occaſion, for the term of two years, as any former precedent was now for the preſent ſuſpenſion. That the horrid and deteſtable conſpiracy, which occaſioned this ſuſpenſion, having been diſcovered and notified to the city of London above five months before, and divers of the conſpirators impriſoned for it a conſiderable time paſt, it was very unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the danger of this plot, in the hands of an able, faithful and diligent miniſtry, would continue for a year or more yet to come; and that in

Geo. I. 1722. so high a degree, as to require a suspension of the liberty of the subject; for so they took the Habeas Corpus act to be. That, indeed, their just apprehensions would, in a great measure, be removed, if they could flatter themselves with the hopes, that his majesty, on whose known equity, goodness, and clemency, they intirely depended, would remain among us, during the whole time of this suspension: But that his majesty, not having visited his dominions abroad these two last years, would, very probably, leave the kingdom the next spring to that end. That, in his majesty's absence, this great power of suspecting and imprisoning the subjects at will, and detaining them in prison till the 24th of October 1723, and for as much longer time, as till they can, after that, take the benefit of the Habeas Corpus act (if they could then do it at all) would be lodged in the hands of our fellow-subjects, who could not be supposed to be above all prejudices and partialities, as their Lordships were sure his majesty was; and who, besides, might have private piques and resentments to gratify! That this bill did, in effect, vest the ministers with an authority almost as arbitrary and extensive as that of a Roman dictator, since they might inflict, even on innocent persons (who should have the misfortune to displease them) a punishment of above a year's imprisonment, which comes little short of death, and which oftentimes occasions it. That the Dictatorian power among the Romans was always ended or laid down immediately after the occasion, for which it was given, was over; and it was remarkable, that it was never continued much longer, till a little after the Roman commonwealth (from which all other states draw so many maxims of government) lost its liberty. That so long a suspension of the Habeas Corpus act weakens the provision made in the bill for the members of either house of parliament, 'that they shall not be committed or detained, sitting the parliament, until the matter be first communicated, and the consent obtained of the houses respectively,' since it is very probable, the parliament will not be sitting the greatest part of the time, for which this bill was enacted, and would continue a law. That such is the weakness of human nature, that the apprehension of what might befal a member of parliament, while the parliament is not sitting, might have some influence on the freedom of parliament. And, upon the whole matter, since so long a suspension was liable to so many inconveniencies, they thought it advisable and consistent with the usual prudence of that august assembly, to reduce it to the term of six months; at the

the end of which, if there appeared to be a neceſſity for it, it might be continued ſix months longer, as was done before in this very reign, during the late rebellion. Geo. I. 1722.

Theſe objections to the bill itſelf, or continuance of it for a year, were anſwered by the lords Townſhend, Harcourt, Carteret, the dukes of Argyle, Wharton, and Newcaſtle, and ſome others. They repreſented, 'That the Habeas Corpus act had been ſuſpended upon much leſs important occaſions, upon bare intimations of a plot; whereas the king had now laid before the parliament the particulars of a conſpiracy to introduce a Popiſh prince: That it was neceſſary the ſuſpenſion ſhould continue a whole year, ſince the conſpirators (who probably would lie ſtill all the winter) would exert themſelves in the ſummer when the parliament was up; and might flatter themſelves with the hopes of foreign aſſiſtance.' After theſe debates, the ſuſpenſion, being put to the vote, was carried without a diviſion, and the bill was ſent down to the commons.

The debates (which ran chiefly upon the continuance of it) were much the ſame as in the houſe of lords. Mr. Spencer Cowper ſaid, 'That he and all his family had come as early and readily into the revolution, and, on all occaſions, had appeared as zealous for the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, as any one: But yet he could not be of opinion to truſt the liberties of the people in the hands of any miniſtry, for ſo long a time as above a year. That neither in king William's nor queen Anne's reigns, nor ſince his preſent majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, even in times of open and actual rebellion, the Habeas Corpus act had ever been ſuſpended for above ſix months; and therefore he moved, that the preſent ſuſpenſion might be limited to that term.' Sir Joſeph Jekyll added, 'That, if, at the end of thoſe ſix months, there appeared to be a neceſſity for a farther ſuſpenſion, he ſhould, and he doubted not but the whole houſe would readily come into it.' At laſt, Mr. Robert Walpole roſe up, and laid before the aſſembly ſome particulars of the dangerous conſpiracy, which for ſome time had been, and was ſtill carrying on, for the utter ſubverſion of the preſent happy ſettlement. He ſaid, 'That this wicked deſign was formed about Chriſtmas laſt: That the conſpirators had at firſt made application to ſome potentates abroad, for an aſſiſtance of five thouſand men: That being denied, they afterwards (about the month of April) made farther application [illegible] earneſt inſtances for three thouſand men: Being again [illegible] appointed in their expectations from foreign aſſiſtance, they

Geo. I. 1722. resolved desperately to go on, confiding in their own strength, and fondly depending on the disaffection in England: That their first attempt was to have been the seizing of the Bank, the Exchequer, and such other places, where the public money was lodged: That the government had undoubted informations of this plot ever since May last; but, nevertheless, thought fit not to take up any body, because, there being then two terms coming on together, the conspirators would have had the benefit of the Habeas Corpus act, and so the apprehending them was put off till the long vacation.' He added, 'That the traiterous designs against his majesty's person and government had been carrying on ever since the death of the late queen; and it could be proved, that there had been a meeting of some considerable persons, one of whom was not far off, wherein it had been proposed to proclaim the pretender at the Royal Exchange: That an exact account of this detestable conspiracy would, in due time, be laid before the parliament: And, as to the business now before them, though it was true, that the Habeas Corpus act had never before been suspended for above six months; yet, considering the lords had made this suspension for a whole year, if the commons should go about to alter it, the same might occasion a difference between the two houses, which, at this time of jealousy and danger, might sound ill in foreign courts.' After this speech, the bill passed the house as sent down by the lords, and, on the 17th of October, received the royal assent.

Pursuant to a clause in the act, that no member of either house should be imprisoned during their sitting, till the matter be first communicated to the house, and their consent obtained, the king, by the lord Carteret, desired the consent of the lords to detain prisoners the bishop of Rochester, the lord North and Grey, and the earl of Orrery, which was readily given.

Soon after passing the bill, the duke of Norfolk was taken into custody at the Bath, and brought up to London. He was examined by the council, and afterwards committed to the Tower on suspicion of high treason.

When the lord Townshend acquainted the peers with this affair, those that opposed the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act were against consenting to the duke's commitment. They represented, that the cause and ground of his being suspected of high treason should be communicated to the house, and that a general suspicion was not sufficient: That this would subject every peer, even while the parliament was sit-

ting,

king, to unwarrantable impriſonments, and might produce very ill effects. But their reaſons were not heard, and, after a long debate, the houſe conſented to the duke's being detained priſoner in the Tower. Geo. I. 1722.

The pretender's declaration.

As a farther proof of the plot, the king, on the 16th of November, ſent the following meſſage to the houſe of peers:

'His majeſty having been informed, that many ſcandalous declarations in print have been by ſeveral foreign poſts tranſmitted into this kingdom, in order to be diſperſed among his good and faithful ſubjects, to poiſon their minds, and ſeduce them from their allegiance; ſeveral of thoſe declarations have, by his majeſty's order, ever ſince his majeſty received from both houſes of parliament the laſt moſt ſolemn and acceptable aſſurances of their fidelity, been intercepted; and amongſt them an original in writing, ſigned, as his majeſty has good reaſon to believe, by the pretender himſelf. This, together with one of the printed copies, his majeſty has ordered to be laid before you, as a matter not unworthy of your conſideration.'

Subſtance of the declaration.

This declaration (dated September 20, 1722, at Lucca) was directed by James III. king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to all his loving ſubjects of the three nations, and to all foreign princes and ſtates, to ſerve as a foundation for a laſting peace in Europe, and ſigned James Rex. The pretender begins with ſhewing how fond he is of his ſubjects; that, though the obligation he owes to his own honour be great, yet the obligation to the ſafety and tranquillity of his native country is above all ties the deareſt to him and the tendereſt. He then talks of the late violations to the freedom of elections: Of conſpiracies invented on purpoſe to give pretence for new oppreſſions: Of infamous informers: And a ſtate of proſcription in which he concludes every honeſt well-meaning man to be. Theſe conſiderations have engaged him to enter ſeriouſly into himſelf, and examine his heart, what ſacrifice to make on his own part for the public peace, eſpecially of theſe kingdoms, of which he is the natural and undoubted father. Then he propoſes, that, if king George will quietly deliver to him the poſſeſſion of his throne, he will in return beſtow upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other ſtates to confirm it, with a promiſe to leave to him his ſucceſſion to the Britiſh dominions ſecure, whenever in due courſe his natural right ſhall take place. As motives to this reſignation, he ſays, that in king George's native dominions an unconteſtable right will free him

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him from the crime and reproach of tyranny, and repreſents the difference between a calm undiſturbed reign over a willing people, and a reſtleſs poſſeſſion in a ſtrange land, where authority, forcing the inclinations of the people, can only be ſupported by blood and violence, eternally ſubject to fears and alarms, even when no danger appears. He concludes with ſaying, king George's ſettlement here is frail and uncertain, becauſe his title ſhall, while the pretender has health or any deſcendants in being, be for ever diſputed, conjuring him, inſtead of adviſing with an imperious miniſtry, as much his tyrants as the nation's, to conſult his reaſon, to aſk his conſcience, and to examine his intereſt and glory, and then his very ambition will admoniſh him to deſcend from a throne, which muſt be always ſhaking, to mount another where his ſeat will be firm and ſecure.

When this declaration was read in the houſe of lords, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that it was a falſe, inſolent, and traiterous libel, the higheſt indignity to the king, full of preſumption and arrogance, in ſuppoſing the pretender in a condition to offer terms to his majeſty, and injurious to the honour of the Britiſh nation, in imagining that a free Proteſtant people, happy under the government of the beſt of princes, could be ſo infatuated, as, without the utmoſt contempt and indignation, to hear of any terms from a Popiſh bigotted pretender. Then they ordered the declaration to be burnt at the Royal Exchange. The king's meſſage, the declaration, and the lords reſolution being communicated to the commons, they agreed with the lords, only adding, that the ſheriffs ſhould attend in perſon at the burning of the declaration. An addreſs was preſented by both houſes, expreſſing their utmoſt aſtoniſhment and indignation at the ſurprizing inſolence of the pretender, and aſſuring, they were determined to ſupport the king's title to the crown, with their lives and fortunes (a).

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(a) The addreſs was as follows:

'We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and faithful ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons in parliament aſſembled, being deeply affected with the ſenſe of thoſe many bleſſings, which we have conſtantly enjoyed, and hope long to enjoy, under your majeſty's moſt juſt and gracious government; and being thoroughly convinced, that our religious and civil rights, as well as the very being of the Britiſh name and conſtitution, do, under God, intirely depend upon the preſervation of your majeſty's ſacred perſon,

The commons proceeding to conſider of the ways and means to raiſe the ſupplies, a motion was made, that, towards defraying the expences occaſioned by the late rebellion and diſorders, the ſum of 100,000l. ſhould be raiſed (in lieu of all forfeitures and profits of the two thirds of their regiſtered eſtates) upon the real and perſonal eſtates of all Papiſts or perſons educated in the Popiſh religion. This was oppoſed by Sir Wilfred Lawſon and Dr. Friend, who ſaid, that ſuch an extraordinary tax would carry the face of perſe-

Geo. I. 1722.

A tax upon Papiſts.

perſon, and of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, as ſettled by law in your royal line, are filled with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and indignation at the unexampled preſumption and arrogance of the Pretender to your dominions, in daring to offer ſuch an indignity to your majeſty and the Britiſh nation, as to declare to your ſubjects, and to all foreign princes and ſtates, that he finds himſelf in a condition to offer terms to your majeſty, and even to capitulate with you for the abſolute ſurrender of the religion and liberties of a free nation.

However great the infatuation of his adviſers may be, we are ſenſible, nothing could have raiſed his or their hopes to ſo extravagant a degree of preſumption, but repeated encouragements and aſſurances from the conſpirators at home, founded on the moſt injurious and groſs miſrepreſentations of the inclinations and affections of your majeſty's ſubjects; and a raſh concluſion, that becauſe ſome, from whom it ought leaſt to have been expected, had broke through the ſolemn reſtraint of reiterated oaths, in order to raiſe themſelves on the ruin of their country; therefore the whole body of the nation was ripe for the ſame fatal defection, and ready to exchange the mild and legal government of a moſt indulgent prince, for the boundleſs rage of an attainted fugitive, bred up in the maxims of tyranny and ſuperſtition.

But we, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, reſolve, by a ſteady and conſtant adherence to your government, to wipe off this ſtain and imputation from the name of Britons, and to convince the world, that thoſe wicked deſigns, formed againſt your majeſty's ſacred perſon and government, which the inſolence of this declaration proves to be moſt real, while it affects to treat them as imaginary, are impracticable againſt a prince relying on, and ſupported by the vigour and duty of a Britiſh parliament, and the affections of his people.

And we beg leave, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to aſſure your majeſty, that neither the impotent menaces of foreign aſſiſtance, nor the utmoſt efforts of domeſtic traitors, ſhall ever deter us from ſtanding by your majeſty with our lives and fortunes, and ſupporting your majeſty's moſt juſt title to the crown of theſe realms, againſt the Pretender, and all his open and ſecret abettors, both at home and abroad.

cution,

Geo. I. 1722. ecution, which was inconſiſtent with the principles and temper of the Proteſtant religion: Adding, ſome of thoſe, who had their education in foreign ſeminaries, proved ſome of the beſt friends to the preſent government. To this Mr. Yonge anſwered, That he knew very little of foreign education, but he doubted very much, that loyalty to king George was taught by prieſts and Jeſuits in Roman ſeminaries. The lord Gage, who was bred a Roman Catholic, and had ſeveral relations of that religion, ſaid, That he believed moſt of them to be very loyal ſubjects, though, by their principles, they cannot take the oath of ſupremacy; and therefore he propoſed, that a new oath of allegiance might be framed for them. Mr. William Thompſon ſpoke on the ſame ſide, and declared his abhorrence of perſecuting any body on account of their opinions in religion. This was anſwered by recorder Thompſon, who ſtated the true notion of perſecution, which, in his opinion, was only when any one is puniſhed for his particular opinion in religion, and for ſerving God according to that opinion, and the dictates of his conſcience. But that (ſaid he) was not the caſe here, for the extraordinary tax, now intended to be raiſed upon the Papiſts, was not a puniſhment for their being Roman Catholics, but on account of penalties they had at divers times incurred for being enemies to the civil government, raiſing rebellions, and contriving plots againſt the ſtate. At laſt, Mr. Walpole repreſented 'the great dangers this nation had been in, ever ſince the Reformation, from the conſtant endeavours of Popery to ſubvert our happy conſtitution and the Proteſtant religion, by the moſt cruel, violent, and unjuſtifiable methods: That he would not take upon him to charge any particular perſon among them with being concerned in the preſent horrid conſpiracy: But that it was notorious to the whole world, that many of them had been engaged in the Preſton rebellion, and ſome were executed for it; and the preſent plot was contrived at Rome, and countenanced in Popiſh countries: That many of the Papiſts were not only well-wiſhers to it, but had contributed large ſums of money towards carrying it on; and therefore he thought it very reaſonable, ſince they made ſuch ſavings of the incomes of their eſtates, that the ſame ſhould go towards the great expence they and the pretender's friends had put the nation to.' In the courſe of the bill, which was ordered to be brought in, the friends of the Roman Catholics, when they ſaw it was like to paſs, took the opportunity of a thin houſe, to clog it with a clauſe for including the Papiſts and Nonjurors of Scotland, which was carried

carried by five voices only in the committee. But, when this amendment came to be conſidered by the houſe, Mr. Walpole repreſented, That, the names and real eſtates of the Scots Papiſts and Nonjurors not being regiſtered, it was impoſſible to aſcertain their proportion of this tax. Upon which the clauſe was rejected, and the bill, having paſſed, was ſent up to the lords, where it was alſo agreed to with another bill from the commons, to oblige all perſons, being Papiſts, in Scotland, and all perſons in Great-Britain refuſing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government, to regiſter their names and real eſtates. Both theſe bills received the royal aſſent. Geo. I. 1722.

Trial of Layer.

Mr. Layer was brought to his tryal on the 21ſt of November, at the King's-Bench. His indictment ſet forth, 'That he had been employed in forming a moſt traiterous and horrid plot and conſpiracy againſt his majeſty and his government, by inliſting men in Eſſex for the pretender's ſervice, in order to ſtir up a rebellion; and alſo, that he had held correſpondence with the pretender, by carrying letters and treaſonable papers to him beyond ſeas, and from him to his majeſty's diſaffected ſubjects in this kingdom.' The firſt evidence proved, that the earl of Cadogan was to be ſeized, and the Tower at the ſame time; afterwards the Bank of England, and then his majeſty and the prince of Wales. The inliſting men for the pretender was proved by ſeveral perſons, to whom Mr. Layer had given money; and, after a trial of about eighteen hours, he was found guilty, and received ſentence of death; but, being reprieved from time to time, the houſe of commons appointed a committe to examine him in relation to the conſpiracy, conſiſting of Spencer Compton, the ſpeaker; Robert Walpole, chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Joſeph Jekyll, maſter of the rolls; Paul Methuen, comptroller of the houſhold; William Pulteney; John Smith, teller of the Exchequer; Richard Hampden, lieutenant-general Wills, and Sir Robert Sutton. They choſe Stephen Poyntz to be their ſecretary. Mr. Layer's reprieve was prolonged on this occaſion, and, his trial not being publiſhed, the earl of Angleſey, in the houſe of lords, took notice, 'That, at the opening of this ſeſſion, his majeſty, in his ſpeech from the throne, had been pleaſed to acquaint both houſes with the diſcovery of a dangerous conſpiracy, which for ſome time had been formed, and was ſtill carrying on againſt his perſon and government: That ſome of the conſpirators had been taken up and ſecured; and that

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Geo. I. 1722. endeavours were uſed for the apprehending others. That, one of the principal plotters having ſince that time been tried and condemned, it was ſomewhat ſtrange, that no particulars relating to the conſpiracy had yet been communicated to that houſe, the rather, becauſe ſeveral of the members had been apprehended, and were ſtill confined, on ſuſpicion of being concerned in it.' And therefore he moved, 'That the judges of the king's-Bench be ordered to cauſe the trial of Chriſtoper Layer to be forthwith printed and publiſhed, being firſt peruſed by the king's council.' This motion was ſupported by the earls Cowper, Strafford, and Aylesford; the lords Trevor, Bathurſt, Lechmere, and ſome others. To this it was anſwered by the lord Carteret, 'That the order moved for was altogether unneceſſary, directions having been long before given by the judges for the printing and publiſhing of the trial with all convenient ſpeed: That the trial being of a very large extent, and ſeveral parts of it, that were taken down in ſhort-hand, requiring a great deal of time to be reviſed and rectified by the judges and the council on both ſides, had occaſioned the delay complained of; but that, the printing of the trial being now in great forwardneſs, the ſame would be publiſhed in a few days.' Upon this, a motion for an order to the judges was rejected, and about a week after the trial was publiſhed. However, ſixteen lords entered their proteſts.

1722-23. Layer executed. May 17. Theſe debates probably haſtened the publication of the trial; and, though Layer was ſtill reprieved from time to time, in hopes that he would make a full diſcovery of the plot, he waved it; and therefore he was at laſt executed at Tyburn, his head being carried to Newgate, and the next day fixed up at Temple-Bar; but his quarters were delivered to thoſe who came for them. He was attended at his death by Mr. George Hawkins and Mr. John Berryman, two clergymen. His ſpeech was very ſhort; but in it he juſtified himſelf in what he had done, and recommended the intereſt of the pretender. He delivered a paper to Mr. Price, the under-ſheriff, and another to a friend.

Report of the committee to examine Layer. The report of the committee appointed to examine Mr. Layer, and others, having been delivered to the houſe, on the firſt of March, by Mr. Pulteney, the chairman, it appeared from thence, that a deſign had been long carrying on by perſons of figure and diſtinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the pretender on the throne of theſe kingdoms. That various methods had been attempted, and various times fixed for putting this deſign in execution. That

That the first intention was to have procured a regular body of foreign forces to invade these kingdoms at the time of the late elections; but that the conspirators, being disappointed in this expectation, next resolved to make an attempt at the time, that it was generally believed the king intended to go to Hanover, by the help of such officers and soldiers, as could pass into England unobserved from abroad, under the command of the late duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpose, at which time the Tower was likewise to have been made a place for arms. But this design being also disappointed by the discoveries made in England, and the king's putting off his journey; by the incampment of his forces at home, as well as the sending for those from Ireland, and by the readiness of his allies the States-general, to assist him in case of need; by the orders given in Spain, that the late duke of Ormond should not be suffered to pass through that kingdom, the conspirators found themselves under a necessity of deferring their enterprize till the breaking up of the camp: During that interval, they were labouring by their agents and emissaries to corrupt and seduce the officers and soldiers of the army, and depended so much on this defection, as to entertain hopes of placing the pretender on the throne, though they should obtain no assistance from abroad, which nevertheless they still continued to sollicit for. Geo. I. 1722-23.

The truth and reality of these designs were confirmed by the concurrent advices from almost all parts of Europe, sent by persons who appeared to have had no communication with each other. These advices were also verified by several discoveries made at home by the informations and confessions of the parties concerned, as well as by a long series of correspondence which the conspirators furnished the government against themselves.

From several letters and circumstances it appeared, that the first design was to have been executed with the assistance of foreign forces, at the time of the elections; that the pretender, the late duke of Ormond, lord Orrery, and the bishop of Rochester, were of this opinion; that memorials were drawn up here, to be presented to the regent for this purpose, and that those memorials were actually presented, or, at least, application made to the regent in consequence of them, by directions from persons in England; and that such dispositions had been made for this enterprize at that time, as broke out into riots at some of the elections; which must

have

Geo. I. 1722-23. have been allowed to have been no unfavourable juncture for such an attempt, conſidering the diſcontents occaſioned by the late South-Sea ſcheme, which the conſpirators all along flattered themſelves they ſhould be able to improve into a ſpirit of rebellion, and the liberties uſually taken at ſuch a ſeaſon, when all the freeholders of England are neceſſarily aſſembled together, and when the whole nation is too apt to be in a ferment, even in the quieteſt times.

This deſign failing, on account (as it is reaſonable to believe) of the conſpirators not being able to obtain the forces they ſollicited from abroad, and of their being themſelves divided in opinion as to the time and manner of execution, their next endeavour was to attempt an inſurrection at the time, when they ſuppoſed his majeſty would be going to Hanover. For it appeared by ſeveral particulars, that the duke of Ormond was to have landed in England with officers and arms about that time. The reaſon of Ormond's not coming proceeded from the orders iſſued at Madrid and in France to prevent him, and by the king's not going abroad. In a letter to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate from Rome, notice was taken, that a perſon of great diſtinction at that place had declared it as his opinion, that the grand project formed in the conclave, for placing the pretender on the throne of Britain, was going to be put in execution; but that the ſame perſon afterwards aſſigned four reaſons for its having miſcarried, which were, the want of money, the ſuſpected faith of the regent, the want of ſkill in thoſe who were to conduct it, and the puſillanimity of the pretender, who, to avoid hazarding his own perſon, propoſed to ſend his child.

The report farther obſerved, that the leaders, in order (as it is natural to believe) to ſave themſelves from the danger of legal conviction, choſe to manage their correſpondencies by the intervention of perſons of a meaner rank and figure, and of deſperate fortunes, who, they hoped, might eſcape the obſervation of the government; being no otherwiſe conſiderable, than as the truſt repoſed in them made them ſo. Of theſe inferior agents, Layer appears to have been principally intruſted by lord North and Grey, and lord Orrery; and Plunket, who travelled with Layer to Rome, and whoſe treaſonable practices and correſpondencies are cloſely connected with thoſe of Layer, writes of himſelf as tranſacting part of his treaſons with lord Orrery's clerk, and ſends frequent accounts to the pretender's agents abroad, of matters relating to the ſaid lord.

George

George Kelly, a Nonjuring clergyman, appears to have been the perſon principally entruſted by the biſhop of Rocheſter, and to have been employed in writing for him, and conveying letters to him, until the time that he, Kelly, was firſt taken into cuſtody; after which, it appears to the committee, that Thomas Carte, another Nonjuring clergyman, was entruſted and employed by the biſhop in the ſame manner; and the committee obſerved, that George Kelly's correſpondence has a cloſe connexion with that of Dennis Kelly, and likewiſe that he appears to have been privy to Plunket's and Neynoe's tranſactions. Geo. I. 1722-23.

The perſon employed by the duke of Norfolk, in conveying letters between him, and George Jernegan, an agent of the pretender's in Flanders, they find to be Mrs. Spelman, alias Yallop, who has likewiſe owned her conveying letters in the ſame manner between Mr. Harvey of Comb, and one Moore of Brownloe-Street, and the ſaid Jernegan; the committee obſerve, that John Sample acted under the direction of Mr. Sempil (commonly called lord Sempil) and his ſon at Paris; and that he wrote letters to the late duke of Ormond and the pretender.

After the reading of the report, it was moved by Mr. Pultney, that this queſtion might be put, 'That upon conſideration of the report, and the ſeveral papers and examinations relating to the conſpiracy, it appears to this houſe, that a deteſtable and horrid plot has been formed and carried on by perſons of figure and diſtinction, and their agents and inſtruments, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for invading theſe kingdoms with foreign forces, for raiſing inſurrections and a rebellion at home, for ſeizing the Tower, and the city of London, for laying violent hands upon the perſons of his moſt ſacred majeſty and the prince of Wales, in order to ſubvert our preſent happy eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate, by placing a Popiſh pretender upon the throne.' This queſtion, after a ſhort debate, was carried without dividing; and then Mr. Pelham moved, 'That it appears to this houſe that Chriſtopher Layer, in his ſeveral examinations before the lords of the council, and the committee of this houſe, has groſsly prevaricated, ſuppreſſed the truth, contradicted himſelf, and endeavoured, as far as in him lies, to diſguiſe and conceal the horrid and deteſtable conſpiracy:' Which was alſo carried in the ſame manner. After this, the attorney-general moved, 'That it appears to this houſe, that John Plunket has been a principal agent and inſtrument in the conſpiracy, and has carried on ſeveral treaſonable correſpon-

Geo. I. 1722-23.

reſpondences to procure a foreign force to invade theſe kingdoms, to raiſe inſurrections and a rebellion at home, and was engaged with others in the villainous and execrable deſign, of laying violent hands upon his majeſty's moſt ſacred perſon.' This queſtion being carried with very little oppoſition, the attorney-general moved again, for a bill to inflict certain pains and penalties on John Plunket. Though this motion was warmly oppoſed, yet, after a long debate, it was carried by a majority of 289 againſt 130, and the bill, being brought in, paſſed both houſes: But thirty-one lords entered their proteſts againſt it. A few days after, the ſollicitor-general made the like motion in the caſe of George Kelly, and a bill was alſo paſſed againſt him, which was attended with the ſame proteſts.

By theſe acts Plunket and Kelly were to be kept in cloſe cuſtody during his majeſty's pleaſure, his heirs and ſucceſſors, in any priſon in Great-Britain; and, in caſe they ſhould break priſon, they and their aſſiſtants were to ſuffer death.

Act againſt biſhop Atterbury.

The ſame day Mr. Yonge in a long ſpeech took notice, how deeply Dr. Francis Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter, had been concerned in this deteſtable Conſpiracy; aggravating his crime from his holy function, and high ſtation in the church of England, a church ever conſpicuous for its loyalty; from the ſolemn oaths he had, on ſo many occaſions, taken to the government, and by which he had abjured the pretender; when at the ſame time he was traiterouſly conſpiring to bring him in, upon the ruin of his country, and of all that was dear and valuable to us as Freemen and Chriſtians: Concluding, that as he was a diſgrace to his order, and a diſhonour to the Church, ſo he might apply to him on this occaſion theſe words of the 1ſt of Acts, verſe 20, 'Let his habitation be deſolate, and let no man dwell 'therein, and his biſhopric let another take.' And therefore he moved, 'That it appears to this houſe, that Francis lord biſhop of Rocheſter was principally concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on the wicked and deteſtable conſpiracy, for invading theſe kingdom with a foreign force, and for raiſing inſurrections and rebellions at home, in order to ſubvert our preſent happy eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate, by placing a Popiſh pretender upon the throne.' Sir William Wyndham ſaid, he ſaw no cauſe to proceed againſt the biſhop in ſo ſevere a manner, there being little or indeed no evidence beſides conjectures and hearſays. However, Mr. Yonge's motion was agreed to, and a bill was ordered

to

to be brought in to inflict certain pains and penalties on Francis biſhop of Rocheſter. Geo. I. 1723.

When the bill came to be read a ſecond time, the biſhop ſent a letter to the ſpeaker, which he deſired might be communicated to the houſe, and in which he ſaid, that, though conſcious of his own innocence, he ſhould decline giving the houſe any trouble that day, and contented himſelf with the opportunity (if the bill went on) of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a member. However the commons proceeded in that affair, and, the council for the bill being called in, and the bill read, the council opened the evidence, and produced a ſcheme, taken amongſt Mr. Layer's papers, which was read, as were alſo ſeveral copies of letters ſtopped at the Poſt-office. Then the council examined ſeveral witneſſes to make good the allegations of the bill; produced ſeveral papers taken at his houſes at Weſtminſter and Bromley; as alſo a packet taken on one of his ſervents at the Tower of London; and examined two witneſſes, one to prove, that a letter and paper contained in the packet were his hand-writing; and the other to prove, that a letter directed to Mr. Dubois, taken amongſt his papers at the deanry at Weſtminſter, was ſealed with the ſame ſeal, with which the letter taken on his ſervant at the Tower was ſealed. Then the council ſummed up the evidence, and, being withdrawn, the ſpeaker opened the bill, which was committed to a grand committee, on the 6th of April, when the leading men amongſt the Tories choſe to go out of the houſe; ſo that only Mr. Lawſon, Mr. Oglethorpe, and two or three more, ſtaid to ſpeak in the biſhop's behalf. When they came to the filling up the blank for pains and penalties; it was moved, that he ſhould be deprived of his office and benefice, baniſhed the kingdom, be guilty of felony if he returned, and that it ſhould not be in the king's power to pardon him without conſent of parliament; but without forfeiture of goods and chattels. Mr. Lawſon repreſented, that, the evidence againſt the biſhop being all either hearſay or conjecture, and therefore not to be depended upon, he ought to have no puniſhment at all. Mr. Oglethorpe was of the ſame opinion, but gave it another turn. He ſaid, 'It was plain, the pretender had none but a company of ſilly fellows about him; and it was to be feared, that, if the biſhop, who was allowed to be a man of great parts, ſhould be baniſhed, he might be ſollicited and tempted to go to Rome, and there be in a capacity to do more miſchief by his advice, than if he was ſuffered to ſtay in England under the watchful

Geo. I. 1723. eye of thoſe in power.' But the bill paſſed and was ſent up to the lords; before whom the biſhop was brought to his trial on the 9th of May; and, himſelf and his council having been heard, the lords in a grand committee went through the bill againſt him; and on the 15th the bill was read the third time; after which a motion being made for paſſing it, there aroſe a very long and warm debate (a).

Earl Powlet, who opened the debate, ſpoke to the nature of the bill, ſhewed the danger of ſuch an extraordinary proceeding, and urged, that the ſwerving from the fixed rules of evidence, and conſequently from juſtice, muſt inevitably be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to our excellent conſtitution. Dr. Willis, biſhop of Salisbury, in anſwer to that, alledged, that as extraordinary diſeaſes required extraordinary remedies; ſo in caſes of extreme danger and neceſſity, when the very being of the ſtate lies at ſtake, if the common law cannot reach offenders, the legiſlature ought to exert itſelf. He was replied to by Dr. Gaſtrell, biſhop of Cheſter, who owned, that extraordinary proceedings may indeed be recurred to upon extraordinary occaſions, and when they are evidently neceſſary for the preſervation of the ſtate; but that was very far from the preſent caſe, ſince the conſpiracy, in which the biſhop of Rocheſter was charged to have had a ſhare, had been diſcovered and diſappointed long before. The duke of Wharton, in a long ſpeech, ſummoned up the whole evidence, which had been produced againſt the biſhop of Rocheſter, and endeavoured to ſhew the inſufficiency of it to prove the charge; concluding, 'That, let the conſequences be what they would, he would not have ſuch a helliſh ſtain ſully the luſtre and glory of that illuſtrious houſe, as to condemn a man without the leaſt evidence;' and therefore was for rejecting the bill. He was ſtrongly ſupported by lord Bathurſt, who, in the firſt place, took notice of the ungracious diſtinctions, that were fixed upon the members of that

(a) The ſpeakers for and againſt the bill were as follows:

Againſt the bill.	For the bill.
1. Earl Powlet,	2. Lord biſhop of Saliſbury,
3. Lord biſhop of Cheſter,	4. Lord biſhop of London,
5. Duke of Wharton,	9. Earl of Findlater and Seafield,
6. Lord Bathurſt,	
7. Earl of Strafford,	10. Duke of Argyle,
8. Lord Trevor,	12. Lord Lechmere,
11. Lord Gower,	14. Earl of Peterborough,
13. Earl Cowper.	15. Earl of Cholmondley.

noble

noble and illuſtrious aſſembly, who differed in opinion from thoſe, who happened to have the majority. That, for his own part, as he had nothing in view but truth and juſtice, the good of his country, the honour of that houſe, and the diſcharging of his own conſcience, he would freely ſpeak his thoughts, notwithſtanding all diſcouragements: That he would not complain of the ſiniſter arts, that had been uſed of late to render ſome perſons obnoxious, and, under pretence of their being ſo, to open their letters about their minuteſt domeſtic affairs. For theſe ſmall grievances he could eaſily bear; but, when he ſaw things go ſo far, as to condemn a perſon of the higheſt dignity in the church, in ſuch an unprecedented manner, and without any legal evidence, he thought it his duty to oppoſe a proceeding ſo unjuſt and unwarrantable in itſelf, and ſo dangerous and diſmal in its conſequences. To this purpoſe he begged leave to tell their lordſhips a ſtory he had from ſeveral officers of undoubted credit, who had ſerved in Flanders in the late war. A Frenchman, it ſeems, had invented a machine, which would not only kill more men at once, than any yet in uſe, but alſo diſable for ever any man, who ſhould be wounded by it. Big with hopes of a great reward, he applied himſelf to one of the miniſters, who laid the project before the late French king; but that monarch conſidering, that ſo deſtructive an engine might ſoon be turned againſt his own men, did not think proper to encourage it: Whereupon the inventor came over into England, and offered his ſervice to ſome of our generals, who likewiſe rejected the propoſal with indignation. The uſe and application of this ſtory is very obvious; for, if this way of proceeding be admitted, it will certainly prove a very dangerous engine. No man's life, liberty, or property will be ſafe. And if thoſe, who were in the adminiſtration ſome years ago, and who had as great a ſhare in the affections of the people, as any that came after them, had made uſe of ſuch a political machine, ſome of thoſe noble perſons, who now appear ſo zealous promoters of this bill, would not be in a capacity to ſerve his majeſty at this time. He added, that, if ſuch extraordinary proceeding went on, he ſaw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their country houſes, and there, if poſſible, quietly enjoy their eſtates within their own families, ſince the leaſt correſpondence, the leaſt intercepted letter, might be made criminal. To this purpoſe he quoted a paſſage out of cardinal de Retz's Memoirs, relating to that wicked politician, cardinal Mazarine, who boaſted, that, if he had but two lines of

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Geo. I. 1723. any man's writing, with a few circumſtances atteſted by witneſſes, he could cut off his head, when he pleaſed. He likewiſe animadverted on the majority of the venerable bench, towards which turning himſelf, he ſaid, he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice ſome perſons bore the learned and ingenious biſhop of Rocheſter, unleſs it was, that they were intoxicated with the infatuation of ſome of the wild Indians, who fondly believe they inherit not only the ſpoils, but even the abilities of any great enemy they kill. The earl of Strafford ſpoke on the ſame ſide, as did alſo the lord Trevor, who, among other arguments againſt the bill, urged, that, if men were in this unprecedented manner proceeded againſt without legal proof, in a ſhort time men would be tried as they were liked by miniſters: That, for his own part, he believed he ſtood but indifferently in the opinion and liking of ſome perſons, and therefore he had reaſon to think himſelf more in danger, becauſe at preſent they wanted the protection of the law (meaning the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act;) and, as in a ſhort time they were like to be ſo unhappy, as to be deprived of his majeſty's perſonal protection, and were ſtill liable to be confined upon ſuſpicion, which he took to be no more than 'will and pleaſure,' they were conſequently at the will and pleaſure of the miniſters. That however no apprehenſion of what he might ſuffer ſhould deter him from doing what he thought his duty: That, conſonant to that principle, he had all along, and ſtill oppoſed theſe extraordinary proceedings, which tended to lodge an exorbitant power in their fellow-ſubjects. That, if he were to loſe his liberty, he had rather give it up to one ſingle tyrant, than to many; for a tyrant, if a man of common underſtanding, would, for his own ſake, be tender of the lives of his ſubjects; whereas many tyrants would endeavour to deſtroy one another, to get one another's preferments. The lord Trevor having done ſpeaking, the Earl of Seafield endeavoured to ſhew, that the evidence, which had been produced before them, being ſufficient to convince any reaſonable man, that there had been a deteſtable conſpiracy, and that the biſhop of Rocheſter had a great ſhare in it, was likewiſe ſufficient to juſtify this extraordinary proceeding againſt him, eſpecially ſince they inflicted on him ſo light a puniſhment, conſidering the heighnouſneſs of the crime. The duke of Argyle purſued the ſame argument; run through and confuted the moſt eſſential parts of the biſhop's defence; and aggravated his offence, by which he had debaſed his holy function and character, and acted contrary to the ſolemn repeated oaths

oaths he had taken. The lord Gower ſpoke afterwards a- Geo. I.
gainſt the bill; but what ſurprized moſt people, the lord 1723.
Lechmere, who, on ſeveral occaſions, had expreſſed his
diſlike of theſe extraordinary proceedings, declared it as his
opinion, that there was ſufficient evidence to ſupport the
charge. He was anſwered by earl Cowper in a long ſpeech,
importing in ſubſtance, That the ſtrongeſt argument, which
had been urged for this bill, was neceſſity; but that, for his
part, he ſaw no neceſſity, that could juſtify ſo unprecedented
and ſo dangerous a proceeding. That, as already had been ſug-
geſted, the conſpiracy had above a twelve month before been
happily diſcovered, and the effects of it conſequently pre-
vented. That, beſides the intrinſic weight and ſtrength of
the government, by numerous offices and employments, civil
and military, and the wealth and intereſt of the well-affected
to his majeſty's perſon and the preſent happy eſtabliſhment,
the hands of thoſe at the helm had ſtill been fortified by the
ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act, and the additional
troops; ſo that, in his opinion, there could be no danger to
the government, if Plunket and Kelly were not priſoners for
life, nor the biſhop of Rocheſter ſent into baniſhment. That,
on the contrary, if that prelate's talent and genius lay in con-
triving and carrying on ſtate intrigues, he thought him leſs
dangerous at home than abroad: That the other reaſons al-
ledged to ſupport this extraordinary proceeding had no more
weight in them than the firſt: That the known rules of evi-
dence, as laid down at firſt, and eſtabliſhed by the law of the
land, were the birth-right of every ſubject of this nation, and
ought to be conſtantly obſerved, not only in the inferior courts
of judicature, but alſo in both houſes of parliament, till al-
tered by the legiſlature: That much had been ſaid of the
power of parliaments, which he owned was very great; but
that, in his opinion, their abſolute power conſiſted only in
making and repealing laws, and, till ſuch time as a law was
repealed, every ſubject had a right to it. That the admitting
of the precarious and uncertain evidence of the clerks of the
Poſt-office was a very dangerous precedent: That in former
times it was thought very grievous, that, in capital caſes, a
man ſhould be affected by ſimilitude of hands: But here the
caſe was much worſe, ſince it was allowed, that the clerks of
the Poſt-office would carry the ſimilitude of hands four months
in their mind. That theſe men might be honeſt, and
ſwear to the beſt of their knowledge; but he was ſure, they
were at leaſt very willing and forward evidence: For as he
aſked one of them, how he knew ſuch a paper to be Mr.

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Kelly's hand? He readily anſwered, 'He had ſeen the ſame four months before, and he was ſure it could be no other:' Whereas any man, who has never ſo little been converſant in the world, knows, that hands may be ſo well counterfeited, as not to be diſtinguiſhed. After this, he commended the biſhop of Rocheſter's noble and brave carriage in not anſwering before the houſe of commons, whoſe proceeding in this unprecedented manner againſt a lord of parliament was ſuch an incroachment on the prerogative of the peerage, that, if ſubmitted to by paſſing this bill, they might well be ſaid to be the laſt of lords. 'Ultimus Romanorum, my lords (ſaid he in the concluſion) was a character of honour and praiſe': But to be the laſt of Britiſh peers, by giving up our antient privileges, will never, I doubt, admit of ſuch conſtruction: and therefore I am for rejecting this bill.' Little was ſaid of any great weight after this ſpeech; and, about half an hour paſt nine the queſtion being put, it was reſolved in the affirmative, that the bill ſhould paſs, by a majority of 82 voices againſt 43; upon which ſeveral lords entered their proteſts.

By this act the biſhop, from the 1ſt day of June 1722, was to be deprived of all offices, dignities, promotions, and benefices eccleſiaſtical, and incapable of holding any for the future. He was alſo baniſhed the realm, and, in caſe he returned, he was to ſuffer death, as well as all perſons that correſponded with him.

Burford's club.

When the report and the other papers were communicated to the Lords by the commons, the earls of Scarſdale, Strafford, and Cowper, the lords Craven, Gower, Bathurſt, and Bingley complained, that, in the examinations, it is ſet forth, that John Plunket told Layer, that they were of a club or meeting, called, in Plunket's letters, Burford's club (b). Theſe

(b) Layer being aſked, If Plunket ever explained to him who were meant by Burford's Club? Plunket told him, It was an appellation made uſe of by the pretender and his agents, to denote a club of Tory lords and others, of which club lord Orrery was chairman, and conſiſted of the following members:

Lord Strafford,	Lord Bingley,
Sir Henry Goring,	Mr. Dawkins,
Lord Cowper,	Lord Craven,
Mr. Hutchinſon,	Mr. Shippen,
Biſhop of Rocheſter,	Lord Scarſdale,
Sir Conſtantine Phipps,	Lord Bathurſt,
General Webb,	Lord Gower.

The

These lords severally declared the same to be false and groundless: And earl Cowper in particular made a long speech, complaining of being mentioned in the report, on the bare hearsay of an infamous person, which was enough to give an air of fiction to the whole conspiracy; and then moved, that Plunket should be sent for and examined. The lord Townshend answered, 'That he was much surprized to find that a noble peer, whose abilities and merits had justly so great weight in that illustrious assembly, should, upon a trivial circumstance, ridicule, as a fiction, a horrid execrable conspiracy, supported by so many concurring proofs, and from a false trifling particular infer, that no part of it was true.' As the debate was like to grow warm, some members called for the question, and earl Cowper's motion was rejected by 81 against 26. The earl and Mr. Hutchinson published declarations against the false information of their being of the club, wherein they strongly asserted their innocence. Geo. I. 1723.

The lords had also chosen by ballot a committee of nine, to whom the report and original papers were referred to prepare what might be fit to be offered to the commons, by way of answer to what was delivered, at a conference relating to the papers. When the duke of Dorset's report from the lords committees was taken into consideration, it was resolved, That a detestable conspiracy had been formed for raising a rebellion, and laying violent hands on the king and prince: After which, the committee was thanked by the lord chancellor, for having discharged their trust with great exactness, fidelity, and candor.

Dr. Friend the physician, who had exerted himself very zealously for the bishop of Rochester, was soon after taken into custody; for, on the 15th of March, Mr. Walpole acquainted the commons, 'That his majesty having had just reason to apprehend Dr. John Friend (a member of this house) for high-treason, desired the consent of the house to his being committed and detained; and then he moved for an address to that purpose. This motion was opposed by Mr. Shippen and Mr. Bromley, who said, they could not see any reason for that house giving leave for detaining any member, unless the species of treason was declared, and that the information was upon oath. Sir Joseph Jekyll and Mr. Wal-

The committee thought it justice due to several of the persons named by Layer, to observe, that the matters asserted of Burford's club in Plunket's letters to Dillon, seemed utterly inconsistent with the known characters of some of those persons. See Report.

Geo. I. 1723. pole replied, That, by the late act for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus, the king was impowered to take up any perſon he had reaſon to ſuſpect: That therefore the government was not obliged to ſay, whether the information was upon oath or not. But Mr. Walpole added, he did not doubt but Dr. Friend was charged upon oath; and privately declared to ſeveral members, that they had a poſitive oath of his being guilty of the blackeſt and baſeſt treaſon. Mr. Shippen then ſuggeſted, that the Doctor's having ſpoke ſo warmly the Monday before in Mr. Kelly and the biſhop of Rocheſter's behalf, was, in his opinion, the reaſon of his being taken up the next day himſelf, and at that rate there was an end of the liberty of ſpeech, which every member of that houſe had a right to, Mr. Walpole replied, He wondered any gentleman could think any miniſtry capable of ſo baſe a thing, as to take up any gentleman for what he ſaid in that houſe, without any other cauſe, when they knew themſelves to be accountable as well as others for thier actions: Adding, that they, who made ſuch inſinuations, might more eaſily be proved to be Jacobites, than they could make out ſuch an allegation again the miniſtry. Mr. Pulteney ſpoke on the ſame ſide; and, in relation to Dr. Friend's having ſpoken in Kelly's behalf, obſerved, that it was uſual, in all conſpiracies, for one traitor to endeavour to excuſe another. Mr. Shippen animadverted with ſome warmth upon this reflection, ſaying, It was not to be indured, to have a member of that houſe called a traitor, before he was convicted as ſuch. But, Mr Pulteney having explained himſelf, that matter ended, and then the motion for an addreſs was carried without a diviſion.

The Harburgh lottery.

The affair which occaſioned the moſt talk, next to the plot, was the Harburgh lottery, which was brought before the parliament this ſeſſion. The lottery took its name from the place where it was to be drawn, the town and port of Harburgh on the river Elbe, within the king's German dominions, where the projector was to ſettle a trade for the woollen manufacture between England and Germany. The houſe of commons having appointed a committee to inquire into this and other lotteries, then carrying on in London, it was repreſented in their report, 'That the ſcheme propoſed; that 1,500,000l. ſterling, or 16,500,000 guilders, ſhould be ſubſcribed; and that it was to be drawn at Harburgh, in five claſſes, 100,000 tickets to be drawn in each claſs, at 3l. per ticket; and that every perſon ſubſcribing was to pay 12s. or ſix guilders for each ticket, before the drawing each claſs

of

of the lottery. That 200,000l. of 300,000l. in each claſs, was to be divided into lots, to the fortunate adventurers, which amounts to 1,000,000l. to be deducted out of the whole ſum, which was to be paid the fortunate adventurers. That a ſum of 1,000,000l. was ſubſcribed for, to carry on a trade between Great-Britain and his majeſty's German dominions; and that 2 per cent. was only paid in upon the ſtock ſo ſubſcribed; of which a ſum of 13,000l. or more was actually paid in money, and 7000l. or more was ſecured by notes; 400,000l. whereof was ſubſcribed. At firſt, 100,000l. ſtock was ſold at 15l. 3s. per cent. of which two per cent. was only paid in to the company, and the reſt diſpoſed of as follows; 13l. 3s. per cent. which amounted to 13,150l. 10,000l, of which was given to Mr. Nicolai; and 3,150l. to Mr. Benjamin Joules, for their ſervices: And as to 13,000l. paid in money, and 7,000l. in notes, the commitee could get no account what was become of it, not being able to ſee their books; nor could the committee learn what number of tickets had been delivered out, or what money thereupon had been received, or what was become of what they had received. That with regard to the diſpoſition of the other 500,000l. 5 per cent. upon 1,500,000l. which amounts to 75,000l. was to be deducted for management; which being taken out of the ſaid 500,000l. leaves 425,000l. which ſum was to be incorporated into the ſtock of the firſt company, and to make a part of a capital of 1,500,000l. as the committee apprehended, of which they could get no poſitive information. But whether the former capital was intended to be ſo great, or only to conſiſt of this 425,000l. and the 1,000,000l. which was before ſubſcribed, it appeared to the committee, that a plain fraud was intended in joining this real ſum with an imaginary ſubſcription; of which 2 per cent. only was paid in or ſecured, and that probably embezzled.' The truſtees of this lottery were twenty; ſome of whom were in Germany; the reſt, who were in England, were the lord Barrington, Sir John Hartop, Charles Frederick Krenbergh, John London, Fiennes Harriſon, Peter Hartop, William Squire, Edward Richier, John Caſwal, William Sterling, Benjamin Smith, Benjamin Burroughs, John Thompſon, Henry Bendiſh, —— Foſter, Benjamin Joules, and John Manley. But ſeveral of them reſigned their truſt immediately, being diſſatisfied with the ſcheme; for, when Sir Thomas Webſter, Sir Charles Wager, and lord Barrington waited upon lord Townſhend, lord Carteret, and Mr. Walpole, they were told, that an Engliſh

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charter

Geo. I. 1723. charter for the advantage of the lottery could not be granted, becauſe it was illegal and impracticable. Upon reading the report, the houſe came to the following reſolutions:

1. That the project, called the Harburgh lottery, carried on in the city of London, is an infamous frudulent undertaking, whereby ſeveral unwary perſons have been drawn in to their great loſs; and that the manner of carrying the ſame on, hath been a manifeſt violation of the laws of this kingdom.

2. That it appears to this houſe, that the managers of, and agents of the ſaid lottery, did frequently, without any authority for ſo doing, make uſe of his majeſty's rayal name, thereby to give countenance to the infamous project, and induce his majeſty's ſubjects to engage, or be concerned therein. After which a bill was opdered to be brought in to ſuppreſs the lottery, and to prevent any foreign lotteries from being carried on in this kingdom; and to oblige the perſons concerned, in the management of the Harburgh lottery, to make reſtitution and ſatisfaction for the money they have received from the contributors. And it was alſo reſolved, nemine contradicente, That it appeared to this houſe, that John lord viſcount Barrington, of the kingdom of Ireland, a member of this houſe, has been notoriouſly guilty of promoting, abetting, and carrying on the fraudulent undertaking, called the Harburgh lottery; and for that offence he be expelled the houſe.

East-India Company at Oſtend. In December 1722, the emperor of Germany granted a patent for eſtabliſhing an Eaſt-India company in the Auſtrian Netherlands, the ſubſtance of which was, that they were impowered to open books of ſubſcription, wherein the ſubjects of any nation were admitted to ſubſcribe. The company was to be called, The Imperial Company of Commerce eſtabliſhed in Flanders. The fund conſiſted of eight millions of florins, and directors to be choſen annually. The nobility had the privilege of entering into this company, without derogation in the leaſt from their nobility: Thoſe of any nation, who ſubſcribed 20,000 florins, were to be naturalized from that ſubſcription: And any perſon had the privilege to ſubſcribe what ſum he pleaſed abcvee 1000 florins, but nothing leſs, to prevent confuſion in their accounts. The ſettlement of this company was to be chiefly owing to Mr. Colebrook, an Engliſh merchant.

Notwithſtanding the oppoſition they met with from the Engliſh, French, and Dutch, they opened their books, and had a full ſubſcription in a very few days, owing chiefly to the

the clandeſtine negotiations of their agents in England, France, and Holland, where great numbers of merchants ſubſcribed to that ſtock, and maſters of Eaſt-India ſhips and ſupercargoes went to Oſtend, to enter into their ſervice, and put them in a way to eſtabliſh and carry on their trade, which they did effectually, to the great damage of the Engliſh, French, and Dutch companies. Monſieur de Fonſeca, the emperor's miniſter at Paris, ſignified to the duke of Orleans, then at the head of affairs there, that the emperor was much ſurprized at the moſt Chriſtian king's forbidding his ſubjects to be any ways concerned in the Oſtend company. He was anſwered, 'That repreſentations had been made to the emperor, that he was engaged by treaty not to encourage any ſuch commerce; that, nevertheleſs, his Imperial majeſty, without any regard to the ſaid repreſentations, had thought fit to grant a charter in favour thereof. That the moſt Chriſtian king was maſter of his own kingdom, and not obliged to give an account of his actions, and therefore the emperor could not take it amiſs the prohibition to his ſubjects, not to have any concern in the company ſet up at Oſtend.' Geo. I. 1723.

A memorial of the Dutch Eaſt-India company (which had been delivered to the States in March) having been preſented to the commons this ſeſſion, together with an extract of another memorial ſent by the States to the court of Vienna, concerning the Oſtend company, Sir Nathaniel Gould repreſented to the houſe the great damage the Eaſt-India company had already received, and was like farther to receive by the Oſtend company; it was unanimouſly reſolved, That for the the ſubjects of this kingdom to ſubſcribe, or be concerned in encouraging any ſubſcription, to promote an Eaſt-India company, now erecting in the Auſtrian Netherlands, is a high crime and miſdemeanor.' Accordingly a bill paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent, to prevent the king's ſubjects from ſubſcribing or being concerned in the Oſtend Eaſt-India company.

There had been ſeveral general courts held by the South-Sea company about transferring two millions of their ſtock to the Bank of England, which was at laſt agreed on by the two companies. A petition had likewiſe been preſented to the commons for the reviving the two millions that had been annihilated. Accordingly an act paſſed this ſeſſion, whereby it was enacted, that the two millions ſhould be revived, and added to the capital ſtock, and divided among the proprietors.* By the ſame act, the whole capital, computed at 33,802,483 l. 14 s. was to be divided into two equal parts, one of which amounting South-Sea affairs.

* See p. 645.

Geo. I. 1723. amounting to 16,901,241 l. 17 s. was to be called, The joint ſtock of South-Sea annuities, attended with annuities payable out of the South-Sea company's fund in lieu of all dividends, viz. at 5 l. per cent. till June 24, 1727, and from thence at 4 l. per cent. till redeemed. The other moiety was to remain in the company as a joint ſtock, attended with the reſidue of the yearly funds, payable at the Exchequer, till redemption, and alſo attended with the ſeveral ſums for charges of management, and with all benefits of trade, &c. And, as concerning the moiety ſo converted into South-Sea annuities, every proprietor ſhould be intitled to annuities at 5 l. per cent. till June 24, 1727, and from thence at 4 l. per cent. and the company ſhould receive at the Exchequer, out of the duties charged with their whole annuities yearly, the intereſt of the ſame moiety, till redemption, in truſt for the proprietors: And all powers in force were to be continued for ſecuring the joint ſtock of South-Sea annuities, and the yearly funds to attend the ſame. The annuities were payable half-yearly, at Lady-day and Michaelmas.

The Mint put down. An act paſſed this Seſſion for the more effectual execution of juſtice, in a pretended privileged place in the pariſh of St. George, commonly called the Mint, where great numbers of debtors had taken ſanctuary.

On the 27th of May, the king put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I AM perſuaded, notwithſtanding the unuſual length "of this ſeſſion, you will not think your time has been "miſemployed in conſulting the neceſſary means for pre-"ſerving the peace and quiet of the kingdom; and bring-"ing to juſtice ſome of the chief promoters of that confuſion, "which lately threatened the nation.

"The prudent meaſures you have taken for our common "ſecurity, and your enabling me to defend my kingdoms "againſt any deſigns or attempts of our enemies, are the "moſt convincing teſtimonies of your fidelity and affection "to me, and of your concern for the liberties of my peo-"ple. Be aſſured, the confidence you have repoſed in me "ſhall never be made uſe of but for their ſafety and de-"fence.

"The papers, which have been laid before you, for your in-"formation, and have been ſince publiſhed for the ſatisfaction "of the world, evidently ſhew, that the conſpirators had "brought their wicked arts and practices to ſuch perfection,

"that

" that they confidently carried on their traiterous projects Geo. I.
" in defiance of the law, from an aſſurance of their being 1723.
" able to elude it. The reſpect and reverence due to the
" law had been loſt, and the tranquillity of my people en-
" dangered, had not you interpoſed. This made it neceſ-
" ſary for the legiſlature to exert itſelf, in puniſhing ſuch
" offenders, whoſe guilt is too certain to leave the leaſt
" room for doubt, and whoſe crimes are too heinous to ad-
" mit of any aggravation.

" And yet it is with pleaſure I reflect, that the juſtice of
" parliament has been ſo tempered with mercy, that even
" thoſe, who are reſolved to be diſſatisfied, muſt acknow-
" ledge the lenity of your proceedings, and will be at a loſs
" for any pretence to complain, ſo few examples having
" been made, and the penalties inflicted by bill falling ſo
" much ſhort of the puniſhments due for the ſame crimes,
" by the common courſe of law.

" The firmneſs, you have ſhewn, muſt convince all the
" world, how much they were miſtaken, whoſe chief hopes
" were founded on the diſaffection of my people. It gave
" me great ſatisfaction to ſee as general a concurrence in full
" parliament upon this occaſion, as has been known on any
" former: And it is to be hoped, our enemies will ceaſe to
" flatter themſelves with the vain imagination of being able
" to ſubvert our religion and preſent eſtabliſhment.

" Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I muſt ackcowledge, in a particular manner, the great
" readineſs you have ſhewn in raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies
" for the enſuing year. It is an unexpected felicity, that
" you have been able ſo far to diſappoint the hopes of our
" enemies, as to avoid laying any new burthen upon my
" people; and that ſo ſoon after that great ſhock and con-
" vulſion in all the public funds, and in the midſt of inteſ-
" tine alarms and diſturbances, the credit of the nation
" ſo far revive and flouriſh, that not only the ſupplies of the
" year ſhould be raiſed at a much lower intereſt, than was
" ever known in the moſt quiet times, but part of the na-
" tional debt ſhould be reduced from an intereſt of 5 to 3
" per cent, and put in a courſe of being ſoon diſcharged.

" My

Geo. I.
1723.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I return you my moſt ſincere thanks for the indefatigable pains you have taken in the ſervice of the public. "I earneſtly recommend it to you, in your ſeveral ſtations "and countries, to perſevere in your endeavours for preſerving the peace of the kingdom; by juſtice and reſolution to ſubdue the reſtleſs ſpirit of faction and ſedition; "and by prudence and temper to reconcile the miſled.

"Some extraordinary affairs calling me abroad this ſummer, I do not doubt but that the wiſdom and vigilance of "my good ſubjects will prevent our enemies from taking any "advantage of my abſence. To gain the hearts and affections of my people ſhall always be my firſt and principal "care. On their duty and loyalty I will entirely depend. "They may as ſurely depend on my protection, in the "full enjoyment of their religion, liberty and property."

The king goes to Hanover.

The king, whom the conſpiracy had detained in England the laſt year, had no ſooner put an end to the ſeſſion, but he ſet out for his German dominions. He embarked for Holland the 3d of June, and, after ſtaying two days with his brother, the biſhop of Oſnabrug, arrived the 11th at Herenhauſen. He appointed lords juſtices in his abſence as uſual, the prince being ſtill excluded, who was now in his forty-firſt year. The lord Harcourt, formerly ſo ſtrictly united with the earl of Oxford, and queen Anne's other miniſters, and who had defended them with ſo much zeal, was one of the lords juſtices. Mr. Walpole was likewiſe of the number, and acted as ſecretary of ſtate, in the abſence of the lords Townſhend and Carteret, who were with the king.

Promotions.

It was intended to advance him to the peerage, but he choſe rather to have that honour conferred on his ſon, who was made baron Walpole of Walpole in the county of Norfolk (c). About the ſame time, Mr. Pulteney, chairman of

(c) The lord Townſhend's eldeſt ſon was called up to the houſe of peers, by the title of baron Townſhend of Lynn-Regis, and made one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber, in the room of the lord Teynham, who ſome days before ſhot himſelf and died an hour after.

The preamble to the lord Walpole began thus:

"Our moſt beloved and moſt faithful counſellor Robert Walpole, firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury, with the aſſiſtance of other

of the late committee of ſecrecy, was made cofferer of the houſhold; and Philip, lord Stanhope, captain of the yeomen of the guard; Dr. Gibſon was tranſlated from Lincoln to London; Dr. Reynolds from Bangor to Lincoln; and Dr. Bradford from Carliſle to Rocheſter; Dr. Waugh was promoted to Carliſle, and Dr. Willis, on the death of Dr. Trimnel, to Wincheſter; Dr. Hoadly was tranſlated from Hereford to Saliſbury; Dr. Green, on the death of Dr. Fleetwood, from Norwich to Ely; Dr. Leng was made biſhop of Norwich; and Dr. Egerton, brother to the duke of Bridgwater, of Hereford. Geo. I. 1723.

The king, before his departure, ſhewed his clemency to thoſe who had been taken up on account of the plot. The earl of Orrery was releaſed from his confinement, and admitted to bail; as were alſo the duke of Norfolk, the lord North and Grey, Dennis Kelly, Thomas Cochran, and Swathfegger, the earl of Orrery's ſecretary. On the 20th of June, Dr. Friend was admitted to bail; and two days after, Dr. Atterbury embarked on board the Aldborough, a ſmall man of war, which had orders to land him in France. He was put on ſhore at Calais, accompanied with his daughter Mrs. Morrice, and her huſband, who was high-bailiff of Weſtminſter. At Calais he was told, that the late lord Bolingbroke, having obtained his pardon, was juſt arrived there in his way to England; upon which the biſhop merrily ſaid, 'Then I am exchanged.' The king had granted the lord Bolingbroke a pardon the day after the parliament broke up, of which one of his friends inſtantly ſet out for France to bring him word. He immediately returned to England to plead his pardon, in expectation that a new parliament would repeal his attainder. The lord Harcourt had prevailed with the king to ſhew him this favour, though Mr. Walpole had oppoſed it at the council-board with unanſwerable arguments: He was againſt looſening the hands of one, who (as he ſaid) he foreſaw, from his former con- The king's clemency.

other ſelect perſons, and chancellor of our Exchequer, having highly recommended himſelf to our royal favour by his many ſervices to us, to our houſe, and to his own country, we did not think him unworthy to be advanced to the rank of the peers of this realm. But, though he rather chuſes to merit the higheſt titles than to wear them, we have however thought fit, in order to ennoble his family, to confer on the ſon the honour due to the father, and to raiſe to the peerage Robert Walpole, junior, Eſq; &c.

duct

Geo. I. 1723.

duct and ambition, and the natural reſtleſneſs of his temper, would go any lengths to poiſon the minds of the ſubjects, in order to diſturb the natural tranquillity, that he himſelf might the eaſier arrive at power. But, notwithſtanding his diſapprobation, he was forced to give way (d).

Before the king left England, it was agreed in council, that the troops ſhould be incamped as they had been the laſt ſummer, and that the horſe-guards ſhould be quartered round Hyde-park, in order to be ready to aſſemble, if there ſhould be occaſion.

Theſe meaſures kept all things quiet in Great-Britain, during the king's ſeven months abſence. The ſame reaſons, which had required his preſence abroad, detained him perhaps longer than he intended. He was received in his dominions in the moſt agreeable manner, and was complimented by at leaſt twelve foreign miniſters. The king and queen of Pruſſia waited likewiſe upon him, by which means his court was as ſplendid, and as much the ſcene of affairs, as ever the court of Great-Britain had been.

State of foreign affairs.

Affairs were then at a ſort of criſis: The uſeleſſneſs of the congreſs of Cambray and of Brunſwick, where little had been done, having worn out the patience of the princes whoſe intereſts were to be determined there, they entered into ſeparate negotiations, and ſought the means of coming to an agreement. The czar and king of Sweden were going to conclude a treaty favourable to the duke of Holſtein's pretenſions to Sleſwick, of which king George had guaranteed the poſſeſſion to the king of Denmark: It was to be feared, that this treaty might affect even Bremen and Verden, lately annexed to the electorate of Hanover.

On the other hand, France and Spain ſeemed to be ſincerely reconciled, and willing to unite againſt the emperor. The regent had projected a marriage between the king of

(d) Mr. Walpole's conduct with regard to this tranſaction, and many more, was not unlike the lord Clarendon's, who ſays of himſelf, 'That he had often, as believing himſelf obliged in duty, argued in the Senate in favour of many points, which he had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed at the council.' The reaſons, on which miniſters found their conduct on ſuch occaſions, are obvious to every man of common penetration.

It is obſerved from the lord Bolingbroke's pardon, that Mr. Walpole held not then the firſt rank, either in power or confidence, but that the direction of affairs, particularly the foreign, after the death of the earls Stanhope and Sunderland, was chiefly conducted by the lord Townſhend and baron Bothmar.

France

France and the infanta of Spain, then three years old, and had married his second daughter mademoiſelle de Montpenſier to the prince of Aſturias, and, a year after, another daughter to don Carlos, eldeſt ſon of Philip V. by his ſecond wife. Theſe two powers endeavoured to draw the czar to their ſide; they offered new treaties to England, more advantageous than the former, in regard to trade, but ſtrongly inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon; and it was wiſhed, that court would not be concerned in the affairs of Italy, and would declare openly againſt the Oſtend company. Geo. I. 1723.

This ſituation of ſo oppoſite intereſts was full of difficulties. The Emperor, preſſed too much, might declare for the czar and the Swede: Poland, confined between theſe two powers, could not help taking part with them: Almoſt all Italy exclaimed againſt the treaty of London: The pope had proteſted againſt any deciſions at Cambray to the prejudice of his right: The king of Sardinia, the dukes of Tuſcany, Parma, and Modena, had preſented memorials equivalent to ſo many proteſtations: France and Spain were inclined to ſupport them: War was every where on the point of breaking out: England, engaged by ſo many treaties, and her own intereſts, muſt have been concerned: For king George to declare againſt the emperor, was expoſing his German dominions, and helping to ſtrengthen two powers already very formidable to the reſt of Europe: To take part with the emperor was ſupporting the new eſtabliſhment at Oſtend, and arming againſt himſelf, France, Spain, and perhaps Ruſſia and Sweden.

King George overcame all theſe difficulties, or at leaſt ſuſpended their ill conſequences. He entered into ſtricter alliances with the kings of Pruſſia and Denmark; He uſed his endeavours to prevail with the emperor to be more ready to end his differences with Spain, and to deſiſt from the affair of Oſtend, againſt which his ſubjects in particular, and his faithful allies the States-General, were extremely incenſed. In England, as hath been been related, the commons had voted againſt it.

One of the king's principal deſigns, when he came to Hanover, was to perſuade the court of Vienna to deſiſt from erecting the Oſtend India company: He laboured conſtantly at it, but the ſucceſs did not anſwer his good intentions: That court promiſed, in general, not to do any thing contrary to treaties, and the rights of others, but avoided to en-

Geo. I. 1723.

ter into any diſcuſſion, and diſregarded the repreſentations that were made from all parts.

It was the ſame with reſpect to the czar. So that the king's journey proved fruitleſs, and the negotiations might have been as well carried on at London as it Havover. Something was alſo done for the Proteſtants, whoſe complaints continued, becauſe they were ſtill oppreſſed, and new grievances were added to the old. The king of Pruſſia readily entered into the deſign to procure them eaſe and tranquillity.

This union put a ſtop at leaſt to greater calamities; and appeared to be very cordial. King George ſpent four or five days at Berlin, where he was received and treated with great reſpect and magnificence. The two ſecretaries of State, the lords Townſhend and Carteret, who attended him, had frequent conferences with the king of Pruſſia's miniſters, in order to conclude ſome alliance to prevent the czar's deſigns, in favour of the duke of Holſtein: The propoſals were neither rejected nor received, and aſſurance was given that no engagement ſhould be made contrary to what had been agreed (a).

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(a) All was quiet in England: However, there appeared now and then ſome ſparks of diviſion, which ſhewed the parties ſtill ſubſiſted, and had not altered their ſentiments. At the election of the ſheriffs this year, the rabble was ſpirited up at London, by the oppoſition which the new ſheriffs, Sir Richard Hopkins and Mr. Feaſt, met with from the old ones, Mr. Humphrey Parſons and Mr. Child, who endeavoured to have the election fall upon Sir John Williams and Mr. Lockwood. Hopkins and Feaſt were declared duly elected by the lord mayor and aldermen; notwithſtanding Parſons and Child had made a contrary declaration in favour of Williams and Lockwood, but, the lord-mayor having diſſolved the common hall, after the court had declared Hopkins and Feaſt duly elected, the old ſheriffs could not meet them after the adjournment, as they intended to have done, but were prevented by the lord mayor's and aldermen's prior declaration. Feaſt oppoſed Williams in the election of an alderman, for Cripplegate-ward, which being alſo conteſted, was decided by the court of aldermen in favour of Williams, upon which the rabble broke the windows of the well-affected in that ward, and committed ſeveral outrages, for which ſome of the ring-leaders were taken, and committed to Newgate.

Purſuant to an act of parliament lately paſſed, requiring all perſons to take the oaths before the 25th of December, or to regiſter their eſtates, the ſeſſions, held

The king, having been informed that his ſubjects in Ireland were in want of ſmall money, made a contract with William Wood, to furniſh that kingdom with copper half-pence and farthings. The copper was to be of ſuch fineneſs, and the money of ſuch a weight, as agreed upon in the patent granted for that purpoſe. When this money came to be circulated in Ireland, great clamour was raiſed againſt it, and the parliament, which met on the 5th of September, came to theſe reſolutions: Geo. I. 1723. Wood's half-pence.

That the importing and uttering of copper half-pence and farthings, by virtue of Wood's patent, would be prejudicial to the revenue, deſtructive of trade, and of dangerous conſequence to the rights of the ſubject: That the ſtate of the nation had been miſrepreſented to the king, in order to obtain the patent: That the half-pence wanted weight; and, though the terms of the patent had been complied with, there would have been a loſs to the nation of 150l. per cent. That it had been always highly prejudicial to the kingdom to grant the power of coinage to private perſons, and would at all times be of dangerous conſequence.

Addreſſes from both houſes, agreeable to theſe reſolutions, were tranſmitted to the king, who, in anſwer to the commons, ſaid, 'he was very much concerned, that his granting the patent for coining of half-pence and farthings, agreeable to the practice of his royal predeceſſors, had given ſo much uneaſineſs to the houſe of commons; and, if there had been any abuſes committed by the patentee, his majeſty would give the neceſſary orders for inquiring into, and puniſhing thoſe abuſes, and do every thing, that was in his power, for the ſatisfaction of his people.' Purſuant to this anſwer (for which the commons returned an addreſs of thanks) the affair was referred to the lords of the privy-council in England, by whom a report of it was drawn up in July the next year. In this report they juſtified the conduct of the patentee, and obſerved, that, his majeſty having ordered that an aſſay ſhould be made of the fineneſs, value, and weight of Mr. Wood's copper money, and the goodneſs thereof, compared with the former coinages of copper money for Ireland, and the copper money coined in his mint in England, it had been accordingly referred to Sir Iſaac Newton, Mr. Southwell, and Mr. Scroope, to make the aſſay and

held by the juſtices of the peace over all the kingdom, were crowded with perſons of all

ſexes and conditions for that purpoſe.

Geo. I. 1723. trial; and it appeared, 'That the Pix of the copper-monies coined at Briſtol by Mr. Wood for Ireland, containing the trial pieces, which was ſealed and locked up at the time of coining, was opened at his majeſty's mint at the Tower: That the comptroller's account of the quantities of half-pence and farthings coined, agreed with Mr. Wood's account, amounting to 59 tons, 3 hundred, 1 quarter, 11 pounds, and 4 ounces: That by the ſpecimens of this coinage, which had from time to time been taken from the ſeveral parcels coined, and ſealed up in papers, and put into the Pix, 60 half-pence weighed 14 ounces troy, and 18 penny-weights, which is about a quarter of an ounce above one pound weight averdupois; and 30 farthings weighed 3 ounces and 3 quarters of an ounce troy, and 46 grains; which is alſo above the weight required by the patent: That both half-pence and farthings, when heated red hot, ſpread thin under the hammer, without cracking: That the copper, of which Mr. Wood's coinage is made, is of the ſame goodneſs and value with the copper, of which the copper money is coined in his majeſty's mint for England, and worth, in the market, about 13 pence per pound weight averdupois: That a pound of copper wrought into bars and fillets, and made fit for coinage, before brought into the mint at the Tower of London, is worth 18 pence per pound, and always coſts as much, and is coined into 23 pence of copper money by tale for England. That the half-pence and farthings coined by Mr. Wood, when compared with the copper money coined for Ireland in the reigns of king Charles II. King James II. and king William and queen Mary, conſiderably exceeds them all in goodneſs, fineneſs, and value of the copper, none of them bearing the fire ſo well, not being malleable, waſting very much in the fire, and great part of them burning into a cinder of little or no value at all.' The fact being thus proved to be on the ſide of Mr. Wood, the lords committees ſhew, that his majeſty's royal predeceſſors always exerciſed the undoubted prerogative of granting patents for copper coinage in Ireland to private perſons, none of which patents were equally beneficial to to that kingdom, nor ſo well guarded with proper covenants and conditions for the due execution of the powers thereby granted, as this of Mr. Wood, though the validity of theſe patents, and a due compliance with them, was never in any one inſtance till this time diſputed or controverted. They then prove, that Mr Wood's patent was not, as had been ſuggeſted in Ireland, obtained clandeſtinely, in an unprecedented manner, but after a reference to the attorney

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and ſollicitor-general, and after Sir Iſaac Newton had been conſulted in all the ſteps of ſettling it. In the laſt place they made it plainly appear by a cloud of witneſſes, that there was a real want of ſmall money in Ireland, to make ſmall payments. But, Mr. Wood having, in compliance with the clamour induſtriouſly raiſed againſt his coinage, propoſed to reduce his coinage from 100,000 l. to 40,000 l. value, it was thought fit to accept of it, and to ſend directions to Ireland accordingly (b).

The parliament of Ireland paſſed ſeveral acts, and particularly one for accepting the Quakers affirmation inſtead of an oath; and granted 340,000 l. ſupply towards paying off the debt of the nation, which was about 660,000 l. and for the ſupport of the eſtabliſhment for two years.

On the 10th of October died Earl Cowper, eminent for his integrity in the diſcharge of the office of lord chancellor, which he had twice filled. There may have been chancellors of more extenſive learning, but none of more knowledge in the laws of England. His judgment was quick, and yet ſolid. His eloquence manly, but flowing. His manner graceful and noble (c). Death of Earl Cowper.

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(b) Notwithſtanding this deciſion of the privy-council of England, dean Swift, in his paper, called, The Draper of Dublin, repreſented this affair in the blackeſt colours, and is ſuppoſed to be the author of a lampoon upon it, beginning with theſe words:

Now, altho' to draw water is not very good,
Yet we all ſhould rejoice to be hewers of wood.

(c) In September this year, four Engliſh gentlemen were barbarouſly murdered in France. Mr. Seabright and Mr. Monpeſſon, accompanied by Mr. Davis, paſſing over to Calais in their way to Paris, ſet out from thence for that City the 12th of September, Mr. Seabright and Mr. Davis in one chaiſe, Mr. Monpeſſon and Richard Spindelow, Mr. Seabright's man, in another, and Mr. Monpeſſon's ſervant on horſeback. About ſeven miles from Calais they were attacked by ſix ruffians well mounted, who ſtopped the poſtillions, came up to the chaiſes, and demanded their money, which the genetlemen readily ſurrendered, they having no fire-arms to make reſiſtance, and even their ſwords were taken from them. The robbers then, taking them out of the chaiſes, commanded them to lie down upon their faces, and the poſtillions to do the ſame. After which the villains rifled their pockets, and ſearched them very narrowly; which done, they ordered Spindelow to get up and open the portmanteaus,

Geo. I. 1723.

Death of the duke of Orleans.

The king was ſtill at Hanover, when he heard of the duke of Orlean's death, who, under the title of prime miniſter, governed France as abſolutely as he had done during the minority of Lewis XV. King George was much concerned at the news: The mutual eſteem they had for each other, their circumſtances and intereſts which were not unlike, begot

which, as he was doing, he ſaw one of the rogues pull the dead body of Mr. Locke out of a chaiſe in which he had been killed in his return from Paris, at ſome ſmall diſtance from that place; Mr. Locke's ſervant, a Swiſs, was ſpared, but made to lie on his face. When they had done with Mr. Seabright's portmanteau, they ordered Mr. Monpeſſon to open his, and he deſired Mr. Seabright to tell them in French, his ſervant was gone before, and had the key with him. This man they had ſhot in the back, but, not being dead, he was commanded to lie down on his face, and now they fetched him to open his maſter's portmanteau; when they had finiſhed their ſearch, they cried Tuez, Kill; they firſt ſhot Mr. Seabright through the heart, Mr. Davis was ſhot and ſtabbed in ſeveral places, and his ſkull cleft; they ſtabbed Spindelow in five places of his body, and left him for dead, Mr. Monpeſſon at the ſame time received a ſhot which had laid him ſprawling on the ground. A peaſant of the neighbourhood, who was going to Calais for a licence to marry, unfortunately paſſing that way, was alſo murdered, and Mr. Monpeſſon, who had lain as if he had been dead, lifting up his head before the murderers were gone, one of them came back to him and cut his throat; but he and Spindelow made a ſhift, with the help of ſome of the country people, to get back to Calais, where Mr. Monpeſſen died 36 hours after, and Spindelow, recovering of his wounds, returned to England. The dead bodies of the four Engliſh gentlemen were brought to England, and landed at the Tower-warf, four days after, where they were received by their friends, who gave them decent interment; and George Turville, Eſq; of the Middle-Temple, who happened to paſs by the place where theſe gentlemen were murdered, a few hours after the ſaid murder was committed, while the dead bodies, ſtripped naked by the country people, yet lay on the high road, gave orders for erecting a monument of black marble, in form of a pyramid, on the ſpot where the murder happened, by permiſſion of the duke de Humiers, governor of the Bolougnois, and the biſhop of Bologne. Theſe robbers and aſſaſſins robbed the Liſle ſtage coach, ſeven miles from Peronne, two months afterwards, and killed Poulart and Heunelet, two perſons that accompanied the coach; two of the rogues Joſeph Bizeans, a jeweller o Liege, and Peter le Fehvre, another jeweller, being taken were tried and condemned a Paris in July following, by thi

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got a firm friendſhip between them, whereof they gave on all occaſions the moſt effectual proofs. The duke died of an apoplexy in the 50th year of his age, and according to his deſire, before his deceaſe, the duke of Bourbon was nominated prime miniſter. Geo. I. 1723.

As the death of the duke of Orleans might occaſion great alterations, and as it was uncertain whether the new miniſter would enter into the views of his predeceſſor, the king haſtened his return to England. Being detained by contrary winds ſome days in Holland, he received there aſſurances, from the part of France, of the good diſpoſition of that court, to cultivate, and even improve, the union eſtabliſhed by the late duke of Orleans, between the two ſtates. The king returns to England.

The king came to London the 19th of December, and on the 9th of January the Parliament met, and was opened by the following ſpeech, delivered as uſual by the lord chancellor. 1723-24. The ſecond ſeſſion of the ſecond parliament of king George.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I Cannot open this ſeſſion without congratulating you "upon the ſucceſs of your endeavours laſt year for the "ſafety, intereſt and honour of the kingdom. The riſe of "the public credit, the flouriſhing condition of our trade "and manufactures, and the general tranquillity of my peo- "ple, are the happy conſequences of your prudent reſolu- "tions. It is to be hoped, that the few examples, which "were made of ſome notorious offenders, will be ſufficient "to deter the moſt diſaffected from engaging in the like deſ- "perate and wicked practices. The augmentation you "thought fit to make to our national forces, by ſea and land, "has not only ſecured the general quiet of the kingdom "againſt any ſudden attempts or inſurrections, but has alſo "given me ſuch weight and credit in all foreign negotiations, "as greatly contribute towards the preſervation of the peace "of Europe.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I will order the proper officers to lay before you the eſti- "mates

moſt dreadful ſentence: 'To be put to the rack, to have their arms, legs, and thighs broken on a ſcaffold, and to have their bodies put upon wheels, there to remain with their faces towards the ſky as long as they had life, and Bizean's dead body to be carried and remain expoſed on a wheel upon the high road to Calais, and le Fehvre's on the high road to Peronne,' which ſentence was executed to the full.

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" mates for the ſervice of the current year. I deſire ſuch ſup-
" plies only, as you ſhall find abſolutely neceſſary for pre-
" ſerving the peace of the kingdom, and for the ſecurity of
" my people; and thoſe, I hope, may be raiſed without lay-
" ing any additional charge or burthen on my ſubjects.

" I muſt, in a particular manner, recommend to your care
" the public debts of the kingdom, as the moſt national con-
" cern you can poſſibly take into your conſideration. I am
" perſuaded, it muſt be a very great ſatisfaction to all my
" faithful ſubjects, to ſee the ſinking fund improved and
" augmented, and the debt of the nation thereby put into a
" method of being ſo much the ſooner gradually reduced and
" paid off. It would be a work truly worthy of a Britiſh
" parliament to begin this commendable undertaking, and
" to make ſuch a progreſs therein, as, with a ſtrict re-
" gard to public faith and private property, may pave the
" way to this great and deſirable end.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" In the preſent happy ſituation of our affairs, I have no-
" thing more to recommend to you, than that you would
" make uſe of the opportunity, which your own good con-
" duct has put into your hands, in conſidering of ſuch far-
" ther laws, as may be wanting for the eaſe and encourage-
" ment of trade and navigation, for the employment of the
" poor, and for the exciting and encouraging a ſpirit of in-
" duſtry in the nation.

" I am fully ſatisfied, that the trade and wealth of my
" people are the happy effects of the liberties they enjoy;
" and that the grandeur of the crown conſiſts in their proſ-
" perity: And I am as fully perſuaded, that all, who wiſh
" well to their country, muſt agree with me, that it is the
" vaineſt of all deluſions to imagine, that the religion, laws,
" and liberties of this kingdom, can ever be ſecured, but
" by ſupporting the preſent eſtabliſhment, and maintaining
" the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line. Let us therefore
" heartily join in every thing, that may tend to promote our
" mutual happineſs, and to extinguiſh the hopes of thoſe
" who long have been, and ſtill are reſtleſs in their endea-
" vours to ſubject this nation to the whole train of miſeries,
" that are inſeparable from Popery and arbitrary power."

Addreſſes of thanks.

This ſpeech drew from both houſes addreſſes of thanks, with aſſurances of maintaining the preſent happy eſtabliſh-ment, and the ſucceſſion in his majeſty's family, as the only ſolid

ſolid foundation of quietly enjoying their religion, laws, and liberties.

The commons, according to cuſtom, proceeded to raiſe the ſupplies, which were granted according to the eſtimate laid before them by the court. Ten thouſand ſeamen, at 4 l. a month each, were voted for the ſea-ſervice, and the army was continued on the ſame foot as laſt year. The affair of the army occaſioned a warm debate, chiefly about the four thouſand additional troops raiſed the year before, which the oppoſers inſiſted to have diſbanded; but it was carried againſt them, and reſolved that the number of effective men, for the year 1724 (including 1815 invalids) ſhould be 18264. A land-tax of two ſhillings in the pound, with the malt-tax, was granted towards defraying the expences of the enſuing year.

Proceedings on the Supply.

As the king had particularly recommended to their care the public debts of the nation, the commons took the ſame into conſideration, and came to the following reſolutions:

A bill for leſſening the public debts.

That towards leſſening the public debts, the annuities of 5 l. per cent. charged on the general fund, by a clauſe in the act of the 5th of his majeſty's reign, except ſuch as had been ſubſcribed into the South-Sea, ſhould be paid off at Lady-day 1724, as alſo the unſubſcribed blanks of the lottery of 1714. That all theſe ſhould be diſcharged, with the money ariſing from the ſinking fund, as well as the two annuities, which by the act, entitled, 'An act for redeeming certain annuities, payable by the caſhier of the Bank at 5 l. per cent. were enacted to be redeemed at Lady-day, 1724.' Purſuant to theſe reſolutions, a bill was brought in, which, paſſing both houſes, received the royal aſſent.

Protections from foreign miniſters, peers, and members of parliament, having long been the ſubject of complaint, a liſt of the names of the perſons protected by written certificates was laid before the commons, and it was reſolved, 'That all protections and written certificates of the members of this houſe be declared void in law, and be forthwith withdrawn and called in: and that none be granted for the future; and that if any ſhall be granted by any member, ſuch member ſhall make ſatisfaction to the party injured, and ſhall be liable to the cenſure of the houſe.' This order was to be printed and ſet up in the courts of juſtice, and diſtributed by the ſheriffs in their ſeveral counties. The ſame grievance being taken into conſideration by the lords, after ſome debate, the following declaration was made, 'That all the written protections are null and void; and all other protections, which ſhall be at any time hereafter given, ſhall be taken to be

Protections called in.

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be null and void.' But this order is not to extend to menial ſervants, nor thoſe employed neceſſarily and properly about the eſtates of peers, or any who are really their ſervants.

In this ſeſſion, the inland duty was laid on coffee, tea, and chocolate, which has been a conſiderable increaſe to the public revenue.

Army bill paſſed in the houſe of lords.

The affair of the army cauſed the greateſt debate in the houſe of lords. There had been the laſt year an addition of four thouſand men on account of the conſpiracy, which was now propoſed to be continued. The commons had agreed to it, and paſſed the bill; but the continuance of theſe additional troops met with great oppoſition in the houſe of lords. The two moſt remarkable ſpeeches were the lord Trevor's againſt it, and the lord Townſhend's for it (d). It was obſerved,

(d) As theſe ſpeeches contain the chief arguments on both ſides, they are here inſerted at large:

The lord Trevor ſaid, 'That, the conſpiracy mentioned in the king's ſpeech at the opening of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, which was the occaſion of this augmentation of the land forces, being now happily extinguiſhed, and thereby the cauſe of raiſing that additional number being perfectly removed, there was not the leaſt reaſon or pretence for continuing that number. That the keeping on foot a greater army in time of peace, than was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government, was very dangerous to our happy conſtitution: And, conſidering the great tranquillity we enjoy both at home and abroad, he could not but apprehend, the number of regular forces allowed by this bill to be much greater than was neceſſary for that end. That, if ſo great an army was allowed to be continued in our preſent happy circumſtances, a ſtanding army would thereby become an eſſential part of our conſtitution, ſince the reaſons for keeping it up in perpetuity, would grow ſtronger every year, and in every ſucceeding reign. For on the one hand it cannot, with any probability, be foreſeen or expected, that in any future time there will be leſs reaſon to be given, than at preſent, for juſtifying the neceſſity of keeping up ſo great an army, there being now as little danger to our preſent happy eſtabliſhment to be feared either from inſurrections at home, or by any diſturbance or invaſions from abroad; as the nature and inſtability of human affairs will allow of. And on the other hand, if ſo numerous an army be at preſent allowed of in parliament, no argument can hereafter be urged for the reducing the number in any future reign, but what will ſeem to carry with it too great a diſtruſt of the prince then on the throne, and will be conſtrued to imply, that the ſame confidence is not to be repoſed in him

ſerved, that the Lord North and Grey, the earl of Orrery, the lord Bathurſt, and others of that party, appeared very zealous Geo. I. 1723-24.

him, as in his predeceſſors.' His lordſhip added, 'That it was not out of any diſtruſt he entertained either of his majeſty or his miniſters, that he was for reducing part of the army. That, on the contrary, he was fully convinced, his majeſty will never make an ill uſe of his power, of which they had a ſure earneſt in the equity and moderation, with which his majeſty had governed hitherto: But, that as they could not promiſe themſelves, nor expect, that ſo good and ſo juſt a king ſhould always fill the throne, it was prudence early to prevent the inconveniencies and dangers to which our excellent conſtitution and liberties would be expoſed, in caſe, in any ſucceeding reign, an ambitious prince and ill miniſters ſhould have ſo great a number of troops at their diſpoſal. That it was notorious, that all the ſtates of Europe, that have loſt their liberties, have been enſlaved by their own armies, whoſe officers and commanders, growing every day in power, do, at laſt, turn it againſt thoſe, from whom they had at firſt their commiſſions; of which we had a fatal example in England ſtill freſh in our memories in the perſon of Oliver Cromwell. That, beſides the four thouſand additional men, the regular forces were double the number of thoſe kept on foot after the peace of Ryſwick, in the reign of king William of glorious memory; and more numerous by one third than in the late queen's reign, after the peace of Utrecht: That therefore they are more than ſufficient to ſecure the government againſt any ſudden inteſtine commotion, which is the leſs to be apprehended, by reaſon of the general affection, which the people had lately ſhewn in taking the oaths, though many of them, that took them, were not required to do it, by the act paſſed the laſt ſeſſion; and he was confident, that, except a few perſons of deſperate principles and fortunes, who might hope to fiſh in troubled waters, there was no body in England, that had any thing to loſe, who wiſhed for a revolution. That, if we looked abroad, it appeared, that by the happy influence of his majeſty's wiſe counſels, and the good alliances, that had been entered into and concerted, all Europe enjoyed a profound peace, which, in all probability, would be laſting: But that, in caſe of a rupture with any neighbouring prince, our fleet, which was certainly the moſt numerous, and the beſt in all Chriſtendom, would defend us againſt any foreign invaſion or inſult. That the pay of the four thouſand additional men amounted to a good ſum of money. That indeed, at another juncture, that expence might eaſily be borne; but that in the preſent circumſtances, when the nation is involved in ſo great a debt, and groans under the load of heavy taxes, this additional charge is very conſiderable. That his majeſty, in his gracious ſpeech at the opening of this ſeſſion of par-

Geo. I. 1723-24. zealous for the reduction of the army, which cauſed the duke of Argyle to ſay in his ſpeech, 'That, if he ſaw the nation

parliament, having, in a particular manner, recommended to the houſe of commons the putting the national debt in a method of being gradually reduced and paid, it was with the greateſt ſatisfaction he took notice, that ſome progreſs had already been made in that great and important undertaking; and that, in order to improve that good beginning, not only the pay of theſe additional forces, but alſo all other needleſs expences ought, in his opinion, to be applied to the increaſe of the ſinking fund.' His lordſhip concluded, as he had began, with the moſt earneſt profeſſions of his ſincere and intire affection for his majeſty's ſacred perſon and government, and for his royal family, on whoſe proſperity, under God, abſolutely depend both our preſent felicity, and the preſervation of our laws, liberties, properties, and holy religion.

The lord Townſhend anſwered the lord Trevor, and ſaid, 'That he agreed with that noble lord in ſome parts of his ſpeech, but was ſorry he differed from him in others. That he was thoroughly perſuaded of his intire affection to his majeſty's perſon, and the preſent happy ſettlement; nor did he in the leaſt doubt, but he ſaw with pleaſure the progreſs, that had been already made towards reducing the national debt: But that, at the ſame time, they ought to conſider, that, as the happy tranquillity, we at preſent enjoy, is in ſome meaſure owing to the ſtrength of the government, ſo it was prudence not to weaken that ſtrength, becauſe the ſame might affect public credit, which being founded on the ſecurity of the government, if that ſecurity was rendered precarious, they would ſoon ſee the funds and ſtocks fall 10 or 12 per cent. which would render the reduction of the national debt altogether impracticable, ſince it was impoſſible to reduce that debt, otherwiſe than by public credit. That it was notorious, that, before the laſt augmentation of regular forces, the government could not form and march a body of three or four thouſand men againſt any ſudden attempt, either at home, or from abroad, without leaving the king's perſon, the royal family, the capital of the kingdom, and the fortified places expoſed; and therefore the ſaid augmentation was become abſolutely neceſſary to prevent theſe dangers and inconveniencies. That the number of the troops now on foot was not ſo great as to afford any juſt ground of jealouſy, ſince the preſent forces are much inferior to thoſe the crown had formerly. That, by the antient and Gothic conſtitution of the government, the king had at his diſpoſal the militia of the realm, which chiefly conſiſted in archers, who were kept in conſtant diſcipline and exerciſe, the memory of which is ſtill preſerved, there being almoſt in every village a place called, But-Lane. That the invention of fire-arms had made a great alteration

nation unanimous in opinion, that our laws, liberties, properties, and holy religion, intirely depend on the preſent happy Geo. I. 1723-24.

alteration in the antient conſtitution; and, inſtead of archers, the crown raiſed as many regular troops, as were thought neceſſary upon any emergency. That queen Elizabeth, who had many enemies both at home and abroad, conſtantly kept a conſiderable body of troops in the Netherlands, without any contradiction from her parliaments, and thereby maintained herſelf on the throne, and overcame all her enemies. That, if king Charles I. had ſteered the ſame courſe, he might, in all probability, have preſerved both his crown and his life, ſince he loſt both only for want of a ſufficient force to ſuppreſs faction, which was the principal ſource of all the calamities and enormities, in which the nation was afterwards involved. That upon the reſtoration of king Charles II. they, who at that time had the management of affairs, did not think it proper to keep up a great number of regular troops, and therefore choſe to reſtore to the crown its antient power over the militia of the kingdom; but that there was a ſecret in that. That king James II. not truſting to the militia, had an army of 20,000 men, which would have ſecured him the Crown, had he not given a general diſguſt to his people, by violating the fundamental laws, and endeavouring to ſubvert the conſtitution in church and ſtate. That in the reign of king William of glorious memory, when ſome leading men in the parliament thought fit to diſband the army, after the peace of Ryſwick, they fell upon a project to ſecure the government, which was to raiſe and diſcipline the militia; but that they ſoon after perceived the unprofitableneſs of that ſcheme, the militia proving a great burthen to the people, and of no ſervice to the government. That the reduction of the army had then a double ill effect; for, on the one hand, it obliged king William, and his miniſters, to enter into a treaty of partition; and, on the other hand, it very probably encouraged France to break that treaty, which occaſioned a ſecond war, and was the ſource of two thirds of that heavy debt, under which the nation labours at this day. That the diſbanding of the army had almoſt the ſame ill effect in the reign of the late queen, having encouraged Lewis XIV. to furniſh the pretender with a land-force, and a fleet to invade theſe kingdoms. That, if at preſent they weakened the hands of the government, we ſhould be expoſed to the like inſults and attempts. That, if our enemies may be credited in an affair, in which it is their intereſt to ſpeak truth, they ſeemed confidently aſſured of ſucceſs in their deſign of overturning the government, provided they had only an aſſiſtance of three or four thouſand men from abroad; and that, conſidering the method now practiſed in embarkation, how good, and how ſtrong ſoever our fleet may be, it was impoſſible to hinder a foreign prince, who ſhould

Geo. I. 1723-24. happy ſettlement, and on the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in his majeſty's royal family, he would readily give his vote for reducing the army. But he was very much afraid, that ſome people ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the diſbanding of the additional troops, with no other deſign than to weaken the government, and thereby have an opportunity of involving their native country in new troubles. And therefore thoſe noble lords, who had ſpoke for the reduction of the army, would do well, when they went down into their ſeveral countries, to aſſure the people, with whom, no doubt, their reaſons would not fail of having great weight, that their liberties and properties were entirely ſafe under his majeſty's government.' After a long debate, the motion againſt the additional troops was rejected, and the bill paſſed, as ſent up by the commons.

1724. End of the ſecond ſeſſion.

The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being over, the king came to the houſe of peers the 24th of April, and, paſſing the bills, delivered the following ſpeech by the mouth of the chancellor:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"THE unanimity, chearfulneſs, and diſpatch with "which you have now finiſhed every thing I recom-"mended to you, at the opening of this ſeſſion, are freſh "inſtances of your affection to my perſon and government, "and cannot fail of contributing, with the bleſſing of God "on our endeavours, towards the eſtabliſhment of that "happy tranquillity we now enjoy both at home and a-"broad.

"Your continuing the like national force by ſea and land "this year, as was judged neceſſary by parliament for the "ſervice of the laſt, gives me great ſatisfaction. You have "hereby wiſely provided againſt the miſchiefs from any ſud-"den ſhocks to public credit; you have provided for the "ſafety of the kingdom, and have enabled this nation to "hold, among the powers of Europe, the rank and figure

ſhould have a mind to undertake it, to throw ſuch a number of men upon England.' His lordſhip concluded, 'That the conſtant tenor of his majeſty's adminiſtration, ſince his happy acceſſion to the throne, ought to convince every body, that, by the continuing the number of regular forces now on foot, his majeſty and miniſters have nothing in view but the public ſafety and ſecurity, and thereby to give the people an opportunity to improve trade, and encourage induſtry, as the only means to retrieve their former loſſes.'

"due

" due to her honour and dignity. Nothing could have been Geo. I.
" more acceptable to me, than your having been able to 1724.
" make that provision, without laying any new or additional
" burthens on my people.

" Gentlemen of the house of commons,

" I return you my thanks for the care and pains you have
" taken towards augmenting the sinking fund, and improving
" the public revenues, by putting them under a stricter
" management. I make no doubt, but that the happy be-
" ginning you have made will be attended with such imme-
" diate good consequences, as will encourage you to pursue
" the way you have now opened for a gradual reduction of
" the debt, and for putting the trade and navigation of
" Great-Britain on such a foot, as may not only in some
" measure discourage the unjustifiable incroachments they
" labour under from some of our neighbours, but at the
" same time extend her exportations beyond what has been
" known in former ages.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" As the early recess, which your diligence and unani-
" mity has procured you, affords you the opportunity of a
" longer retirement into the country, than the business of
" former sessions has usually allowed of, I assure myself, that
" you will carry with you thither the same zeal for the pub-
" lic good, with which you have been animated in parlia-
" ment; and that you will make it your business to discoun-
" tenance any remains there may be yet left of sedition and
" disaffection, and to promote that perfect harmony and con-
" fidence between me and my people, which I most earnestly
" desire, and on which our mutual happiness intirely de-
" pends."

A little before the end of the session, the king had appointed the duke of Newcastle to be secretary of state in the room of the lord Carteret, who was made lord lieutenant of Ireland. The duke of Grafton was appointed lord chamberlain, the lord Falmouth and Mr. Edgecombe vice-treasurers of Ireland, Mr. Yonge commissioner of the treasury, and Mr. Pelham secretary at war. Sir Robert Raymond being made a judge of the King's-Bench, Sir Philip York succeeded him as attorney-general. And Sir Clement Wearg was made sol-

Geo. I. 1724. ſollicitor-general. About the middle of May, Horatio Walpole was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary at the court of France.

On the 16th of May the king ſent the following circular letter to the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge: 'We being greatly deſirous to favour and encourage thoſe ancient and laudable nurſeries of piety and learning, and to enable them more effectually to anſwer the end of their inſtitution, by ſending forth conſtant ſupplies of learned and able men, to ſerve the public both in church and ſtate; and having obſerved, that no encouragement or proviſion has hither to been made in either of the univerſities, for the ſtudy of Modern Hiſtory, or Modern Languages, the knowledge of which is highly neceſſary towards completely qualifying the youth committed to their care for ſeveral ſtations both in church and ſtate, to which they may be called; and having ſeriouſly weighed the prejudice, that has accrued to the univerſities from this defect, perſons of foreign nations being often employed in the education and tuition of youth, both at home and in their travels, and great numbers of the young nobility and gentry being either ſent directly abroad from ſchools, or taken away from the univerſities before the courſe of their ſtudies can be there compleated, and opportunities frequently loſt to the crown, of employing and encouraging members of the two univerſities, by conferring on them ſuch employments both at home and abroad, as neceſſarily require a competent ſkill in writing and ſpeaking the modern languages; in order therefore to remedy theſe and the like inconveniencies, we have determined to appoint two perſons of ſober converſation and prudent conduct, of the degree of maſter of arts, or batchelor of laws, or of ſome higher degree, in one of the univerſities, ſkilled in modern hiſtory, and in the knowledge of modern languages, to be nominated by us to be our profeſſors of modern hiſtory, one for the univerſity of Cambridge, and the other for that of Oxford, who ſhall be obliged to read lectures in the public ſchools, at ſuch times as ſhall hereafter be appointed. And we have further determined, that each of the profeſſors ſhall have a ſtipend of four hundred pounds per annum, and out of the ſtipend ſhall be obliged to maintain with ſufficient ſalaries, in the univerſity where he ſhall be eſtabliſhed, two perſons at leaſt, well qualified to teach and inſtruct in writing and ſpeaking the languages, which teachers ſhall be under the direction of the profeſſors reſpectively, and ſhall be obliged to learn two at leaſt of the languages, both the profeſſors and teachers taking

eſpecial

especial care, that the times and hours for the instructing and teaching the scholars be so ordered, as not to interfere with those appointed for their academical studies; which professors and teachers shall be obliged, once every year, to transmit an attested account of the progress made by each scholar committed to their care, to our principal secretaries of state, to be laid before us, that we may encourage the diligence and application of such amongst them, as shall have qualified themselves for our service, by giving them suitable employments either at home or abroad, as occasions shall offer.' Geo. I. 1724.

The two first professors were Mr. Gregory, of Christ-Church, Oxford; and Mr. Samuel Harris, fellow of Peter-House, Cambridge.

For a farther encouragement to the universities, the king ordered that his almoner should chuse, out of the members of Oxford and Cambridge, twenty-four preachers to officiate alternately in the chapel at White-hall, with a salary of thirty pounds a year each.

The inoculation of the small-pox had now begun to be practised in England, and succeeded very well with the two princesses, Amelia and Carolina, and had the same good effect on prince Frederick, the duke of Bedford, and the lady Mary Russel, his sister. But others are said to suffer under it, particularly the earl of Sunderland's son, who died in the operation, upon which Dr. Jurin, secretary to the royal society, published a treatise in favour of inoculating. Inoculation of the small-pox.

The 21st of May died Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer, whose life and character is given at large, by the author of the * Political State (a). Death of the earl of Oxford. * May.

On 1724.

(a) The most material particulars, besides what relates to his family and circumstances, are as follow:

By his strict conjunction with the Foleys and Winningtons, his relations and their friends, he gained at last such an extensive interest, as to be chosen speaker of the house of commons. When the queen thought fit to lay aside the earl of Nottingham, principal secretary of state, Mr. Robert Harley was pitched upon to succeed him as her favourite and prime minister, supposing he would be most agreeable to the Whigs, from his education among the Dissenters. The duke of Marlborough and the earl of Godolphin's main design, in advancing him, was to secure his interest in the house of commons, and they fondly imagined, that, as to the grand affairs, either he would not intermeddle, or would blindly follow their directions; but they soon after found,

Geo. I. 1724.

On the 25th of June died Dr. Henry Sacheverel. Though he had taken the oaths to the government, his will ſhewed he perſevered to the end in the ſame ſentiments, for, amongſt his legacies, he left five hundred pounds to the late biſhop of Rocheſter. It does not appear, that he was any way concerned in the plot.

Death of Dr. Sacheverel.

As to foreign affairs, one of the moſt remarkable events this year, was the abdication of Philip V, king of Spain. Having taken the reſolution to renounce his crown, and retire with the queen to the monaſtery of St. Ildefonſo, he ſent

King Philip's abdication.

found, that a perſon of his ambitious ſpirit would not be contented to act an under part.

They, who extol his liberality and munificence to learned men, are no more to be depended upon, than when they tell us, that he diſcharged the office of ſecretary to king William, with great addreſs; for, as it is certain on the one hand, that he never ſerved king William in that capacity, it is no leſs true on the other hand, that the only perſon, on whom he beſtowed any public mark of favour, was Dr. Jonathan Swift, the famous author of the 'Tale of a Tub,' whom he employed, with ſome other obſcure writers, to banter and ridicule all that oppoſed his meaſures. He was the reverſe of his predeceſſor in the treaſury, the earl of Godolphin, who never kept ſuitors unprofitably in ſuſpence, nor promiſed any thing that he was not reſolved to perform. The earl of Oxford, on the contrary, kept them, who had any pretenſions, in perpetual dependance, by feeding them with hopes. This maxim he practiſed in a moſt barbarous manner, with Mr. Rowe, author of the tragedy of Tamerlane; the ſtory is too well known to be repeated. They who commend him for being a kind friend, and a generous enemy, have forgot with what an unrelenting fury he purſued his benefactor, the immortal duke of Marlborough, and Mr. Stephens, the miniſter, whom he cauſed to be proſecuted to the pillory, and that ignominious puniſhment was not remitted, till he was brought to the place of execution. His prodigious riſe and greatneſs was more owing to his cunning in finding out the weakneſſes of thoſe he had to deal with, than to his own bright parts. For he neither was maſter of eloquence in ſpeech, nor of ſtile in writing, but in both puzzled and intricate: His conſtant deſign being to diſcover other people's thoughts, and conceal his own. But he had at laſt the fate, which all ambidexters deſerve, to be diſtruſted and diſregarded by all parties; of which he was ſo ſenſible, that, for ſeveral years before his death, he ſeldom came to parliament, but lived in a country retirement, endeavouring to drown his melancholy thoughts in wine, which at laſt dozed his ſpirits, and certainly abridged his life.

from

from thence, the 15th of January 1723-4, the marquis de Grimaldo, principal ſecretary of ſtate, with a packet for the prince of Aſturias, his ſon, who, the day before, returned from St. Ildefonſo to the Eſcurial. The marquis arriving there, and having acquainted the prince with his meſſage, his highneſs ſent for the Infantes to come to his apartment; and alſo ordered the count de Altamira, the marquis de Valero, the duke de San Pedro, the count de Salazar, the marquis de Magney, the count de Safateli, and the prior of San Lorenzo, to attend there, and be witneſſes of what ſhould paſs, who being all preſent, the marquis delivered the packet to the prince of Aſturias, who returned it to him opened, that he might read what was in it, which was the inſtrument of his father's renunciation of the crown, accompanied with a letter of advice to direct the new king's conduct. The renunciation was alſo ſent to the preſident of the council of Caſtile, and ordered to be publiſhed throughout the kingdom (b). Upon this it was reſolved in the council of Caſtile, that king Lewis might immediately take the government upon him without aſſembling the Cortes, as having been already ſworn to and acknowledged prince of Spain. The penſion, which their Catholic majeſties reſerved to themſelves, was about 100,000 piſtoles, and they likewiſe reſerved about 25,000 for each of the Infantes. Geo. I. 1724.

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(b) The renunciation was as follows:

Having theſe four years conſidered with due reflection, and maturely, the miſeries of this life, through the infirmities, wars, and troubles, with which God has been pleaſed to viſit me during the twenty-three years of my reign; and having likewiſe conſidered, that my eldeſt ſon don Lewis, ſworn prince of Spain, is of ſufficient age, is married, and has capacity, judgment, and the qualities fit for ruling and governing juſtly and happily this monarchy; I have determined abſolutely to quit the poſſeſſion and adminiſtration of it, renouncing the ſame, with all its dominions, kingdoms, and lordſhips, in favour of the ſaid prince don Lewis, my eldeſt ſon; and to retire with the queen, in whom I have found a ready diſpoſition and voluntary inclination, to accompany me to this place and ſeat of St. Ildefonſo, here to ſerve God, diſengaged from all other cares, to meditate on death, and to ſeek my ſalvation. This I communicate to the council for their information, to be notified to the proper perſons, that my reſolution may be made known to all.

His letter to his ſon was remarkable neither for ſtile nor ſentiments: Amongſt his inſtructions, he ſays: "Preſerve ever a great devotion to the moſt holy virgin, and put yourſelf, as well as your kingdoms,

Geo. I. 1724.

Perſecution in France,

The king of France, at the perſuaſion of the biſhop of Frejus, and contrary to the ſentiments of the duke of Bourbon, publiſhed a ſevere edict this year againſt his Proteſtant ſubjects: Whoever performed any exerciſe of the reformed religion, if a man, was to be ſent to the gallies; if a woman, to be ſhaved, and confined where the judges thought fit: The Proteſtant preachers to be put to death; and thoſe, who had any communication directly or indirectly with ſuch miniſters, condemned to the gallies: To give their children foreign education, to be puniſhed with a fine of 6000 livres: The memory of thoſe, who died in the profeſſion of the Proteſtant religion, to be proſecuted: All concealed Proteſtants, who diſſuaded ſick perſons from dying Catholics, to be ſent to the gallies, if men, and if women, as before: To conſent, that children ſhould marry abroad without licence, to be puniſhed with the gallies; and baptiſm and ſchooling were forbidden to Proteſtants, under the like pains and penalties. To put a ſtop to theſe ſeverities, Mr. Horace Walpole had orders to ſollicit the French court in behalf of the Proteſtants; but he could obtain no other anſwer, than that 'the king's edicts muſt be obeyed.'

However, the court of France declared, that the edict againſt the Proteſtants ſhould not affect the inhabitants of Alſatia, their religious rights being founded on treaties of peace. This was done to prevent the Alſatians, terrified with this edict, from putting themſelves under the protection of Germany.

and at Thorn.

The Proteſtants at Thorn, in royal Pruſſia, belonging to Poland, were likewiſe treated with great cruelty, on account of a pretended riot in July, which was really begun by a ſtudent of the Jeſuits College, and for which, the preſident and vice-preſident of that city, with thirteen others, were condemned to be beheaded, and others quartered and burnt, and the Proteſtant counſellors at Thorn to be removed from the magiſtracy, and Papiſts put in their places; and the church

under her protection, ſeeing you cannot, by any other means, better obtain what may be needful for you, and for them. Be always, as you ought, obedient to the holy ſee, and to the pope, as the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt. Protect and defend ever the tribunal of the holy inquiſition, which may be called the bulwark of the faith, and to which it owes its preſervation in all its purity in the dominions of Spain; ſo that the hereſies which have afflicted the other parts of Chriſtendom, and produced ſuch horrid and deplorable ravages in them, could never be able to get footing here.

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of St. Mary to be taken from the Proteſtants, and given to the Franciſcan friars. Mr. Finch, the Britiſh miniſter at Dreſden, had orders to go to Poland, and inſiſt upon ſatisfaction for the Proteſtants of Thorn, and other places in that kingdom, oppreſſed by the Papiſts; but the Poles could not be prevailed upon to do the Proteſtants juſtice (c). Geo. I. 1724.

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(c) The affair at Thorn was thus: On the 16th of July, the ordinary proceſſion at Thorn being arrived at St. James's church-yard, a great number of the citizens children reſorted thither to ſee it, with their hats under their arms, according to cuſtom; but a ſtudent of the Jeſuits College, not ſatisfied with that mark of civility and reſpect, would needs have them kneel down, and gave them bad language and blows. About two hours after the proceſſion was over, this ſame ſtudent, with ſome of his comrades, inſulted ſeveral young people, without the leaſt provocation on their part; but, in the end, this troubleſome young fellow was ſeized by the ſoldiers of the garriſon, and brought to the guard, after he had wounded ſeveral citizens with ſtones. Next day the Jeſuits ſtudents got together again, and meeting one of the citizens, whom they had abuſed the day before, they would oblige him to get their comrade ſet at liberty; but the citizen had the good fortune to get out of their hands, and ran to his own houſe for ſafety, whither they purſued him ſword in hand. In the mean time the preſident of the city had given order for ſetting him at liberty, at the requeſt of the rector of the Jeſuits College, but another ſtudent being likewiſe carried to the guard-room, his comrades would oblige the preſident to ſet him at liberty alſo, which he refuſed to do, till he had ſpoke to the rector. Upon this the Jeſuits ſtudents ran furiouſly to the guard-room to reſcue their comrade, but, being repulſed, they thought to revenge themſelves upon a townſman, whom they purſued with drawn ſwords to the Burgrave's houſe, where he took ſhelter. Then they attacked a Lutheran ſtudent, who was in his night-gown at the door of his lodgings. They dragged him by the hair as far as their own college, threw him into the canal, and beat him unmercifully; which being done, they ſallied again into the city, and wounded ſeveral people with their ſabres, who were coming to the aſſiſtance of the Lutheran ſtudent. But, the preſident having ſent thither the town-guard, they were obliged to betake themſelves to their college, where they kept the Lutheran ſtudent, till the Jeſuits ſtudent was firſt ſet at liberty. While this exchange was making, ſome of the trained bands of the town were ordered to poſt themſelves before the Jeſuit's College, to protect them from the enraged populace. But, the ſtudents throwing ſtones at them, and firing upon them, it was not poſſible to reſtrain the people, who forced open the gate,

Geo. I. 1724.

Commotions in Scotland.

A ſet of enthuſiaſtical levellers roſe in the weſt of Scotland, who, under pretence of eſtabliſhing equality among Chriſtians, pulled down incloſures, and committed great ravages and depredations. But, the royal regiment of Scots fuſileers being ordered to march againſt them, about the latter end of June, and three other regiments of foot landing at Galloway at the ſame time, they ſoon ſuppreſſed thoſe diſorders.

The third ſeſſion of the ſecond parliament of king George.

The parliament met again the 12th of November, when his majeſty made the following ſpeech to both houſes by the mouth of the lord-chancellor:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I AM perſuaded you ſhare with me in the ſatisfaction I "feel at the proſperous ſituation of affairs. Peace "with all powers abroad; at home perfect tranquillity, "plenty, and an uninterrupted enjoyment of all civil and "religious rights, are moſt diſtinguiſhing marks of the fa"vour and protection of the divine providence: And theſe, "with all their happy conſequences, will, I doubt not, by "the bleſſing of God upon our joint endeavours, be long "continued to my people.

"The ſame proviſion by ſea and land, for the defence "and ſafety of the nation, will continue to make us reſpec"ted abroad, and conſequently ſecure at home. The ſame "attention to the improvement of the public revenues, and "to the eaſe and encouragement of trade and navigation, "will eſtabliſh credit upon the ſtrongeſt baſis, and raiſe ſuch

and were doing what they could to revenge the cruelty of the Jeſuits ſtudents, when, in that very inſtant, the town-clerk, who had got the Lutheran releaſed, came and obliged them to retire. The riot was then thought to be over, but the guards, that were poſted before the college, were ſcarce marched off, when the Jeſuits ſtudents from within fired again, and threw ſtones at the people, who again forced open the gate, plundered the college, and committed great diſorders, till a detachment of the garriſon and trained-bands came to the Jeſuits aſſiſtance, and diſperſed the people.

The bloody decree (notwithſtanding the interpoſition of ſeveral Proteſtant princes and ſtates) was put in execution, only the vice-preſident was reprieved. As many were exorbitantly fined, with the money ariſing from thence, a ſtone pillar with the virgin Mary's ſtatue was erected where her picture was burnt.

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" a ſpirit of induſtry, as will not only enable us gradually to Geo. I.
" diſcharge the national debt, but will likewiſe greatly in- 1724.
" creaſe the wealth, power, and influence of this king-
" dom.

" Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I have ordered the proper officers to prepare and lay be-
" fore you, eſtimates of the expences for the ſervice of the
" enſuing year; and, as they do not exceed what has been
" found by experience to be abſolutely neceſſary for the ſe-
" curity of the kingdom, I make no queſtion, but I ſhall
" have your ready concurrence in raiſing the ſupplies in ſuch
" manner, as ſhall be moſt eaſy to my people.

" There is one thing, that I cannot but mention to you,
" as deſerving your particular conſideration. It is too ma-
" nifeſt, that the funds eſtabliſhed for the finiſhing the works
" at Greenwich hoſpital, and providing for a competent
" number of ſeamen there, cannot, in time of peace, be
" ſufficient to anſwer the expences of this great and neceſſary
" work. It is therefore very much to be wiſhed, that ſome
" method could be found out to make a farther proviſion for
" a comfortable ſupport to our ſeamen, worn out in the
" ſervice of their country, and labouring under old age and
" infirmities.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" You muſt all be ſenſible how much our preſent happi-
" neſs is owing to your union and ſteady conduct. It
" is therefore wholly unneceſſary to recommend to you
" unanimity and diſpatch in all your deliberations. The
" zeal and abilities you have on all occaſions ſhewn in ſup-
" porting the intereſt of your country, even under the
" greateſt difficulties, leave me no room to doubt of my
" having your intire and effectual concurrence in every
" thing, that can tend to the ſervice of the public, and to
" the good of my people."

Debate on the army.

After the addreſſes of thanks from both houſes, the commons proceeded upon the ſupplies for the next year. This brought on a debate about the land-forces, particularly the additional four thouſand men; but at length it was voted, that the number ſhould be as the laſt year 18,264 effective men, and the ſum of 654,488 l. 17 s. 8 d. was granted for

Geo. I. 1724. their maintenance. For raiſing this and other ſupplies, two ſhillings in the pound on lands and the malt-tax were voted.

Affairs of the maſters in chancery.

Great part of this ſeſſion was taken up in the trial of the earl of Macclesfield, and the repeal of the late lord Bolingbroke's attainder. There had been for ſome time a murmuring againſt the inſufficiency of the maſters in chancery to anſwer the great ſums lodged in their hands by the ſuitors in that court; and it was ſuſpected, that the large ſums, which they paid for admiſſion into their places, made their way more eaſy than it ought to have been, and very much leſſened the inquiry into their qualifications. This abuſe had indeed been long growing up to this degree; and there was ſcarce any thing bought and ſold more freely and openly than a maſter in chancery's place. The ſuitors money, for which the maſters paid no intereſt, brought them in great intereſt from the funds; and, the profits of the place being conſequently doubled or trebled to what they had been before, there was ſuch an opportunity to inrich themſelves by the advantages they made of the money they had in their hands, that it is not ſurprizing, that the lord-keepers and lord-chancellor doubled and trebled the price, which the maſters were to pay for admittance. But, the complaints againſt this practice growing ſtrong and public, and the lord chancellor Macclesfield finding it impracticable for him to put a ſtop to thoſe complaints, or keep the great ſeal under them, he reſigned it the beginning of January 1724-5; and it was committed to the cuſtody of Sir Joſeph Jekyll, maſter of the rolls; Sir Jeffery Gilbert, and Sir Robert Raymond; who having in council taken the oath as lords commiſſioners of the great ſeal, the king ſaid to them as follows:

"I have had ſuch experience of your integrity and ability, that it is with pleaſure I now put the great ſeal into your hands. You are fully informed of the ſtate of the accounts of the maſters in chancery. I earneſtly recommend to you the taking effectual care, that intire ſatisfaction be made to the ſuitors of the court; and that they be not expoſed to any dangers for the future; and I have ſuch confidence in the faithful diſcharge of the truſt I now repoſe in you, that I am perſuaded you will look narrowly to the behaviour of all the officers under your juriſdiction, and will ſee, that they act with

with the ſtricteſt regard to juſtice, and to the eaſe of my ſubjects.' Geo. I. 1724.

On the 9th of February, Mr. Comptroller delivered the following meſſage to the houſe of commons:

'George R.

His majeſty having reaſon to apprehend, that the ſuitors of the court of chancery were in danger of loſing a conſiderable ſum of money from the inſufficiency of ſome of the maſters, thought himſelf obliged, in juſtice and compaſſion to the ſaid ſuitors, to take the moſt ſpeedy and proper method the law would allow, for inquiring into the ſtate of the maſters accounts, and ſecuring their effects for the benefit of the ſuitors; And his majeſty, having had ſeveral reports laid before him in purſuance of the directions he had given, has ordered the reports to be communicated to the houſe, that they may have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair, as the ſhortneſs of the time, and the circumſtances and nature of the proceedings, would admit of.'

Theſe reports, and the papers referred to in them, being taken into conſideration by the commons, Sir George Oxenden roſe up, and ſaid, 'That it manifeſtly appeared by theſe reports, which after the ſtricteſt enquiry, and upon the matureſt deliberation, had been drawn up by perſons of the greateſt weight and authority for their abilities, experience, high ſtations, and integrity, that enormous abuſes had crept into the high-court of chancery, chiefly occaſioned by the magiſtrate, who was at the head of that court, and whoſe duty conſequently it was to prevent the ſame. That the crimes and miſdemeanors of the late lord chancellor were many, and of various natures, but might be reduced to theſe three heads: 1. That he had taken into his own hands the eſtates and effects of many widows, orphans and lunatics, and either had diſpoſed of part of them arbitrarily to his own profit, or connived at the officers under him, making advantage of the ſame. 2. That he had raiſed to an exorbitant price the offices and places of the maſters in chancery, and, in order to enable them to pay him thoſe high prices and gratuities for their admiſſion, had truſted in their hands large ſums of money belonging to ſuitors in Chancery. 3. That in ſeveral caſes he had made divers irregular orders. So that, in his opinion, the firſt magiſtrate

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Geo. I. 1724. in the kingdom was fallen from the height of the dignities and honours, to which he had been raiſed by the king's royal bounty and favour, to the depth of infamy and diſgrace. And therefore he moved, that Thomas earl of Macclesfield be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors.' This motion was ſeconded by Mr. Strickland, and ſupported by Mr. Doddington, one of the lords of the Treaſury, who failed not to aggravate the earl's miſdemeanors, which, they ſaid, were of the greateſt and moſt dangerous conſequence, ſince moſt of the eſtates in England, once in thirty years, paſs through the court of chancery. Mr. Pulteney, who ſpoke next, ſaid, 'That it was far from his thoughts to endeavour to abate the juſt reſentment, which the gentlemen, who ſpoke laſt, ſhewed againſt the great abuſes, that had been committed in the court of chancery: But that, in his opinion, they went a little too faſt in ſo weighty and important an affair, by which means they might loſe the very end they aimed at, the effectual puniſhing the perſon, by whoſe neglect at leaſt, thoſe abuſes had been committed. That whatever deference they ought to pay, on this occaſion, to the capacity, experience, integrity and authority of the perſons, who had drawn up the reports, that had been laid before them, yet it little became the dignity, and was even derogatory to the prerogative of that houſe, which is the grand inqueſt of the nation, to found on impeachment upon thoſe reports, without a previous inquiry and examination into the proofs that were to ſupport it. And therefore he moved, that this affair might be referred to the conſideration of a ſelect committee.' Sir William Wyndham urged, 'That, by proceeding by way of impeachment upon reports laid before them from above, the commons would make a dangerous precedent, and ſeem to give up the moſt valuable of their privileges, the inqueſt after ſtate-criminals.' Theſe reaſons had great weight with ſeveral members, particularly on Sir Wilfred Lawſon and Sir Thomas Pengelly, who ſupported Mr. Pulteney's motion. But, Mr. Yonge and Sir Clement Wearg having anſwered thoſe objections, the queſtion was put, and it was carried by a majority of 273 againſt 164, That Thomas earl of Macclesfield ſhould be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors; and Sir George Oxenden was ordered to go up to the lords, and at their bar to impeach him in the name of the houſe of commons. This being done, a committee was appointed to draw up the articles. Then a bill was ordered to be brought in, to indemnify the maſters in chancery from the penalties

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of the act of the 5th and 6th years of king Edward the ſixth (againſt buying and ſelling of offices) upon their diſcovering what conſideration, price, or gratuity they paid, or agreed to pay, for the purchaſe of, or for their admiſſion to their reſpective offices; which bill paſſed both houſes, and had the royal aſſent. Geo. I. 1724-25.

The earl of Macclesfield's trial laſted twenty days. The eight firſt articles againſt him were, for taking large ſums of the maſters in chancery for admiſſion or purchaſe. By the other articles, he was accuſed of admitting perſons of ſmall ſubſtance, and of ſuffering an unjuſt and fraudulent practice to continue, of paying for their places out of the ſuitors money, by means of which great deficiencies happened: Of neglecting to ſecure Fleetwood Dormer's perſon or effects, who, by diſpoſing ſuitors money to his own uſe, had cauſed a deficiency of 24,000l. Of neglecting to prevent the like abuſes for the future, by taking ſecurity upon admiſſion: Of borrowing money of the maſters out of the ſuitors caſh, and making uſe of the ſame ſo long as he pleaſed. Upon theſe and other accounts, ſentence was paſſed upon him by the mouth of Sir Peter King, ſpeaker of the houſe of lords; that he ſhould be fined 30,000l. and impriſoned in the Tower till the ſum was paid. Trial of the earl of Macclesfield. May 6.

After the trial, it was moved, that the earl ſhould be for ever rendered uncapable of any office in the ſtate; but the motion was rejected, as well as another for his not ſitting in parliament, or coming within the verge of the court. The earl was carried to the Tower, and confined in the ſame apartment as was formerly the earl of Oxford's; and, three days after, the king in council ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the liſt of privy-counſellors. The earl paid his fine about ſix weeks after, and was diſcharged from his confinement. Sir Peter King, being created baron of Oakham in Surry, ſucceeded him in the chancellorſhip (d).

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(d) This great lawyer was deſigned by his father to follow his own trade, that of a ſalter or grocer, in the city of Exeter; and did actually ſerve ſeveral years, as (or in the nature of) an apprentice to it; but his genius to learning, breaking thro' the diſadvantages of education, diſcovered itſelf in two or three very learned treatiſes, of the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, of the creed, and primitive Chriſtianity, which he wrote even while he was breeding up in the trade of his father; who, being related to the famous philoſopher Mr. Locke, did, doubtleſs, by the advice of that great man, enter his ſon in the Temple, where

Geo. I. 1723.

The debts of the civil liſt being increaſed to above 500,000 l. the king, on the 8th of April, ſent by Mr. Walpole the following meſſage to the commons:

Debts of the civil liſt diſcharged.

'The neceſſities of his majeſty's government having rendered it impracticable for his majeſty to make any conſiderable retrenchments in the expences of his civil liſt; and having engaged his majeſty in ſome extraordinary expences, which he is perſuaded his loyal commons will believe have been employed, not only for the honour and dignity of the crown, but for the intereſt and proſperity of his people, his majeſty hopes, from the known zeal and affection of his parliament to his perſon and government, that he may be enabled to make uſe of the funds, lately ſettled for the payment of the civil liſt annuities, and for replacing the ſame to his majeſty in the moſt advantageous manner, and, upon the credit thereof, to raiſe a ſum of money ſufficient to redeem thoſe annuities, and to diſcharge the preſent debts contracted in the civil government.'

Mr. Pulteney, cofferer of the houſhold, who, about this time, began to be diſſatisfied, moved for an addreſs, that an account ſhould be laid before the houſe, of all the monies paid for ſecret ſervice, penſions, bounties, &c. from the 25th of March 1725. This addreſs being voted, a motion was made for the houſe to go into a grand committee, to conſider of the king's meſſage; but Mr. Pulteney repreſented, 'That, the houſe having ordered an addreſs for ſeveral papers relating to the civil liſt and other expences, they ought, in his opinion, to put off the conſideration of the meſſage, till thoſe papers were laid before the houſe; it being natural to inquire into the cauſes of a diſeaſe, before one applies remedies to it.' This being oppoſed by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Pulteney replied, 'That he wondered how ſo great a debt could be contracted in three years time, but was not ſurprized ſome perſons were ſo eager to have the deficiencies of the civil liſt made good, ſince they and their friends had ſo great a ſhare in it; and deſired to know, whether this was all that was due, or whether they were to expect another reckoning?'

he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the ſtudy and practice of the law. His father was a native of Glaſtonbury in Somerſetſhire; and, when the charter of that antient corporation was revived, in the year 1705, Sir Peter King was appointed their recorder by it, and continued ſo to his death.

To

To this it was answered in general, 'That there was indeed a heavy debt on the civil list, and a great many pensions; but that most of these had been granted in king William's and queen Anne's reigns, some by king Charles the second, and very few by his present majesty. That, since the civil list was first settled for his majesty, an expence of above 90,000l. per annum had happened, which could not then be foreseen, and therefore was left unprovided for. That, upon examination of the account of the civil list debts, it would appear, that most of those expences were either for the necessary support of the dignity of the crown and government, or for the public good. That there was indeed a pension of 5,000l. of another nature, upon the account of the cofferer's place, but which could not well be avoided; for both lord Godolphin, who was in that office, and his father, had so well deserved of the government, that they could not handsomely remove him without a gratuity, and therefore they gave him a pension of 5,000l. to make room for the worthy gentleman, who now enjoys the post.' Then the commons, in a grand committee, took the message into consideration, and a motion was made, 'That, for the redeeming the annuities of 25,000l. per ann. charged on the civil list revenues by an act of parliament of the 7th year of his majesty, and for discharging the debts and arrears due from his majesty to his servants, tradesmen, and others, his majesty be enabled to raise any sum not exceeding one million, by exchequer bills, loans, or otherwise, on the credit of the deductions of six-pence per pound, directed by that act, and of the civil list revenues, at an interest not exceeding 3l. per cent. till repayment of the principal.' This motion, after some further debate, being carried by a majority of 239 against 119, a bill passed for that purpose, and received the royal assent on the twentieth of April. Geo. I. 1725.

The same day a petition was presented to the house of commons in behalf of Henry St. John, late viscount Bolingbroke, attainted for high-treason. The purport of the petition was to suspend the execution of the law, with respect to his forfeitures, as a pardon suspended it, with respect to his life. After the petition had been offered to the house by the lord Finch, Mr. Walpole † acquainted the house, that he had received his majesty's commands to inform them, that the petitioner had seven years since made his humble application and submission to the king, with assurances of duty, al- Lord Bolingbroke petitions the parliament.

† See note P. 674.

Geo. I. 1725. allegiance, and fidelity, which his majeſty ſo far accepted, as to give him encouragement to hope for ſome future marks of his grace and goodneſs; and that his majeſty is ſatisfied, that the petitioner's behaviour has been ſuch, as convinces him, that he is an object of his mercy; and his majeſty conſents, that this petition be preſented to this houſe. Then the petition was read, ſetting forth, that the petitioner is truly concerned for his offence, in not having ſurrendered himſelf, purſuant to the act (whereby the petitioner was attainted of high-treaſon, and forfeited all his real and perſonal eſtate) and, by reaſon thereof, hath ſuffered very great loſſes. That, upon the petitioner's marriage in 1700, Sir Walter St. John, Bart. and the right honourable the lord viſcount St. John (the petitioner's grandfather and father) together with the petitioner, made a ſettlement of the family-eſtates in the counties of Wilts, Surrey, and Middleſex, all which premiſes (except a very ſmall part thereof) are now in the poſſeſſion of the petitioner's father, and the petitioner cannot become intitled thereto for his life, until after his father's deceaſe: That the petitioner hath, in a moſt humble and dutiful manner, made his ſubmiſſion to his majeſty, and given him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his inviolable fidelity, and of his zeal for his ſervice, and for the ſupport of the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, which his majeſty hath been moſt graciouſly pleaſed to accept; and praying, that leave may be given to bring in a bill for enabling the petitioner, and the heirs-male of his body (notwithſtanding his attainder) to take and enjoy the ſettled eſtate, according to the limitations of the ſettlement, or other aſſurances therein mentioned, and for enabling the petitioner to hold and enjoy any perſonal eſtate or effects, whereof he now is, or hereafter ſhall be poſſeſſed, and to inveſt the ſame in the purchaſe of any real or perſonal eſtate within this kingdom. After the reading of this petition, the lord Finch moved for a bill, which was ſeconded by Mr. Walpole, who, having repeated part of what he had before laid before the houſe by the king's command, added, 'He was fully ſatisfied, that the petitioner had ſufficiently attoned for his paſt offences, and therefore deſerved the favour of that houſe, ſo far as to enable him to enjoy the family inheritance, that was ſettled upon him; which, according to the opinion of the beſt lawyers, he could not do by virtue of his majeſty's pardon, without an act of parliament.' This was confirmed by the attorney and ſollicitor-general. But, after a ſhort diſpute among the lawers about the validity of ſuch a pardon in the preſent caſe, Mr. Methuen,

thien, comptroller of the houſhold, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the lord Finch's motion, and ſaid, 'That, as he had the honour to be one of the king's immediate ſervants, it might perhaps by ſome be thought unbecoming his ſtation to appear againſt a petition, to the preſenting of which his majeſty, in his royal clemency and goodneſs, hath been graciouſly pleaſed to give his conſent. But that, being at liberty to follow the dictates of his conſcience in this matter, he would freely declare his opinion, that the public crimes, for which this petitioner ſtood attainted, were ſo heinous, ſo flagrant, and of ſo deep a dye, as not to admit of any expiation or attonement; and whatever he might have done to deſerve his majeſty's private grace and pardon, yet he thought him altogether unworthy of any national favour.' Then he went through the late lord Bolingbroke's conduct, while he had a ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs in queen Anne's reign; 'how he was the principal adviſer of, and actor in the wicked meaſures, that were then purſued; his clandeſtine negotiation of peace, without the privity of the queen's allies, contrary to the expreſs tenor of the grand alliance; his inſolent behaviour towards all the confederates in general, and the Dutch in particular; his ſacrificing the intereſt of the whole confederacy, and the honour of his own country, particularly in the baſe abandoning of the poor and brave Catalans; a tranſaction, with which he had an opportunity to be intimately acquainted, as having had the honour, at that juncture, to ſerve the nation as the queen's miniſter in Portugal: And, to ſum up all his crimes in one, his traiterous deſign of defeating the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, the foundation of both our preſent and future happineſs; and of advancing a Popiſh pretender to the throne, which would have involved his native country in endleſs miſery.' Though this ſpeech made a great impreſſion on the aſſembly, and ſeveral other eminent members ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe, particularly Mr. Onſlow and lord William Pawlet, the motion for a bill was carried by 231 againſt 113. When the bill was brought in, it was moved, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted, to diſable him to ſit in parliament, or enjoy any place under the king; but, upon Mr. Walpole's oppoſing it, the clauſe was rejected, and the bill paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent (f).

Geo. I. 1725.

Bill paſſed in his favour. May 31.

The

(f) The moſt material acts paſſed this ſeſſion, beſides what have been mentioned, were theſe, an act for diſarming the Highlands, and ſecuring the peace of Scotland. A proteſt was entered againſt this act in the houſe of lords, alledging, That

Geo. I. 1725. The king put an end to the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech:

The end of the third ſeſſion. May.

That the diſorders in the preamble were not proved: Too great power was given to the lord-lieutenants and juſtices of the peace, and that the behaviour of the Highlanders had of late been inoffenſive.

Another act paſſed for regulating elections within the city of London, and for preſerving the peace, good order, and government of the city. This law, which is now the rule for all elections in the city, raiſed ſo great a ferment in London, that a printed ſummons was diſperſed inviting the citizens to aſſemble at Guild-hall to conſider of it. This attempt being reſented by the lord mayor and aldermen, the gates of Guild-hall were ordered to be ſhut, and the government was acquainted with what had paſſed. Upon this the guards were doubled at St. James's, Leiceſter-houſe, and Somerſet-houſe, and ſuch precautions taken as kept all things quiet. This ſpirit was ſuppoſed to have been raiſed by that majority of the common council, who had voted thanks to Mr. Francis Child and Mr. John Barnard, for ſtrenuouſly oppoſing the bill. By a clauſe of this act, the right of election of Aldermen and common council men belongs to freemen, being houſholders, paying ſcot and lot to the amount of 30 s. provided they have been in houſes of 10 l. a year, twelve kalendar months. This, and ſome other particulars, occaſioned a petition from the freemen of London againſt the bill, whilſt it was depending.

A motion was made in the houſe of commons for inſerting a clauſe in a bill about the 50 new churches, to diſable bodies corporate to purchaſe advowſons or other eccleſiaſtical preferments. This motion made by Mr. Arthur Onſlow was chiefly intended to reſtrain the univerſities from purchaſing advowſons, but it was rejected.

Thomas Guy, formerly a bookſeller in London, and afterwards member of parliament for Tamworth, dying in the 80th year of his age, left a benefaction of 200,000 l. to a hoſpital for incurables erected by himſelf, and near finiſhed in his life time, beſides many other charities. In order to the better management and diſpoſition of his charities, an act paſſed the 24th of March, for incorporating the executors of the laſt will and teſtament of Mr. Thomas Guy.

Two acts paſſed to diſſolve the marriage of William Yonge with Mary Heathcote, and of Francis Anneſley with Elizabeth Sutton.

The princeſs of Wales was delivered on the 5th of December of a princeſs at Leiceſter-houſe, who was chriſtened by the name of Louiſa.

"My

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I AM come to put an end to this ſeſſion of parliament, "which, though it has been extended to an unexpected "length, has been ſo well employed for the ſervice and in- "tereſt of the public, that I aſſure myſelf it will be to the "general ſatisfaction of the nation.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"The prudent uſe you have made of the preſent flouriſh- "ing ſtate of credit, by a certain reduction of more than "three millions ſeven hundred thouſand pounds to an intereſt "of four per cent. and by a wiſe proviſion for the redemp- "tion thereof by parliament, without further notice, on "payment of ſuch ſums, as the circumſtances of the go- "vernment will from time to time admit, has ſecured a "conſiderable addition to the ſinking fund, not ſubject to "the hazard of future events. (a).

"You have not only raiſed the ſupply for the ſervice of "the current year at the loweſt rate of intereſt, that has "been ever known, but, without laying any new burden "on my people, you have enabled me to diſcharge the debts "of my civil government; debts contracted by neceſſary and "unavoidable expences, and in ſupport of ſuch meaſures of "government, as have greatly increaſed the happineſs of "my people. You have thereby ſhewn your juſt regard to "my honour, and the dignity of the crown.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"As all our public bleſſings are the happy effects of the "general tranquillity we now enjoy, I cannot but expreſs "my ſatisfaction in the proviſion you have made for ſup- "preſſing and preventing diſturbances and commotions in "thoſe parts, where the peace of the kingdom might have "been moſt indangered.

"Nothing more remains neceſſary, than to tell you, that "I intirely depend on the faithful diſcharge of your duties in "your ſeveral ſtations, and on your conſtant care, in your "reſpective countries, to preſerve the peace and quiet of the

(a) An act paſſed this ſeſſion, for continuing to the bank the ſeveral annuities of 80,751 l. 7 s. 10 d. ½. and of 100,000 l. until Midſummer 1727, and from thence for reducing the ſame to 71,001 l. 2 s. 3 d. ¾. and 80,000 l. redeemable by parliament (that is, from 5 l. per cent. to 4 l. per cent.)

Geo. I. 1725. "public. But I know not how to part with you without "first returning you my very hearty thanks for the many re- "peated inſtances you have, in this ſeſſion, given me of "your duty and affection. All ſuch returns may be expected "from me, as can be made by the moſt indulgent prince to "an affectionate and loyal people."

Knights of the Bath revived.

Preſently after the end of the ſeſſion, the king revived the order of knights of the Bath, of whom prince William was the firſt, and the duke of Montague was appointed grand-maſter. Among the knights were Sir Robert Walpole, and his ſon the lord Walpole. The whole number was 38, including the ſovereign. Several promotions were likewiſe made. Mr. Methuen was appointed treaſurer of the houſhold, and the earl Lincoln, cofferer, in the room of Mr. Pulteney. William Bateman was created baron of Calmore, in Ireland, and viſcount Bateman. Soon after Sir Robert Walpole was made knight of the garter (b.)

The king having ſettled his affairs in England, and appointed the lords juſtices, ſet out for Hanover the 3d of June, and arrived the 14th at Herenhauſen.

Riots in Scotland.

The Scots, ever ſince the union, had very unwillingly paid any of the taxes that had been laid on the united kingdom; and had behaved on all ſuch occaſions, as if they thought themſelves injured, when they were obliged to contribute any thing towards the public expence. The enemies to the government failed not to feed this ill humour, and, under colour of zeal for the old conſtitution, to ſet the people againſt that, which was now eſtabliſhed. The malt-tax was moſt clamoured againſt; and it was foreſeen, that it would not be collected without peril to the officers. At Edinburgh indeed, the exciſemen were ſuffered to take an account of the malſter's ſtock in hand; but thoſe at Glaſgow were obliged to apply to the commiſſioners of the exciſe at Edinburgh for protection and aſſiſtance, their lives being threatened, if they offered to viſit the malt-houſes. The

(b) Lords of the Treaſury.

Sir Robert Walpole,
Sir Charles Turner,
Sir William Yonge,
George Doddington, Eſq;
Sir William Strickland.

Lords of the Admiralty.

James Earl of Berkeley,
Sir John Jennings,
John Cockburn, Eſq;
William Chetwynd, Eſq;
Sir John Norris,
Sir Charles Wager,
Sir George Oxenden.

com-

commiſſioners applied to major-general Wade, commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, who, on the 23d of June, ſent captain Buſhel, with two companies of ſoldiers to Glaſgow, where they arrived the next day in the evening. At their entrance into the town, they found a great mob of men, women, and boys, who gave them abuſive language, and threw ſtones at them, as they marched along the ſtreets, crying aloud, No Malt-tax. The officer deſired them to forbear, for he meant them no harm. The provoſt gave him billets for quartering his men, but told him, he could not put him in poſſeſſion of the guard-room, becauſe the rabble had locked it up, and carried away the key, as ſoon as they heard the ſoldiers were coming. The officer, unwilling to exaſperate them, by forcing open the door, ordered the guard to be kept at a public houſe, which they hired for that purpoſe. About eleven o'clock that night, ſeveral thouſands of the mob got together about the houſe of Mr. Daniel Campbel, repreſentative in parliament for Glaſgow, threatening to plunder it. Upon which captain Buſhel ſent an officer to the provoſt, letting him know the miſchief they deſigned to commit; and that he was ready with his men to aſſiſt him in preventing it. But his anſwer was, He thought the number of his ſoldiers too few, and therefore he would make no uſe of them. Thus the rabble, finding no oppoſition, nor even the appearance of a magiſtrate to reſtrain their fury, with hatchets and other inſtruments forced into the houſe, and turned out two or three of Mr. Campbel's ſervants (he, with his wife, having the day before retired to his country-houſe) and fell to plundering every thing they could carry away, and deſtroying what was not portable. This riot continued till nine the next morning, when ſeveral of the mob were lying drunk in the houſe, with the wine and liquors they found in the cellars, but the magiſtrates did not get any of them ſecured. The officers of the exciſe hid themſelves as well as they could: Some of them fell into the hands of the mob, and with great difficulty eſcaped with their lives, after having been unmercifully beaten. The rabble were then pretty quiet, till about four in the afternoon, when they began to meet again; women, or men in womens cloaths, beating drums about the ſtreets to call them together. Captain Buſhel, not knowing what their deſigns might be, ordered the ſoldiers to be near the guard-room, which the provoſt had now cauſed to be opened: But the mob did not long keep their ſecret; for they advanced towards the guard, crying, 'Drive the dogs out of town: We will cut them to pieces.' The officer ſaid again,

Geo. I. 1725.

Geo. I. 1725. 'We mean you no hurt, but, if you continue to provoke the ſoldiers, we ſhall not be able to reſtrain them from firing at you.' The rabble anſwered, 'You dare not fire with ball;' and continued throwing ſtones in ſuch quantities, and ſo large, that they broke ſome of the locks of the ſoldiers pieces, and their bayonets, and wounded ſeveral men. Upon which they were ordered to fire over the heads of the mob to frighten them; but they advanced ſtill upon the ſoldiers, and throwing ſtones in greater quantities, the ſoldiers at laſt fired on them, and killed or wounded three or four, which made them retire to ſome diſtance. In this ſhort interval, the proveſt ſent to captain Buſhel, deſiring him to ſave himſelf and his men, by retreating out of the town; for the rioters were collecting all the arms they could; and, if he did not march away, there would be more blood ſhed. The captain, taking his advice, marched immediately for Dunbarton, being followed by great numbers of the mob, and that ſo cloſely, that he was forced to fire now and then to ſecure his retreat out of the town. Three or four hundred of them followed him ſix miles, but they durſt not come up with him. He ſent an officer from Dunbarton to Edinburgh, to give general Wade an account of what had happened; and, on the 8th of July, the general, accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord advocate, ſet out from Edinburgh, and at noon the next day joined a body of forces, that had been ordered to draw together on a moor within two miles of Glaſgow, conſiſting of four troops of horſe, and a detachment of colonel Campbel's dragoons; eight companies of the earl of Deloraine's regiment of foot; the earl of Stair's regiment, and one of the new-raiſed Highland companies. The general wrote a letter to the magiſtrates to let them know he was coming; and the next day, about two o'clock in the afternoon, entered the town; the troops advancing with ſilence and good order; and they were diſtributed into quarters without any diſturbance. The two following days the exciſemen were ſet to take an account of the malſters ſtock in hand, and had quiet admittance. The rioters having endeavoured by circular letters to every town of any note to excite tumults, the mob roſe July the 9th, at Elgin, attacked in the night-time three ſoldiers, who were poſted centinels at a ſhop, wherein was lodged a quantity of brandy, that had been ſeized by the Cuſtom-houſe officers, and obliged the ſoldiers to fire in their own defence, by which one of the rabble was killed. The ſoldiers being overpowered were put in priſon by the magiſtrates; and the mob immediately carried off the brandy.

The

The maſters at Glaſgow complied with the terms of the act of parliament. Many of the rioters were ſeized; moſt of them mean perſons. Near an hundred witneſſes were examined, but little or nothing was found againſt any of them: It was all laid on thoſe, who fled, and on ſtrangers. The general and the lord advocate, having ſtaid a week at Glaſgow, returned to Edinburgh. The lord advocate committed ſeventeen men and boys, and four women, to priſon. The provoſt, Bailiffs, dean of guild, and deacon conveener were alſo apprehended, and the next day, under a ſtrong guard of dragoons, ſent to Edinburgh. When they came near the city, there was a vaſt concourſe of people at ſuch an unuſual and unexpected ſight, beſides a great many merchants and men of note on horſeback, who went out to meet them, and accompanied them to the priſon-doors, the Glaſgow magiſtrates being in coaches. They did not continue long under confinement; for, this affair being brought before the lords juſticiary, they were unanimous in their opinions, that they were innocent; upon which they were immediately ſet at liberty. It was reported, that the whole royal boroughs of Scotland had come to a reſolution to ſtand out againſt payment of the malt-tax. But they were ſo far from doing it, that, the convention being aſſembled at Edinburgh on the 7th of July, they reſolved to write a circular letter to each of the royal boroughs, to be ſent by expreſs, teſtifying the falſhood of that report, and their abhorrence of the thought of reſiſting or not paying due obedience to the law, which has enacted the levying of that tax, exhorting the magiſtrates and governors of each royal borough, to concur vigorouſly with the officers of the revenue, in the execution of the laws relating thereto, and in ſuppreſſing of all mobs, riots, and tumultuous aſſemblies; and requiring them every where to uſe all diligence for the diſcovery of the authors of ſuch malicious reports and ſeditious practices; and to acquaint the annual committee of the convention therewith, that the offenders might be proſecuted, and brought to deſerved puniſhment at the ſuit of the convention, as diſturbers of the public peace. The rioters at Glaſgow were brought to their trial before the court of juſticiary, of which the earl of Ilay was chief; and, Walter Buchanan, William Hamilton, George Macfarlane, Patrick Mitchel, and Janet Balleny, being found guilty of the riot, the four men were, the next day, ſentenced to be tranſported, after they had been ſcourged at Glaſgow by the common hangman; and Balleny, the woman, Geo. I. 1725.

Geo. I. 1725. was ſentenced to ſtand twice in the pillory there; ſo that no capital puniſhment was inflicted on any of theſe offenders.

General Wade did likewiſe another very important ſervice to the public, by diſarming, purſuant to the act of parliament, the Highlanders, Mackenzies, Macdonalds, Grants of Glenmoriſton, Macleods, Chiſholms, Stewarts, Camerons, Macphersons, Mackintoſhes, Macgregors, Gordons, Farquharſons, Macfarlans, and other clans, their tribes and followers; as alſo the inhabitants of the iſles of Sky and Mull; the arms amounting to between two and three thouſand. The companies of the ſoldiers left in the Highlands were ſo poſted, that they poſſeſſed all the conſiderable paſſes and thereby prevented the ſtealing of cattle.

Foreign affairs.

As to foreign affairs, there were great alterations abroad this year. Mention has been made of the marriage of Lewis, prince of Aſturias with the duke of Orleans's ſecond daughter, and of king Philip's reſignation of the crown to his ſon. It has been alſo related, how Lewis XV. of France was married to the infanta of Spain; and madamoiſelle de Beaujolois, another of the duke of Orleans's daughters, to don Carlos, infant of Spain by king Philip's ſecond wife. The firſt marriage was conſummated, but ſoon after diſſolved by the death of Lewis king of Spain. Upon his deceaſe, his father, king Philip, reſumed the crown. In the beginning of March 1724-5, the French king, who could never gain upon himſelf to be tolerably civil to the young infanta, declared his reſolution to ſend her back into Spain (c). This was ſo highly reſented by the court of Spain, particularly by the queen, that it was reſolved to ſend back to France madamoiſelle de Beaujolois, whoſe marriage with don Carlos was yet unconſummated; which was accordingly done, and at the ſame time the infanta was ſent to Madrid, the Spaniſh miniſters, the marquiſs de Monteleone, and Patrick Lawleſs (the pretender's agent in England in queen Anne's reign) returned with her.

(c) The French king being taken very ill, and in great danger of his life, by a fever, in February 1725, N. S. it alarmed the whole French nation, and made them cry aloud for his marrying immediately after his recovery, to prevent the fatal conſequences of a civil war, in caſe of his dying without iſſue. It was therefore ſuddenly reſolved in council to ſend back the infanta. Upon this unexpected turn the court of Spain propoſed the ſole mediation to Mr. Stanhope, the Engliſh miniſter at Madrid, which, as will be ſeen, was refuſed.

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The queen of Spain's reſentment did not end here. She reſolved the French ſhould intermeddle no more in the Spaniſh affairs, and offered to adjuſt her differences with the emperor (for which the congreſs of Cambray had been appointed) under the ſole mediation of Great-Britain. This offer was refuſed by king George upon many accounts. The emperor was ſo far from ſeeking the ſole mediation of Great-Britain, with the ſame warmth as Spain, that he ſhewed ſuch a coolneſs on the occaſion, as not only indicated a jealouſy, but foretold an unſucceſsful iſſue in caſe it was aſſumed. Beſides, the accepting of it, in order to gratify the paſſions of the queen of Spain, muſt have diſobliged France, with whom, ever ſince the death of Lewis XIV. the Britiſh court had contracted the ſtricteſt friendſhip. The ſame motive ſtill ſubſiſted, that had induced king George to enter into a reciprocal confidence with that crown, the title of the houſe of Orleans to that monarchy in virtue of the treaty of Utrecht. The young king was as yet a minor, and unmarried, and the duke of Bourbon prime miniſter of France, who ſolely guided the helm, was next in reverſion to the crown, after the young duke of Orleans, then unmarried, and of a weak conſtitution. The coolneſs therefore of the emperor, the engagement with France, and the proſpect of diſuniting for ever the houſe of Bourbon, by means of the branches of Orleans and Condé, induced king George not to accept the ſole mediation at the hazard of loſing France, without any appearance of gaining, or, if gained, of keeping Spain one moment fixed to his intereſt or alliance. Upon the king's refuſal of the ſole mediation, the emperor and queen of Spain reſolved to adjuſt their differences by a ſecret negociation. This was managed on the part of Spain by the baron de Ripperda, a Dutchman, who had abandoned the Proteſtant religion, and entered into the Spaniſh ſervice. The firſt treaty of Vienna was ſoon concluded, and ſigned the 30th of April, and, the next day, a treaty of commerce was alſo ſigned. It was urged, that, the mediators having for ſeveral years in vain endeavoured to reconcile the emperor and king of Spain, they reſolved to do it by themſelves without the intervention of any other power, eſpecially ſince France had affronted Spain, by ſending back the infanta, and England had refuſed to continue her mediation at Cambray without France (d).

Geo. I. 1725.

The ſole mediation at Cambray refuſed by king George.

By

(d) It appears by ſtating and comparing the dates of theſe tranſactions

Geo. I. 1725.

Treaty of Vienna.

By theſe treaties, the emperor acknowledges Philip V. as lawful king of Spain and the Indies, and promiſes not to moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of the dominions ſecured to him by the treaty of Utrecht, nor to appropriate to himſelf any right to them. King Philip, on his part, renounces all his pretentions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, adjudged to the emperor by the treaty of London, in July 1722. The emperor grants (without the conſent of the empire) the inveſtiture of the dukedoms of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, to the queen of Spain's eldeſt ſon, in caſe theſe dukedoms ſhould be vacant for want of heirs; the determination of king George and the regent of France in the treaty of London, that they are muſculine fiefs of the empire, being taken for granted. Spain agreed to guarantee the ſucceſſion of the Auſtrian dominions according to the

tions, that the ſending back the infanta, or the refuſal of the ſole mediation, could have no ſhare in the motives for negotiating. The courier, diſpatched from France to ſignify the reſolution of ſending back the infanta, March 13, 1725, did did not arrive at Madrid till the 19th, and king George's anſwer, declining the ſole mediation, came to Spain the 24th of April, 1724, N. S. Ripperda's full powers were ſigned in November, 1724; and the court of Madrid received advice from him in March 1725, that the principal articles were then agreed at Vienna. In conſequence of this agreement, the treaty of peace and friendſhip between the emperor and Spain was ſigned at Vienna the laſt of April, and that of commerce the firſt of May, 1725. Now could the reſolution of ſending back the infanta, which was not thought of in France till March, 1725, nor known at Madrid till the 19th of that month, be the occaſion of negotiating at Vienna treaties of ſuch importance and long diſcuſſion, the principal articles of which were the very ſame month of March known at Madrid to have been agreed upon at Vienna? Or could the king's refuſal of the ſole mediation, which was not known at Madrid till the 24th of April, 1725, N S. have poſſibly occaſioned the ſigning of treaties at Vienna the laſt of April, and firſt of May, 1725? To this it may be added, that the acceptance of the ſole mediation to accommodate the difference between the two courts, who were already agreed in every reſpect, would have been as ridiculous and abſurd, as it is to imagine, that the declining of it could poſſibly be a motive for ſigning of treaties ſo injurious to the States-general, as well as to Great Britain, when neither of them had given the leaſt reaſon for ſuch treatment.

Prag-

Pragmatic Sanction (e). By the treaty of commerce, the emperor's ſubjects were to have commercial advantages in Spain, to which no others were entitled: Spain was to guaranty the Oſtend trade to the Eaſt Indies, and pay an annual ſubſidy of about four millions of pieces of eight. Geo. I. 1725.

The treaty of peace was not liable to any great objection, though the article, by which Spain agreed to guaranty the ſucceſſion of the Auſtrian dominions, according to the Pragmatic Sanction, gave ſome room to ſuſpect, it was to operate in favour of Spain. And therefore it did not alarm the other ſtates, but it was not the ſame with the treaty of commerce, which was ſo much to the advantage of England and Holland, particularly with regard to the privileges granted to the Oſtend India company.

But, beſides theſe treaties, king George had reaſon to ſuſpect that another, much more repugnant to the intereſt of Great-Britain, was alſo concluded. This ſuſpicion was afterwards confirmed, not only by ſome indiſcreet expreſſions of Ripperda, but by the moſt poſitive intelligence from different perſons, all capable of knowing the truth, and all concurring in the moſt material facts. By this third treaty, which was carefully concealed, it was declared, that the Spaniſh miniſter having repreſented that the king of Great-Britain had promiſed the reſtitution of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, and that the king of Spain did inſiſt upon it, the emperor would concur in employing force for reſtoring Gibraltar to Spain, if it could not be amicably effected. King George had moreover cauſe to believe, that ſeveral other points of ſtill more dangerous conſequence were ſettled between the emperor and Spain, particularly that the two archdutcheſſes ſhould be married to the infants of Spain, and that means ſhould be taken for placing the Pretender on the Throne. This laſt article the king was informed of by a perſon of great rank, veracity, and credit, though the emperor himſelf ordered his miniſters to give, in his name, the moſt ſolemn denial of the fact. It muſt indeed be owned, that the duke of Bavaria received likewiſe aſſurances equally ſtrong from the miniſters of Vienna, that nothing had been

Private treaty between Spain and the emperor.

(e) By the Pragmatic Sanction the order of ſucceſſion to the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria is ſettled on the emperor's heirs and ſucceſſors of either ſex, and declared to be a perpetual, indiviſible, and inſeparate feoffment to the primogeniture. This Pragmatic Sanction or perpetual law was publiſhed at Vienna, December 5, 1724.

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Geo. I. 1725. tranſacted between the emperor and the court of Madrid, relating to the marriage of an archduchess to a prince of Spain, though it was afterwards owned by the imperial miniſters, and the execution of it openly demanded by thoſe of Spain. And it may here be obſerved, that, if thoſe marriages had taken place, and the French king and the prince of Aſturias at that time, both princes of weak conſtitutions, had died without iſſue, it would have laid the foundation for the moſt formidable power ever known in Europe, by uniting together in one ſovereign all the dominions belonging to the houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon.

In conſequence of theſe treaties between the emperor and Spain, great ſums, amounting to about a million ſterling, were remitted in ſix months, from the ſigning of them by Spain, to Vienna. The court of Vienna gave immediately the neceſſary orders for an augmentation of their own forces, with thirty thouſand men, and took immediately into their pay thirty thouſand more. Negotiations were ſet on foot for engaging other powers in ſupport of their cauſe; and particularly Ruſſia, by her acceſſion, was to furniſh thirty thouſand men.

Treaty of Hanover.

King George, juſtly alarmed at theſe proceedings, reſolved to take ſuch precauions, as were likely to defeat the pernicious deſigns of the new allies. The court of Vienna had behaved with uncommon coolneſs towards the court of London, ever ſince the acceſſion of king George. The emperor, whether out of ſome old perſonal enmity to the king, or from his jealouſy of ſeeing a Proteſtant prince of Germany become ſovereign of a powerful nation, behaved with great indifference, and in a very contradictory manner towards him on many occaſions. He refuſed to guaranty the ſucceſſion in his line, and denied him the inveſtiture of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which he had a right to demand and expect, as a purchaſer and member of the empire. To this may be added, the late erection and ſupport of the Oſtend India company, in violation of treaties, which greatly affected the Britiſh commerce to the Eaſt-Indies, and againſt which the whole nation made loud complaints. Led by theſe motives, the treaty of Hanover was projected by king George, to check the ambitious views of the emperor and king (or rather queen) of Spain, who, from being irreconcileable enemies, ran into each other's arms voluntarily, tying themſelves down by treaty to the cloſeſt and ſtricteſt friendſhip. The king ſucceeded in his deſign, and a treaty was concluded in September between England, France, and Pruſſia, in the

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ual forms of a defenſive alliance, with a mutual guaranty to protect the reſpective countries rights and privileges, thoſe of commerce in particular, which the parties enjoyed or ought to enjoy, as well out of as in Europe; which had a view to the Oſtend company. There was nothing in the treaty that reflected directly or implicitly upon the conduct of any other power: Nor was there any expreſſion to be found in it, nor inference from it, or from the conſequent meaſures, to ſhew it was projected to increaſe the dominions and claims of the electorate of Hanover, or to involve Great-Britain in the quarrels of that electorate, or could give offence to any but thoſe who intended to offend. The treaty was to laſt fifteen years. There were three ſeparate articles: The firſt related to the affair of Thorn, and was an engagement to procure ſatisfaction for what had been done contrary to the treaty of Oliva. By the ſecond, the two kings electors engaged, in caſe the emperor declared war againſt France, not only to furniſh their quota of troops, but to act in concert with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. By the third, France conſented, that, if the empire declared againſt her, the two electors kings might furniſh their quota, provided they furniſhed no more, and fulfilled their engagements to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. Geo. I. 1725.

Thus was concluded the treaty of Hanover, which has been painted in more invidious colours, than any tranſaction during the reign of king George.

In the mean time the duke of Bourbon was removed from the adminiſtration of affairs in France; having received, as he was preparing to follow the king to Rambouillet, an order to go to Chantilli, his country ſeat, and there to ſtay till further orders. Preſently after, the count de St. Florentine, ſecretary of ſtate, went to acquaint him, that the king had reſolved to take the government into his own hands; which he did on the 10th of June, in a council of ſtate at Verſailles, to whom he made a ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion. This revolution in the miniſtry of France was generally ſuppoſed to be owing to the intrigues of the court of Spain, who could never forgive the ſending back the infanta, which they imputed to the influence of the duke of Bourbon on the counſels of France. The biſhop of Frejus, the young king's preceptor, and afterwards cardinal, had a great hand in this meaſure, in order to aſſume the poſt of prime miniſter himſelf; but he aſſured Mr. Horace Walpole, the Britiſh ambaſſador at the court of France, 'That the alterations in the court of France, inſtead of making any in the meaſures taken with the king of Great-

Geo. I. 1725. Great-Britain, pursuant to the treaty of Hanover, would rather tend to the execution of that treaty.'

The king of France soon after married the princess M[illegible] daughter of Stanislaus, once king of Poland; the contract for the marriage being signed by proxy in July.

The duke of Wharton, who had acted with great extravagance and licentiousness of all kinds in England, and ruined his estate there, having left his country, went to Vienna, whence he proceeded to Rome, where he was introduced by the Spanish minister to the Pretender, in whose house he was concealed for six days, and then posted away to Madrid, where the baron de Ripperda, his great and intimate friend, was now in high credit and favour. Thither he came with credentials from the pretender; and, as a public mark of confidence in him, adorned with a garter, and the title of Northumberland. King George, being informed of these proceedings, sent a letter under the privy-seal to the duke, commanding him, upon his allegiance, to return forthwith to Great-Britain. This letter being carried to Madrid by Mr. Crew, the messenger, it was delivered, on the 31st of June, to the duke in a coach, as he was passing through one of the streets of the town; but, as soon as he was told the contents of it, he threw the letter out of the coach, and made great clamour at the executing a summons upon him by a British officer of justice, even in the sight of his Catholic majesty's palace. He likewise gave out, that he would present a memorial upon it to the king of Spain, and demand justice against the king's messenger, who brought him the letter. Colonel Stanhope, the British minister at Madrid, hearing of this, sent his secretary to the marquis de Paz, to acquaint him with it. The marquis promised to represent the matter to his Catholic majesty, and desired the secretary to return to him the next morning, when he assured him, that the king of Spain knew nothing of the memorial, but had been informed of what had passed with relation to the delivery of the letter of privy-seal, and would not in any manner interpose his authority in opposition to that proceeding. The duke, about that time, openly professed himself a Roman Catholic, by making his public abjuration of the Protestant religion; and, on the 23d of July, N. S. married one of the ladies of the queen of Spain's bed-chamber, by whose interest he obtained the pay of a lieutenant-colonel.

The king's stormy passage to England.

The king, having settled affairs abroad, set out from Hanover on the 18th of December, O. S. and came to Helvoet-Sluyce, where Sir John Norris waited with the convoy

convoy and yatchts, and where he embarked on board the Carolina yatcht on New-Year's-Day, about one in the afternoon. Towards ſeven that evening there aroſe a moſt violent ſtorm with rain and hail, which ſeparated the ſhips one from another, except one man of war, commanded by captain Dancey, who kept company with the king's yatcht, on board which was Sir John Norris. The tempeſt continued ſo high, and the ſea ſo boiſterous, for thirty-ſix hours, that the whole fleet was in the utmoſt danger. On the 3d of January, the yatchts and men of war were near Dover; and one of the yatchts, with ſome of the king's attendants, entered the river; but it was thought more adviſeable, that the king ſhould land at Rye, where he arrived about noon. The king went immediately into the ſmall boat, the tide being down; and, as ſoon as he could reach a horſe, which captain Pigram had brought him, he mounted it, rode by the wall, and over the new bridge. The mayor, Mr. Lambe, and the jurats, in their formalities, with the neighbouring gentlemen, attended the king, who alighted at the mayor's houſe, being ſaluted all the way with loud huzza's and acclamations. He was extremely fatigued, having eat nothing ſince the day he embarked. The lord Townſhend and his lady, who were in the Mary yatcht, kept company with the king, and with ſome difficulty landed at the ſame place. On the 4th of January, a meſſenger, diſpatched by the lord Townſhend, arrived at the Cock-pit, with the agreeable news of the king's ſafe landing at Rye, from whence he intended to have ſet out for London on the 6th; but, the roads in that part of the country being unſafe from the fall of ſnow, it was found neceſſary to give orders for the clearing of the ways; which done, the king began his journey the next day, and having croſſed the water from Rye, at a place called the Point, lay that night at Hythe, the next at Sittingburne; and on the 9th arrived in good health at St. James's. Geo. I. 1725-26.

On the 20th of January the parliament met, when the king made the following ſpeech to both houſes by the mouth of the lord chancellor: The fourth ſeſſion of the ſecond parliament.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I HAVE had ſuch frequent experience of the wiſdom and "zeal of this parliament on many important occaſions, "that it is with pleaſure I now meet you again; and I make "no doubt, but that your endeavours for the good and ſervice

Geo. I. 1725-26.

" vice of your country will be as ſucceſsful, as they have hitherto been.

" The diſtreſſed condition of ſome of our Proteſtant brethren abroad, and the negotiations and engagements entered into by ſome foreign powers, which ſeem to have laid the foundation of new troubles and diſturbances in Europe, and to threaten my ſubjects with the loſs of ſeveral of the moſt advantageous branches of their trade, obliged me, without any loſs of time, to concert with other powers ſuch meaſures, as might give a check to the ambitious views of thoſe, who are endeavouring to render themſelves formidable, and put a ſtop to the farther progreſs of ſuch dangerous deſigns. For theſe ends I have entered into a defenſive alliance with the moſt Chriſtian king and the king of Pruſſia, to which ſeveral other powers, and particularly the States-general, have been invited to accede; and I have not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of their concurrence. This treaty ſhall in a ſhort time be laid before you. By theſe means, and by your ſupport and aſſiſtance, I truſt in God, I ſhall be able not only to ſecure to my own ſubjects the enjoyment of many valuable rights and privileges long ſince acquired for them by the moſt ſolemn treaties, but effectually to preſerve the peace and balance of Europe, the only view and end of all my endeavours.

" Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" I have ordered the eſtimates for the ſervice of this year to be prepared and laid before you, which, from an unwillingneſs I always have to put my ſubjects to an extraordinary expence by any unneceſſary precautions, are formed upon the foot of employing no greater number of forces, than was thought neceſſary the laſt year; for which, if the ſupplies you give, ſhall be fully and effectually raiſed, I ſhall be enabled to have a ſtrong fleet at ſea early in the ſpring. If the poſture of affairs ſhall at any time make it neceſſary to augment our maritime force, I confide ſo intirely in the zeal and affection of my parliament, that I aſſure myſelf you will enable me to make ſuch an addition to the number of ſeamen, as ſhall be found requiſite.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" It is not to be doubted, but the enemies to my government will conceive hopes, that ſome favourable opportu-

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"ty for renewing their attempts may offer, from the pros- Geo. I.
"pect of new troubles and commotions. They are already 1725-26.
"busy by their instruments and emissaries in those
"courts, whose measures seem most to favour their purposes,
"in soliciting and promoting the cause of the pretender.
"But I persuade myself, notwithstanding the countenance
"and encouragement they may have received, or flatter
"themselves with, the provision you shall make for the
"safety and defence of the kingdom, will effectually secure
"us from any attempts from abroad, and render all such
"projects vain and abortive.

"When the world shall see, that you will not suffer the
"British crown and nation to be menaced and insulted,
"those, who most envy the present happiness and tranquil-
"lity of this kingdom, and are endeavouring to make us
"subservient to their ambition, will consider their own in-
"terest and circumstances, before they make any attempt
"upon so brave a people, strengthened and supported by
"prudent and powerful alliances, and, though desirous to
"preserve the peace, able and ready to defend themselves
"against the efforts of all aggressors. Such resolutions, and
"such measures, timely taken, I am satisfied, are the most
"effectual means of preventing a war, and continuing to us
"the blessings of peace and prosperity."

Addresses suitable to the speech were presented by both houses, and the commons proceeded to consider of the supply. The reduction of the four thousand additional troops was again insisted on, and particularly by Mr. Pulteney, who now set himself up to oppose every motion of the court; but, after a warm debate, the same number of land-forces, 18,264 men, and the same provision for them, were voted. A motion by Mr. Pulteney for a committee to state the public debts, from the year 1714 to 1725, was rejected by 262 against 89. It was observed, that most of the Tories then in the house were against it. Proceedings of the commons.

The treaties of Hanover and of Vienna being laid before the commons, they were debated by a full house of 420 members. No stranger was admitted except the earl of Marchmont, who had been a plenipotentiary at Cambray. Mr. Horace Walpole, ambassador at the court of France, opened the debate with a long speech, setting forth the state of affairs in Europe from the peace of Utrecht to the present time. He took notice, 'That, since his majesty's accession to the throne, his constant care and endeavours had been to settle Debates on the treaties of Hanover and Vienna.

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Geo. I. 1725-26. the balance of power on a ſolid foundation, and to pre[illegible] and ſecure the tranquillity of Chriſtendom; to protect [illegible]nd defend the Proteſtant cauſe, and promote the honour [illegible]tereſt of his Britiſh ſubjects. That, with theſe great views, his majeſty was become mediator and guarantee both of the Barrier Treaty concluded in 1715, and of a convention made in 1718, for the execution of that treaty, between the emperor and the States-General of the United-Provinces. In the year 1716, his majeſty concluded a defenſive alliance with the emperor; and, in 1717, another with the moſt Chriſtian king and the States-General; the genuine deſign of both which treaties was only to preſerve the public repoſe of Chriſtendom, eſtabliſhed by the peace of Utrecht, to guaranty the ſucceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain in the Proteſtant line. In order to fortify all theſe treaties, and to extinguiſh the war, the Spaniards had kindled in Italy, his majeſty, in 1718, made a convention with the moſt Chriſtian king, for propoſing ultimate conditions of peace between the emperor and the king of Spain, and between his imperial majeſty and the (then) king of Sicily. This convention was, a few days after, followed by a treaty of alliance between the emperor, the king of Great-Britain, and the moſt Chriſtian king, which, by their miniſters, was concluded at London, and ſigned the 22d of July 1718, and in which the States-General were named as one of the contracting parties (upon a ſuppoſition that they would come into it) from whence this treaty was named the Quadruple Alliance. A few months after, the king of Sicily was admitted into this treaty; and at length the king of Spain himſelf was forced to accede to it, which was mainly owing to the generous aſſiſtance, which his Britannic majeſty gave the emperor in the Mediterranean. There remaining ſome points ſtill controverted between the emperor and king of Spain, the ſame were referred to be amicably determined in a congreſs, which was afterwards opened at Cambray, under the mediation of his Britannic majeſty and the moſt Chriſtian king. By reaſon of ſeveral difficulties induſtriouſly raiſed by the courts of Vienna and Madrid, the great pains taken for three years by the miniſters mediators, proved unſucceſsful, and at laſt the congreſs was ſuddenly diſſolved, upon advice, that the emperor and the king of Spain had ſecretly adjuſted the differences between them, and concluded a treaty of peace at Vienna. This unexpected event occaſioned no ſmall ſurprize, and raiſed jealouſies, which appeared to be the better grounded, when it was known, that the treaty of peace was

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ſoon followed by a treaty of commerce, the main deſign of which was to ſupport and countenance the Eaſt India company, ſome years before eſtabliſhed at Oſtend, by granting to the inhabitants of the Auſtrian Netherlands greater privileges, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, than were ever granted either to the Engliſh or Dutch, which viſibly tended to the intire ruin of many valuable branches of our trade, and was contrary to ſeveral ſolemn treaties ſtill in force. His majeſty, ever watchful for the intereſt of his Britiſh ſubjects, had cauſed lively repreſentations to be made againſt the treaty of commerce, both to the emperor and king of Spain. At the court of Madrid, theſe complaints were received with coldneſs; and at that of Vienna, with ſtiffneſs and haughtineſs, even to ſuch a degree, that the imperial miniſters did not ſtick to inſinuate, that, if his Britannic majeſty perſiſted in his reſolution to take meaſures in oppoſition to the treaties of Vienna, his imperial majeſty would not only think himſelf diſengaged from the guaranty of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain, but that the ſame might be attended with conſequences in relation to his majeſty's dominions in Germany. Theſe inſulting menaces made no impreſſion on his majeſty's firmneſs, nor deterred him from his fixed reſolution of concerting with other powers ſuch meaſures, as might give a check to the ambitious views of thoſe, who endeavoured to render themſelves formidable. Theſe meaſures ſeemed to be the more neceſſary, becauſe there were juſt grounds to believe, that the unforeſeen reconciliation of the emperor and king of Spain was owing to the conſtant view of the houſe of Auſtria, of rendering the imperial dignity hereditary in their family. In order to that, it might reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the treaties of Vienna were to be cemented by a match between the emperor's eldeſt daughter and the infant Don Carlos. It was eaſy to foreſee the conſequences of ſuch a marriage. For the iſſue male, that might come from it, might, in time, be poſſeſſed not only of all the hereditary dominions belonging to the houſe of Auſtria, and of the imperial dignity, but alſo of all the dominions of the Spaniſh monarchy; which would entirely overthrow the balance of power, and render the liberties of all the reſt of Europe very precarious. This ſuppoſition would appear more than probable to any one, who conſidered that there was ſcarce any other way of accounting, either for the king of Spain's breaking through ſolemn treaties with Great-Britain, in favour of the emperor's ſubjects in the Netherlands; or for the emperor's forgetting ſo far the obligations he had to Great-Britain and

Geo. I. 1725-26. Holland, as to enter into engagements to aſſiſt Spain towards the recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca, and to perſiſt in ſupporting and countenancing the Oſtend company, eſtabliſhed with no other view, than to deprive the ſubjects of the maritime powers of ſeveral of the moſt advantageous branches of their trade. In order to give a timely check to the further progreſs of ſuch dangerous deſigns, his majeſty, in his great wiſdom, had entered into a defenſive alliance with the moſt Chriſtian king and the king of Pruſſia, to which ſeveral other powers, and particularly the States-General, had been invited to accede. The States of Holland had already done it; and it was not to be doubted, but their example would ſoon be followed by the other United Provinces. The main view of this allianee was to maintain and preſerve the publiq repoſe and tranquillity of Chriſtendom, and to ſecure to each contracting party the poſſeſſion of their reſpective dominions and territories, with the rights, immunities, and advantages, particularly thoſe relating to trade, which their ſubjects enjoyed, or ought, by treaties, to enjoy. And, as his majeſty ever had a particular concern for the proteſtant intereſt, ſo, out of his royal and tender compaſſion for the diſtreſſed condition of ſome of our Proteſtant brethren in Poland, his majeſty had not only interpoſed his good offices in the moſt preſſing manner in their favour, but had taken the occaſion of the defenſive alliance made at Hanover, to engage, by a ſeparate article, the moſt Chriſtian king and the king of Pruſſia, who, together with his majeſty, are guarantees of the treaty of Oliva, to ſee it maintained and obſerved in its full extent, and to cauſe reparation to be made for what may have been done at Thorn contrary to that treaty. He concluded with an encomium upon his majeſty's wiſdom, care, vigilance, ſteadineſs, and reſolution in the conduct of all theſe weighty and important affairs.

Mr. Walpole's ſpeech occaſioned a great debate. A member having ſuggeſted, that it was to be ſuppoſed, the king of Spain did not ſeem to grant any further privileges to the emperor's ſubjects in the Netherlands, than what had been granted to the Engliſh, and other moſt favoured nations; he was anſwered by colonel Bladen, who pointed to the ſecond article of the treaty of commerce of Vienna, whereby it was expreſsly ſtipulated, 'That the ſhips of war, and merchant-ſhips belonging to the contracting parties, or their ſubjects, ſhould be allowed full liberty to frequent the harbours, coaſts, and provinces of each other;' naming particularly the Eaſt-Indies, and without any exception as to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies.

Indies, for any reſtraint on the ſhips of war and merchant- Geo. I.
ſhips, than not 'to buy any thing beſides victuals and ma- 1725-26.
terials for repairing their ſhips;' which implied a permiſſion to vend their merchandizes for ready money; ſo it was manifeſt, that the ſubjects of the Auſtrian Low-Countries were allowed more extenſive privileges than ever had been granted to any other nation, contrary to ſeveral treaties in force between the crowns of Great-Britain and Spain.

Colonel Bladen having cleared this important point, Mr. Daniel Pulteney made a long ſpeech, wherein having made his obſervations on moſt of the points mentioned by Mr. Horace Walpole, he inſinuated, that the ſubject-matter of this day's debate was of the greateſt importance, and therefore they ought maturely to conſider of it, before they came to any reſolution upon it. He was ſupported by Mr. Shippen, who raiſed the main objection to the treaty of Hanover, That it would engage the Britiſh nation in a war for the defence of his majeſty's dominions in Germany, contrary to an expreſs proviſion made for the ſecuring our religion, laws, and liberties, in the 'act for further limitation and ſucceſſion of the crown in the Proteſtant line;' which, being the baſis and foundation of the preſent ſettlement, was become part of our conſtitution, and therefore ought to be ſacred and inviolable. They were anſwered by Mr. Pelham, who urged, that the true meaning and intent of that limitation was not wholly and for ever to deprive his majeſty's foreign dominions of any aſſiſtance from this nation; for, if ſo, his majeſty, in that reſpect, would be in a worſe condition upon his acceſſion to the Britiſh throne than he was before; but only to reſtrain the ſovereign, for the future, from engaging the nation, at his pleaſure, in a war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of England, 'without the conſent of parliament;' to whom the legiſlature wiſely left to judge and determine, Whether ſuch a war was juſt and neceſſary or no? Concluding, that, for his own part, he was fully of opinion, that, if, in the preſent juncture and circumſtances of affairs, his majeſty's foreign dominions ſhould be attacked or inſulted, this nation ought to ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty againſt all his enemies whatſoever. And therefore he moved, 'That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to return his majeſty the thanks of this houſe for his great goodneſs in communicating the treaties of peace and commerce concluded between the emperor and the king of Spain, and the defenſive alliance between his majeſty, the moſt Chriſtian king, and the king of Pruſſia. To expreſs our juſt ſenſe of his ma-

Geo. I. 1725-26. jesty's concern for the balance of power in Europe, and the Proteſtant religion; and, above all our unfeigned gratitude for his earneſt and ſeaſonable care of the particular intereſts of his Britiſh ſubjects, by forming and entering into the defenſive alliance with the moſt Chriſtian king and the king of Pruſſia, in order to obviate and diſappoint the dangerous views and conſequences of the treaty of peace betwixt the emperor and the king of Spain; and to preſerve the many valuable rights and privileges of this nation againſt the fatal tendency of the ſaid treaty of commerce, calculated for the intire deſtruction of the Britiſh trade, in breach of ſeveral ſolemn treaties now in force. To acknowledge his majeſty's prudence and reſolution, in not letting any attempts or inſinuations whatſoever divert his majeſty from conſulting and ſteadily purſuing the true intereſt of theſe his kingdom; and to aſſure his majeſty, that, in juſtice and vindication of the honour and dignity of the Britiſh crown, this houſe will effectually ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty againſt all inſults and attacks, that any prince, or power, in reſentment of the juſt meaſures, which his majeſty has ſo wiſely taken, ſhall make upon any of his majeſty's territories and dominions, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain (a).'

This motion being at laſt approved by a majority of 285 againſt 107, the addreſs was preſented on the 19th of February, to which the king returned this anſwer.

'Gentlemen,

'I return you my thanks for this particular mark of your duty, affection, and confidence in me. Your aſſurances not to ſuffer my foreign dominions to be expoſed or inſulted, on account of the meaſures I have taken for the intereſt of theſe kingdoms, will, I hope, be a means to preſerve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. I have no views of ambition to gratify; I have no thought of aggrandizing myſelf, or extending any parts of my dominions at the hazard and expence of the other; and, as my honour is the common cauſe and concern of my ſubjects, their particular intereſts ſhall, upon all occaſions, be my conſtant care.'

(a) Mr. Pulteney ſpoke againſt this motion, and, among other things, ſaid, 'That the imperial court's backwardneſs in granting the inveſtiture for Bremen and Verden, might have been one of the motives to ſome late meaſures.' Upon this, Sir Robert Walpole aſſured the houſe, that the king might long ago have had the inveſtiture, if he would have paid the exorbitant fees, that were demanded for it.

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The lords took likewiſe into conſideration the three treaties, which had been laid before them: The lord Townſhend opened the debate, and concluded with a motion much to the ſame purpoſe with that of Mr. Pelham in the houſe of commons. He was ſeconded by the duke of Newcaſtle, who acquainted the houſe with a remarkable paſſage out of a letter from Mr. Stanhope, his majeſty's miniſter in Spain, That in a private converſation, the duke of Ripperda had not ſcrupled to own, that, beſides what had already been communicated to him about the late treaties of Vienna, there were ſtill ſome other ſecret articles, which in due time ſhould be made public, whereby the contracting parties mutually engaged to aſſiſt each other with a certain number of troops, in order to ſupport the Oſtend company, and to recover Gibraltar. The duke being aſked, whether he would produce that letter? He ſaid, He had not the king's commands for it, but was only left at liberty to take notice of what he had mentioned. Upon this the lord Lechmere obſerved, that no ſtreſs could be laid on an information, that did not come regularly and in form before the houſe: That beſides it was uſual with miniſters of ſtate ſometimes to drop things, that have no reality, in common converſation, only to ſound thoſe, with whom they negotiate. That, the treaties, that had been communicated to them, being a matter of the greateſt importance, they ought to proceed in it with the utmoſt caution and matureſt deliberation; and therefore he was of opinion, they ought to take ſome time to conſider of it, and adjourn the debate to another day. He was anſwered by the earl of Scarborough; and, the queſtion being put upon the motion for an addreſs, it was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of one.

Geo. I. 1725-26. Debate on them in the houſe of lords.

After this the Lord Lechmere ſtood up, and declared, That he would go as far as any member of that illuſtrious aſſembly, in vindicating the honour and dignity of the Britiſh crown, and in ſupporting and defending his majeſty's perſon and government. That, as their preſent and future happineſs depended, next under God, on the ſettlement of the crown of theſe realms on his majeſty and his royal iſſue, they ought to be extremely cautious of any the leaſt derogation from the act of parliament, by which that happy ſettlement was made; and therefore he was of opinion, and moved, that to the reſolution for an addreſs the following words be added:

"This houſe not doubting but your majeſty, in your great "wiſdom and juſtice to theſe your kingdoms, will always

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"preſerve to them the full and intire benefit of the proviſion "made for the further ſecuring our religion, laws, and liber- "ties, by an act paſſed in the 12th and 13th years of the "reign of his late majeſty king William III, of glorious me- "mory, whereby it is enacted, That, in caſe the crown "and imperial dignity of this realm ſhall hereafter come to "any perſon, not being a native of this kingdom of Eng- "land, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for "the defence of any dominions or territories, which do not "belong to the crown of England, without the conſent of "parliament." Buth this motion was rejected.

The addreſs, in ſubſtance the ſame with that of the commons, was preſented by the houſe of lords in a body, on the 18th of February, and received the like anſwer.

Mr. Hampden's affair.

On the 2d of March, a petition from Richard Hampden, late treaſurer of the navy, and knight of the ſhire for the county of Bucks, was preſented to the commons by Sir William Yonge, for leave to bring in a bill, to impower the commiſſioners of the treaſury to compound with the petitioner for his debt to the crown (b). Sir Robert Walpole having acquainted the houſe, that the king had given his conſent that they might do as they thought fit, the petition was taken into conſideration. It was ſaid by Mr. Onſlow the ſpeaker, and ſome others, 'That, out of regard to his antient family, and, in particular, in conſideration of his great-grandfather, John Hampden, who made a moſt noble and courageous ſtand againſt arbitrary power, in oppoſing ſhip-money, and fell the firſt victim in the glorious cauſe of liberty, they were for having ſomething done for his relations.' His wife and brother preſented petitions, ſetting forth the diſtreſs they would be reduced to, by the deficiency Mr. Hampden was charged, without relief from the houſe. Theſe petitions occaſioning a debate, Sir William Yonge took notice, That Mr. Hampden's deficiency had, in ſome meaſure, been occaſioned by a general calamity: That he had already done all that lay in his power to make it up: That, however, ſince neither his lady, nor his brother, had any ways been acceſſary to his misfortunes, it was unreaſonable and unjuſt to involve them in his offence and its puniſhment: That his real and patrimonial eſtate amounted to about 2200 l. a year, one

(b) His debt was, at firſt about half the debt, ſo the remainder was about 48,000 l. His paternal eſtate was about 2000 a year.

95,256 l. but he had delivered in, by South-Sea ſtock, ſubſcriptions, and other ſecurities,

full

full half of which was ſettled for a jointure to his wife, who brought him near 11,000 l. in marriage, beſides an annuity of 200 l. per annum during her life, for her ſeparate uſe; all which ſettlements ought to be ſecured to her; That either Mr. Richard Hampden, or his brother, may have iſſue male; and, in conſideration of the ſignal ſervices, at divers times, performed by their illuſtrious anceſtors, ſome proviſion ſhould be made for their poſterity out of the family eſtate.' And therefore he moved, that a bill be brought in for veſting the real and perſonal eſtates of Richard Hampden in truſtees, for making ſome proviſion for his wife and family, and for the better ſecuring the debt due from him to the crown. But Mr. Clayton and ſome other gentlemen repreſented, that, if this affair went through the uſual tedious courſe of extents in the Exchequer, great part of Mr. Hampden's eſtate would be conſumed in law-expences, ſo that the crown would not get 200 l. a year out of it. And therefore they propoſed, that the eſtate ſhould be divided into two equal parts, one of which ſhould be allotted as a proviſion for his wife and family, and the other half immediately ſold off, towards ſatisfying the debt due from him to the crown. Many members ſhewed their approbation of this propoſal; but the majority were for Sir William Yonge's motion; and a bill was ordered to be brought in, which afterwards paſſed into a law. Geo. I. 1725-26.

Campbell of Glaſgow voted ſatisfaction for his damages.

Upon a petition of Daniel Campbell, member of parliament for Glaſgow, for ſatisfaction for his damages, by the rioters in that city, a bill paſſed in his favour; and the ſatisfaction given him was laid upon the place, where the crime was committed, by an act for an impoſition of two pennies Scots, upon all ale and beer brewed in the city of Glaſgow. However, the malt-tax was thought ſo great a grievance in Scotland, that the convention of the royal boroughs preſented an addreſs by John Campbell, member for Edinburgh, in which, though they diſavowed the conduct of the Glaſgow men, they remonſtrated againſt that tax, 'as a burthen too heavy for their country to bear;' and afterwards petitioned the commons concerning it; as did likewiſe the ſhires of Renfrew, Bamff, &c.

The king's meſſage for an extraordinary ſupply.

On the 24th of March, Sir Paul Methuen, knight of the Bath, delivered the following meſſage from the king to the houſe of commons:

'His majeſty having nothing more at heart, than an earneſt deſire to ſecure to his own ſubjects the full and free enjoyment of their trade and navigation, and in the beſt manner to prevent and fruſtrate ſuch deſigns, as have been formed

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against the particular interest of this nation, and the general peace of Europe, has found it neceſſary, not only to augment his maritime force, but to concert ſuch other meaſures, as may moſt effectually conduce to theſe deſirable ends: And, as theſe ſervices will require ſome extraordinary expence, his majeſty hopes he ſhall be enabled, by the aſſiſtance of parliament, to increaſe the number of ſeamen already voted and granted for the ſervice of this year, and to enter into, and make good ſuch engagements, as the circumſtances and exigency of affairs may require.'

This meſſage occaſioned a debate of ſix hours; but it was at laſt agreed to comply with it, by a majority of 270 againſt 89, and an addreſs to that purpoſe was preſented to the king.

This meſſage had not been communicated to the houſe of lords, though the king ſaid in it, that he hoped he ſhould be enabled, by the aſſiſtance of his parliament, to increaſe the number of ſeamen already voted. Notice was taken of it, and the earl of Strafford aſſerted, 'That the meſſage was unprecedented, and ſtruck at the antient privileges of the houſe of peers, who are the grand ſtanding council of the ſovereign, the hereditary and perpetual Guardians of the liberties and properties of the people, and, next the king, the principal part of the legiſlature, and who therefore have a right to be conſulted in all matters of public concern.' He moved, therefore, 'That an addreſs be preſented to know, who adviſed his majeſty not to ſend the ſame meſſage to the houſe of peers, as was ſent to the houſe of commons.' The lord Trevor (who had been made lord privy-ſeal on the 6th of March in the room of the duke of Kingſton) moved, that the further conſideration of that matter be adjourned for a month. But the lord Lechmere repreſented, 'That the ſubject-matter of this debate was of ſo great conſequence to his majeſty's ſervice, to the honour of that noble and illuſtrious aſſembly, to the antient conſtitution of parliament, and to the proſperity and welfare of the kingdom, that it ought not to be poſtponed at all, much leſs for ſuch a length of time, as amounted to a laying it intirely aſide. That it muſt be for the ſervice and ſupport of the crown, upon all occaſions, to have the advice of both houſes of parliament; and as the meſſage in queſtion was only ſent to the houſe of commons, and there had not yet been any communication with their lordſhips upon it, though it contained matters of the higheſt importance, it tended to undermine the very foundation of the houſe of peers, and of the antient conſtitution of the kingdom. That the rights

rights of the people of England were, in some measure, in- Geo. I.
vaded, whenever they were deprived of the assistance of that 1726.
house of parliament, without whom no aid can be given to the crown, nor any taxes laid upon the subjects. And therefore, if this debate should be adjourned to so long a day, it might be inferred from such a dilatory proceeding, that their lordships were not as jealous of their own privileges, and of the rights and properties of the people, at this time, and as much determined to support and defend them both, as any of their ancestors and predecessors had formerly been. That it was the undoubted, inherent, and fundamental right of the house of peers to alter and amend all money-bills, which came from the commons; and though in some late instances the commons had disputed that right, yet the lords had never failed to maintain and assert it. That, according to antient usage, all demands of supply should come from the throne in the house of peers; and therefore all other methods are unparliamentary, new, and dangerous to the constitution. All these assertions were corroborated with several precedents upon record, which he caused to be read. He was answered by the lords Onslow and Townshend; who were replied to by the lord Bathurst, who took notice, That the appellation of parliament being given to the commons, and separately from the lords, was intirely new and unprecedented. That this was so far from being the language of former times, that though of late the commons took upon them to begin all money-bills, yet there was a time, when they were so inconsiderable, as to apply to the lords, to desire them to provide money for the public service. That, if, at this time, the lords suffered themselves to be over-looked in this manner, they might come at last to be voted useless, as they had formerly been. And therefore, lest any mistake of this kind should be attended with such ill consequence, as to encourage any evil ministers hereafter to a total neglect of the house of peers, he was of opinion, that proper notice should be taken of it immediately, instead of deferring the further consideration of it for a month. The earl of Scarborough said, He did not deny, that the peers have a right to be advised with in all matters of importance, and to give their consent to money-bills. But, in the case before them, it seemed needless to send the message in question to their house, because their lordships had implicitly given their consent to the augmenting the number of seamen, in their address of thanks, wherein the augmentation was hinted at. As to what had been suggested, that formerly the commons applied to the

lords

Geo. I. 1726. lords to provide money for the public ſervice, the reaſon of it was, becauſe, at that time, none had any money to give but the lords, moſt of the lands being then in their hands; whereas ſince the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. the caſe is very much altered; and therefore they ought not to conſider, how things were formerly, but how they are at preſent, and ſo act as they find them.' After ſeveral other ſpeeches the affair was put off for a month, by 69 voices againſt 31. When the month was expired, it was again adjourned for a fortnight, and the houſe was moved, 'That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, repreſenting the fatal conſequences which muſt happen to this kingdom, when any advice ſhall be given to the crown, whereby the counſel and aſſiſtance of this houſe ſhall not be aſked, at the ſame time that the counſel and aſſiſtance of the houſe of commons ſhall be aſked, in matters which concern the peace and ſafety of this kingdom; and moſt earneſtly to beſeech his majeſty, that he will for the future diſcourage all ſuch counſels as ſhall tend, in ſo unwarrantable and dangerous a manner, to the deſtruction of the rights of this houſe.' But this addreſs was rejected (c).

End of the fourth ſeſſion of the ſecond parliament.

The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being over, the king diſmiſſed the parliament with the following ſpeech:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I Cannot in juſtice put an end to this ſeſſion, without "returning you my hearty thanks for the many in- "ſtances you have given me of your duty and affection to "my perſon and government, and of your zeal to main- "tain the honour and true intereſt of this kingdom.

"The ſpirit and reſolution you have ſhewn [illegible] this im- "portant occaſion, when our moſt valuable rights [illegible] "vileges have been ſtruck at, are highly becoming the "weight and authority of a Britiſh parliament: And the "ſteps that have been taken abroad, in ſupport of the mea- "ſures entered into againſt this nation, muſt convince every "body of your wiſdom and prudence in endeavouring to put

(c) Among the bills paſſed this ſeſſion were theſe two:

An act for building a bridge over the Thames, from the town of Fulham in Middleſex, to the town of Putney in Surrey.

An act for preventing frivolous and vexatious arreſts. By this act, no perſon ſhall be held to ſpecial bail on any proceſs from a ſuperior court where the cauſe of action ſhall not amount to 10l. nor from any inferior court under 40s. In ſuch caſes the plaintiff ſhall not arreſt the body of the defendant, but ſhall ſerve him perſonally with a copy of the proceſs.

"an

an early ſtop to the further progreſs of them. I hope the precautions you have enabled me to take, will be ſufficient, in conjunction with my allies, to defeat the deſigns which have been formed againſt us; and that the promoters of them, when they have fully weighed their own circumſtances, and better conſidered thoſe of the ſeveral powers united in defence of the tranquillity and liberties of Europe, will find it their own intereſt to preſerve the peace, and think it moſt ſafe and prudent to deſiſt from their dangerous ſchemes. Geo. I. 1726.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I return you my particular thanks for the ſupplies, which you have ſo chearfully and effectually raiſed; and you may be aſſured, that they ſhall be faithfully applied to the uſes, for which you intended them.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The conſtant employment of my thoughts, and the moſt earneſt wiſhes of my heart, tend wholly to the ſecuring to my ſubjects their juſt rights and advantages, and to the preſerving to them, and to all Europe, the enjoyment of a ſafe and honourable peace. And I muſt not conclude, without giving you the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that the particular confidence, you have placed in me, ſhall be made uſe of in ſuch manner only, as may moſt effectually conduce to the attaining thoſe good and great purpoſes."

The ſupplies, raiſed during this ſeſſion of parliament, were immediately employed in fitting out three different ſquadrons; one of ſeven men of war, deſigned for the Weſt-Indies, under the command of vice-admiral Hoſier; another of twelve or more ſhips of the line, for the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir John Jennings, admiral of the white; and a third, deſigned for the Baltic, under the command of Sir Charles Wager, vice-admiral of the red, and Sir George Walton, rear-admiral of the blue, conſiſting of twenty-one ſhips and two fireſhips. Three ſquadrons fitted out.

The court of Great-Britain had evident proofs, that nothing could influence the emperor and king of Spain to terms of reaſon, but to ſhew a vigorous ſpirit againſt a very pernicious or ſuſpicious part of the treaty of Vienna. And as all appearances convinced the miniſtry, that nothing could ſo effectually guard againſt approaching evils, as the diſpatching ſufficient ſquadrons of ſhips to ſeveral places, they did with

Geo. I. 1726. with all poſſible diligence fit out the forementioned ſquadrons.

The ſquadron ſent to the Baltic was to prevent very great evils in thoſe parts, there being no room to doubt, that the czarina's real view was to go with a fleet to Stockholm, and under a pretence of demanding the uſe of the ports, and the aſſiſtance of Sweden for the recovery of Sleſwick to the duke of Holſtein, actually to dethrone the king of Sweden, and make that nation dependent on Muſcovy. It was therefore judged of the utmoſt importance to prevent this. Accordingly, about the end of April, Sir Charles Wager, with his ſquadron, came to an anchor in the road of Copenhagen; and, on the 25th of that month, had an audience of the king of Denmark. On the 2d of May he ſailed to Stockholm, where, eight days after, he had an audience of the king of Sweden, being introduced by Mr. Poyntz, the Britiſh envoy extraordinary. A ſquadron of Daniſh men of war having joined the Britiſh ſquadron, the united fleet became ſo formidable, that the court of Ruſſia thought proper to ſuſpend the fitting out their large ſhips, and only to equip ſome frigates; and the land-forces, which had been drawn together near Peterſburg, in order to be put on board the Ruſſian fleet, were ſent to work on the Ludoga canal, and the fortifications at Cronſlot. The court was under the greateſt uneaſineſs, and immediately gave orders for reinforcing the garriſons of Wibourg, Cronſlot, Revel, and Riga. Mean while, Sir Charles Wager, having been joined by the Naſſau and Port-Mahon on the 20th of May, ſailed from Elſenal near Stockholm the 25th, and arrived the 29th near the iſland of Nargen, three leagues from Revel, and, the next morning, ſent an officer with a letter to lieutenant-general Wulcoffe, who commanded at Revel, and ordered the Port-Mahon to ſail to Cronſlot, having on board Mr. Barnet, one of his lieutenants, by whom he ſent his majeſty's letter to the czarina, incloſed in a packet to admiral Apraxin (d). In this letter, which was dated the 11th of April, his majeſty obſerved, 'That, as the czarina's great preparations both by ſea and land for war, in a time of peace, could not fail of giving him, as well as his allies in thoſe parts, great and juſt cauſe to be alarmed; he would not be ſurprized, that he had ſent a ſtrong ſquadron into the Baltic,

Sir Charles Wager ſails to Ruſſia.

(d) The czar of Muſcovy by the empreſs Catherina his wife. died the 28th of January, 1725-6, and was ſucceeded

to

to obviate any danger, that might enſue from ſo extraordinary an armament.' He laid before her the ſeveral inſtances he had given of a ſincere diſpoſition to eſtabliſh a firm and laſting friendſhip with the crown of Ruſſia; but that his intentions had been diſappointed by the delays of that court; and he expreſſed his ſurprize, 'that, while he was carrying on amicable negotiations, and had not given the leaſt provocations on his part, meaſures were taken at her court in favour of the pretender, and great encouragement to his adherents. After what, ſays he, we have now ſet forth, your majeſty will not be ſurprized, that we, being indiſpenſably obliged to provide for the ſecurity of our dominions, to perform our engagements with our allies, and to maintain the public tranquillity in the North, which ſeems to be very much in danger from your majeſty's late preparations, have thought it neceſſary to ſend a ſtrong fleet of our men of war into the Baltic, and that we have given orders to our admiral, who commands it, to endeavour to prevent freſh troubles in thoſe parts, by hindering your majeſty's ſhips from coming out in caſe that you perſiſt in your reſolution to put your fleet to ſea, to execute the deſigns, which you may have in view. But, as it is our firm intention to live in peace and friendſhip with your majeſty, we wiſh, from the bottom of our heart, that your majeſty, ſeriouſly reflecting upon the true intereſt of your ſubjects, would permit them to enjoy the bleſſings of that peace, which they purchaſed at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure, under the conduct of his late majeſty; and that, rather than enter into meaſures, which muſt inevitably plunge Ruſſia into a war, and the whole North into confuſion, your majeſty would pleaſe to give your people, and all mankind, convincing proofs of your inclination for peace, and of your good diſpoſition to live in quiet with your neighbours.' The czarina, in her anſwer, dated June 15, declared her ſurprize at not receiving the king's letter till the very inſtant his fleet appeared on her coaſts, and after it had caſt anchor before Revel, 'ſince it had been more agreeable to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed among ſovereigns, and more conſiſtent with the amity, that had ſo long ſubſiſted between her kingdoms and the crown of Great-Britain, had his majeſty thought fit to expoſtulate with her about the umbrage he might have conceived from her armament; and to expect her anſwer thereupon, before he advanced to ſo offenſive a ſtep.' That then his majeſty might have been aſſured by her, that it was ſo far from her thoughts to diſturb the repoſe of the North, that, on the contrary, all her cares

Geo. I. 1726.

and

Geo. I. 1726. and attention were wholly bent on the ſecurity and preſervation of it; both for the time preſent and time to come, as being more concerned than his majeſty, in preventing whatever might endanger that tranquillity.' That, with regard to what was charged upon her, in relation to the pretender, it 'was a frivolous and ſtale accuſation, made uſe of, as it had heretofore been, as the main pretence for all the unkind ſteps taken againſt her.'

Sir Charles Wager remained in his ſtation near Revel till October, when, the year being ſo far advanced, and he having intelligence from Peterſburg and Cronſlot, that the Ruſſian gallies were laid up in their winter harbour, and their fleet not in a condition to put to ſea, he ſailed from the bay of Revel for the coaſt of Denmark, and arrived at Copenhagen the ſame month. From thence, after a ſtay of a few days, he ſailed for England, where he ſafely arrived in November.

Sir John Jennings puts to ſea

Sir John Jennings, with his ſquadron, which was furniſhed with a conſiderable number of land-forces and artillery, viſited the coaſts of Spain, and ſhut up the ports of that kingdom. His orders were to cruize between Cadiz and Cape St. Vincent, to intercept the galleons, and to aſſiſt Gibraltar, in caſe of a ſiege, with the land-forces on board his fleet, and to annoy the enemy to the utmoſt. But he did no damage on the coaſt of Spain, and only cauſed alarms, and protected the trade of Great-Britain.

Hoſier ſails to the Weſt-Indies.

Vice-admiral Hoſier's ſquadron was inferior to thoſe of Sir Charles Wager and Sir John Jennings; but he was authorized to join to his fleet all the ſhips he could meet with in the Weſt-Indies; and his orders were to prevent the galleons from ſailing out of the Spaniſh ports there; or, if they ſhould come out, to ſeize them, and bring their cargoes untouched to England. He arrived at the Baſtimento's off Porto-Bello, in the beginning of June; but, ten days before his arrival, an advice-boat from Spain brought orders for putting on ſhore the money on board the galleons, ſaid to be twenty-ſix millions of pieces of eight, and ſending it back to Panama.

Ripperda diſmiſſed.

Theſe meaſures were taken againſt Spain, in reſentment of the engagements, which that court had entered into with the court of Vienna, to the prejudice of Great-Britain, and the deſigns formed in favour of the pretender, by the inſtigation of the dukes of Ormond and Wharton, and earl Mariſchal, who were then at Madrid. But the duke de Ripperda, who had been the principal agent in forming and concluding the treaty of Vienna, and the author of the violent

ſent counſels againſt Great-Britain, was of a ſudden diſmiſſed, on the 14th of May, from all his employments, though allowed a penſion of 3000 piſtoles for his ſubſiſtence. The pretended cauſe of his diſgrace was the embezzlement of the finances (of which he was ſuperintendant) to the value of four millions. The duke, upon his receiving the king of Spain's decree for diſmiſſing him from his poſt, went immediately to the houſe of monſieur Vandermeer, the Dutch ambaſſador; but, not thinking himſelf ſafe there, Vandermeer carried him in his coach to the houſe of colonel Stanhope, the Britiſh ambaſſador, whoſe protection he begged and obtained. The king being informed of this, cauſed the ambaſſador's houſe to be ſurrounded by two hundred grenadiers. The next day colonel Stanhope had an audience of the king, and gave him an account of what had happened in relation to the diſcarded miniſter, which the king did not ſeem to diſapprove; and the grenadiers were called off from his houſe, on a promiſe from him, that the duke de Ripperda's perſon ſhould be forthcoming; and ſixty guards were poſted in the ſtreets leading to colonel Stanhope's houſe, to take him, if he ſhould attempt to make his eſcape. But on the 25th of May, N. S. the king appointed don Lewis Cuellar, one of the alcades of his court, aſſiſted by don Francis Valanſa, adjutant-general of the life-guard, to enter colonel Stanhope's houſe, and take from thence the duke de Ripperda, and convey him to the caſtle of Segovia, with a ſufficient guard; which was done. But this violation of the law of nations, in forcibly entering the houſe of an ambaſſador, was juſtly complained of by the court of Great-Britain, who ordered the letters and papers, which paſſed between the miniſters and ambaſſadors of both courts upon this occaſion, and upon Sir John Jennings's coming with his fleet on the coaſt of Spain, to be publiſhed. Among theſe papers is a memorial of colonel Stanhope to the king of Spain, dated Sept. 24, 1726, in which he obſerves, that the king his maſter was ſurprized, that the king of Spain ſhould not know the reaſons, and be ſenſible of the neceſſity, which obliged his majeſty to ſend the fleet under Sir John Jennings to the coaſt of Spain; conſidering, ſays he, the engagements, into which ſome of the moſt conſiderable powers of Europe have of late entered, and of which his majeſty has complained ſo often and ſo loudly. The naval armaments and equipments, which have been made in moſt of the ports of Spain; the preparations of war, and the motions of a conſiderable number of Spaniſh troops towards that part of their coaſt, which lies

Geo. I. 1726.

Geo. I. 1726. lies neareſt and moſt convenient for executing an enterprize on his majeſty's dominions; the great hopes of the emiſſaries and adherents of the pretender, who have publickly boaſted of the aſſiſtance they ſhould receive from thoſe parts; the confidence they had in it, and which has appeared clearly in the pernicious and indiſcreet conduct of ſome among them, who have been lately received and favoured at Madrid: This, joined with the intrigues, which have been carried on with the the Muſcovites, and the reaſons his majeſty has to ſuſpect the ill deſigns upon which the three ſhips were ſent laſt year from Peterſburgh to Cadiz, and from thence to St. Andero; the knowledge his majeſty had laſt winter, by the avowal of the miniſter of Spain, that there was an offenſive alliance between the courts of Madrid and Vienna, and that, by one of the articles of that alliance, it was ſtipulated to uſe open force to get Gibraltar reſtored to the king of Spain, a place, which his majeſty poſſeſſes by virtue of ſo juſt a right; the great ſubſidies, which have been furniſhed to the imperial court, and which are not ſeen to be ſettled by an alliance, that has yet been made public; the notorious infractions, which the Spaniſh guarda coſtes have for a long time made, with reſpect to the commerce and navigation of his majeſty's ſubjects in the Weſt-Indies, infractions, which have been ſo often complained of without the leaſt appearance of ſatisfaction or reparation: Theſe things, joined together, are ſufficient to exhibit clearly the reaſons, which have induced his majeſty to take the meaſures he judged proper, and to equip the ſeveral fleets, which have put to ſea; and his majeſty's ſubjects would have had juſt cauſe to complain, had not care been taken for the ſecurity of the kingdom, and of their rights and properties, which they ſaw threatened and in danger.

The States accede to the treaty of Hanover.

In Auguſt, the Sates-general ſigned their acceſſion to the treaty of Hanover, after having been diſſuaded by the imperial and Spaniſh miniſters not to do it, and preſſed to come into that of Vienna. Though the emperor had not ſucceeded with the States, he found means to detach, in great meaſure, the king of Pruſſia from his engagements with the allies of Hanover. The conduct of his Pruſſian majeſty, in this inſtance, as a Proteſtant and ſon-in-law of king George, could hardly be defended. It was thought he propoſed ſome extraordinary advantages from his deſertion of the allies of Hanover, and cloſing with thoſe of Vienna; one part of which advantages was probably to be ſupported by the emperor, in making ſome conqueſt upon the dominions of Hanover. However that be, he made a treaty with the emperor,

The king of Pruſſia falls off from that treaty.

for, which gave great jealouſy to the friends of the treaty of Hanover. By this treaty the king of Pruſſia engaged in a new contract, not very conſiſtent with the apprehenſions of the Hanover allies, of the emperor's power and projects; ſince the king of Pruſſia was to guarantee the order of ſucceſſion in the hereditary dominions in the heirs female, in default of male iſſue; while, on the other hand, the emperor obliged himſelf to uſe his endeavours to obtain from all thoſe, who had pretenſions to the duchies of Juliers and Burgues, a ceſſion of their rights in favour of his Pruſſian majeſty. Geo. I. 1726.

The treaty of Hanover was attended with the greateſt difficulties, and a prodigious but unavoidable expence. Of this Sweden was an inſtance. All the ſummer preſſing and repeated applications were made by the Britiſh and French miniſters at Stockholm, to induce the court of Sweden to accede to the treaty of Hanover. And no leſs pains were taken by the Ruſſian and Auſtrian miniſters, to procure his Swediſh majeſty's acceſſion to the treaty of Vienna. But that wiſe prince reſolved to leave the determination of ſo important an affair to the general diet of the ſtates of Sweden. The Holſtein faction in Sweden were ſpirited in their oppoſition to this acceſſion, by count Freytag, the imperial ambaſſador, and the ambaſſador of Ruſſia; but that did not hinder the States ſigning it, as well as the king of Sweden.

During theſe negociations, Spain, incenſed to the laſt degree, made great preparations for war. A camp of about twenty thouſand men was formed at St. Roch near Gibraltar, and all the neceſſaries for a ſiege were provided. Preparations were likewiſe made at ſea; four thouſand ſailors were landed; ſeveral men of war were come to Cadiz, and as many more as could be, were bought. The pretence was, to rebuild the caſtle of Old Gibraltar, though ſome greater deſign was very viſible.

In theſe circumſtances the parliament of Great-Britain met, on the 17th of January. The king opened the ſeſſion with a very long, lively, and pathetic ſpeech, but, at the ſame time, extremely offenſive to the princes of whom mention was made. The ſpeech was as follows: The fifth ſeſſion of the ſecond parliament of king George.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I Acquainted you laſt year with the treaties of peace and commerce concluded between the emperor and the king of Spain. As that ſudden and unaccountable conjunction gave, at the firſt appearance, juſt grounds of jea-

Geo. I. 1726-27.

" louſy and apprehenſion to the neighbouring powers of Eu-
" rope, and the ſubſequent proceedings and tranſactions in
" thoſe two courts, and the ſecret and offenſive alliances
" concluded between them about the ſame time, have laid the
" foundations of a moſt exorbitant and formidable power,
" and are ſo directly levelled againſt the moſt valuable and
" darling intereſts and privileges of this nation, that we muſt
" determine either tamely to ſubmit to the peremptory and
" unjuſt demands of the king of Spain in giving up Gibral-
" tar, and patiently to acquieſce in the emperor's uſurped
" and extended exerciſe of trade and commerce, or muſt re-
" ſolve to be in a condition to do ourſelves juſtice, and to
" defend our undoubted rights againſt theſe reciprocal en-
" gagements, entered into in defiance and violation of all
" national faith and the moſt ſolemn treaties.

" I have likewiſe received information, from different
" parts, on which I can intirely depend, that the placing the
" pretender upon the throne of this kingdom is one of the
" articles of the ſecret engagements: And, if time ſhall
" evince, that the giving up the trade of this nation to one
" power, and Gibraltar and Port-Mahon to another, is
" made the price and reward of impoſing upon this kingdom
" a Popiſh pretender: What an indignation muſt this raiſe
" in the breaſt of every Proteſtant Briton!

" Nor were theſe fatal combinations confined to thoſe
" parts of the world alone, but they extended themſelves
" into Ruſſia; and, had not the deſigns of that court againſt
" ſome of their neighbours been prevented, by the ſeaſonable
" arrival of our fleet in thoſe ſeas, a way had been opened
" for invading thoſe kingdoms, and giving a powerful
" aſſiſtance to any attempt to be made from other quar-
" ters.

" Such circumſtances would not ſuffer me and my allies,
" among whom there has been and is the moſt perfect har-
" mony, union, and concert, to be idle ſpectators, and re-
" gardleſs of their own ſafety, and the common cauſe of
" Europe; for which purpoſe his moſt Chriſtian majeſty
" has been at a great expence, this laſt year, in augmenting
" his forces; and the States-general, ſenſible of the immi-
" nent danger, have not only acceded to the defenſive alli-
" ance concluded at Hanover, but have come to ſtrong and
" ſeaſonable reſolutions for an extraordinary augmentation
" of their forces both by ſea and land. The acceſſion of the
" crown of Sweden is in ſuch a forwardneſs, and the nego-
" tiations with the crown of Denmark are ſo far advanced,

" that we may reaſonable depend upon the ſucceſs and good " effect of them. Geo. I. 1726-27.

" This ſhort view of the preſent poſture of affairs will, I " am confident, not only ſecure to me the ſupport and aſſiſ- " tance of my parliament, in carrying on this great and ne- " ceſſary work, in conjunction with my allies, but juſtify " the meaſures hitherto taken, and the expences already " made.

" The confidence, you repoſed in me laſt year, has been " made uſe of for the benefit of the public: And as the " chief article of exceeding has, by my equipping and ſend- " ing to ſea three conſiderable ſquadrons, fallen upon the " head of the navy, I am perſuaded the neceſſity of the ſer- " vices, and the ſecurity, advantage and glory, that has ac- " crued to this nation from theſe ſquadrons, will ſufficiently " ſpeak for themſelves, as long as both friends and foes, " with joy and concern, confeſs they have ſeen and felt the " effects of the naval power of Great-Britain.

" It is not to be wondered at, that the princes engaged " in theſe enterprizes are very much diſturbed to ſee their " projects rendered abortive. The king of Spain, impatient " of the diſappointments he has met with, can no longer " diſguiſe that enmity to us, which for ſome time he has " only waited for a favourable opportunity to declare. He " has now ordered his miniſter reſiding here to depart im- " mediately from this country, leaving a memorial that is " little ſhort of a declaration of war, wherein he again de- " mands and inſiſts upon the reſtitution of Gibraltar. He " does not himſelf deny the offenſive alliance, nor his en- " gagements to ſupport the Oſtend company. He makes " my recalling thoſe ſquadrons, which his conduct has put " me under a neceſſity of ſending to the Weſt-Indies, and " the coaſt of Spain, the condition of any further correſpon- " dence between the two crowns; and, ſuppoſing the con- " tinuance of my fleets abroad to be actual hoſtilities, threa- " tens to repel them with force, to the utmoſt of his " power.

" But, not content with theſe menaces, inſults, and " infractions of treaties, his Catholic majeſty is now making " preparations to attack and beſiege Gibraltar; and in order " to carry on that ſervice, or to cover another deſign, has " aſſembled a great body of troops in that neighbourhood. " But as the preſent ſtate and condition of that garriſon, " with the reinforcements I have ordered thither, give me " little cauſe to apprehend, or my enemies to hope for ſuc-

Geo. I. 1726-27

" ceſs in that undertaking, the certain and undoubted intel-
" ligence I have, that it is now reſolved to attempt an inva-
" ſion upon theſe kingdoms in favour of the Pretender, by
" an imbarkation from the coaſts of Spain, gives me reaſon
" to believe, that, though the ſiege of Gibraltar may proba-
" bly be undertaken, the public, avowed, and immenſe pre-
" parations made for that purpoſe are chiefly calculated to
" amuſe the world, and to diſguiſe the intended invaſion,
" which I am ſurely informed has been for ſome time agreed
" to be the firſt ſtep and beginning of the long premeditated
" rupture.

" Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" Theſe conſiderations muſt awaken in you all ſuch a
" ſenſe of our common and immediate danger, as will, I
" doubt not, inſpire you with a zeal and chearfulneſs in rai-
" ſing the ſupplies neceſſary for the defence of your country,
" and for making good our engagements with our allies.

" I received too much ſatisfaction from the happineſs of
" my people in their full enjoyment and future proſpect of
" peace, eaſe, and proſperity, not to be ſenſibly affected
" with theſe new convulſions, and the unavoidable neceſſity
" I am under of aſking larger ſupplies of my people, and of
" deſiring to be enabled to make ſuch an augmentation of
" my forces by ſea and land, as the preſent exigency of my
" affairs requires.

" I will order the proper eſtimates to be laid before you,
" and ſuch treaties as I have made with foreign princes for
" the hire of foreign troops; And as the expence I was laſt
" year in a particular manner intruſted to make, has
" amounted to no inconſiderable ſum, and the public utility
" may again require the like ſervices to be performed, I hope
" you will again repoſe the ſame truſt and confidence in
" me.

" It is with great pleaſure that I ſee the time ſo near ap-
" proaching, when ſuch a conſiderable addition will be made
" to the ſinking fund. Let all that wiſh well to the peace
" and quiet of my government, have the ſatisfaction to ſee,
" that our preſent neceſſities ſhall make no interruption in
" the progreſs of that deſirable work of gradually diſcharging
" the national debt. I hope therefore you will make a pro-
" viſion for the immediate application of the produce of the
" ſinking fund to the uſes for which it was ſo wiſely con-
" trived, and to which it ſtands now appropriated.

Geo. II. 1726-27.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I have had no thoughts of making any acquisitions "to any parts of my dominions. My whole care and "concern has been to preserve and maintain the undoubted "rights and privileges of my people; and therefore all my "measures have been preventive and defensive. But, such "endeavours being now rendered impracticable, vigorous "resolutions, and a speedy execution of them, can alone put "an effectual end to the dangers, that surround us. How- "ever hazardous and desperate the enterprizes formed "against us may appear to be, your being assured, that they "are resolved upon, will, I am persuaded, be sufficient to "prevail upon you, to put yourselves in a condition to resist "and defeat them.

"If preserving a due balance of power in Europe; if de- "fending the possessions of the crown of Great-Britain, of "infinite advantage and security to our trade and com- "merce; if supporting that trade and commerce against "dangerous and unlawful incroachments; and if the present "establishment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a "Protestant people, are any longer considerations worthy of "the care and attention of a British parliament. I need say "no more to incite my loyal and faithful houses of parlia- "ment to exert themselves in the defence of all that is dear "and valuable to them."

The zeal and indignation raised by this speech was so great, that, in the addresses of thanks, words were wanted to express the deep resentment at the insults offered the king, at the invasions of the most valuable branches of trade, at the designs formed against the nation, and to applaud the wise measures taken by the king, to prevent the destructive designs against the liberties of Europe. However, when the address was moved for in the house of commons, it was opposed by Mr. Pulteney and others. They urged, "That "the matter of peace and war is of the greatest weight that can "fall under their consideration: That, as his majesty's speech "contained many points of the highest moment and impor- "tance, so no doubt his majesty, in his great wisdom and "goodness towards his people, expected, on this occasion, not "only the support, but likewise the advice of that house. That, "in order thereto, they ought maturely to deliberate on those

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several heads, which could not be done, before several papers were communicated to them, that seemed absolutely necessary to state some facts relating to those weighty matters: That the motion, as it was drawn up, implied an approbation of measures taken to prevent dangers; which seemed preposterous, before they knew either what those measures were, or whether those dangers were real: That therefore they ought, for the present, to content themselves with returning his majesty the most humble thanks of the house, for his most gracious speech, with assurances of supporting his majesty in all just and necessary measures; and appoint a day for taking the speech into consideration. To this it was answered in general, That delays were often dangerous, and might be fatal in the present situation of affairs, which required vigorous and speedy resolutions, both for the encouragement of our friends, and the perfecting some alliances, that were already in great forwardness, and for the discouragement of our enemies, who had already blocked up Gibraltar, and threatened it with a siege? That the measures, that had been taken, were but a consequence of the last year's resolution, which the house had come to, after a full examination and mature consideration of the state of affairs, then laid before both houses by his majesty: But that, however, such an address, as was proposed, did not preclude a farther enquiry into those matters. As the promise of restoring Gibraltar was mentioned in some of the speeches, Sir Robert Walpole said, That such a promise not having been made, while he had the honour to be in the administration, he could say nothing to it: That, if such a promise was ever made, he durst aver, that it was conditional, and made void and invalid by the king of Spain's refusing to comply with the conditions, on which it was made; and that, whenever the performance of that promise was mentioned to him, as insisted on by the king Spain, he always delivered it as his fixed and positive opinion, That Gibraltar could not be given up without the consent of parliament. After the debate, the address was carried by 251 against 81.

Supplies.

The commons, pursuant to the king's desire in his speech, applied themselves to the affair of the supplies. It was unanimously resolved to grant 20,000 seamen, and to augment the land-forces to 26,383 men. To defray the expence of the fleet and army, Sir Robert Walpole proposed a tax of four shillings in the pound on land. This was opposed by some members, who alledged, That it was more eligible

to

to apply the produce of the ſinking fund towards the preſent occaſions; but the land-tax was voted (a). Geo. I. 1726-27.

The warmeſt debate this ſeſſion was in the houſe of lords, on the 24th of January, all the peers in London having been ſummoned to attend. In a grand committee, of which the lord de la War was chairman, the clerk was directed to read the titles of the papers that had been laid before the houſe, conſiſting chiefly of letters and memorials between the miniſters of Great-Britain, France, and Spain, and the act of acceſſion of the States to the Hanover treaty. This done, the debate was opened by the lord Bathurſt, whoſe ſpeech, and the lord Townſhend's anſwer, were as follows. The lord Bathurſt began with taking notice, 'With what caution and circumſpection the States-General had acted in this whole affair. That they had not fully and intirely acceded to the treaty of Hanover, ſince they had formally and expreſsly excuſed and diſcharged themſelves from the general guarantee of the treaties of Weſtphalia and Oliva, in which, (they ſaid) they were never engaged.' And, as to the buſineſs of Thorn, 'they had only promiſed to employ their friendly offices for obtaining a reaſonable ſatisfaction.' So that they acceded only upon account of the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of Munſter, 'for preſerving and maintaining their rights with reſpect to commerce;' whereas, by the treaty of Hanover, Great-Britain and France ſtood engaged

Debates on the king's ſpeech.

(a) The whole ſupply of this laſt year of king George was as follows:

	l.	s.	d.
Jan. 24. For 40,000 ſeamen	1,040,000	0	0
—26. For 26,383 land-men	885,494	9	4
—For garriſons in the plantations, Minorca, Gibraltar, &c.	157,637	6	5
—For extra expences not provided for	30,750	19	5
Feb 27. For the office of land-ordinary	100,000	0	0
—For the ordinary of the navy	199,071	7	8
—14. For half-pay officers	60,000	0	0
—For Chelſea-Hoſpital out-penſioners	4,847	2	6
—For arrears to the landg. of Heſſe	50,000	0	0
—For 12,000 Heſſians	170,000	0	0
—For deficiency of funds	160,306	17	5
March 21. For making good the deficiency of the general fund	54,199	7	9
	2,998,104	1	0

Geo. I. 1726-27. to guarantee to the Dutch, not only the 5th and 6th articles of the peace of Weſtphalia, but likewiſe the Barrier Treaty, and the treaty of Oliva, in favour of the Proteſtants of Germany. And thus, in ſhort, the Dutch having engaged themſelves to nothing, what they had dond, did not deſerve the name of Acceſſion, the rather becauſe they made it an expreſs condition, that their Act of Acceſſion ſhould be approved and ratified by the king of Great-Britain, the moſt Chriſtian king, and the king of Pruſſia. But, though this laſt potentate was one of the principal contractors in the treaty of Hanover, yet, no mention being now made of him, he could not tell what to make of it. That it ſeems his miniſter had refuſed ſigning the Act of Acceſſion, probably upon account of the Dutch excuſing themſelves from the general guaranty. But, let his reaſons for receding from his engagements be what they would, his example might be of dangerous conſequence; for by a letter from the duke de Bournonville, the Spaniſh miniſter at Vienna, it appeared, that they were not without hopes at the imperial court, that France might thereby think herſelf diſengaged from the Hanover alliance; in which event Great-Britain alone muſt bear the burden of an expenſive war with two of the greateſt potentates of Europe. That the Dutch receiving far greater advantages than Great-Britain, from the Eaſt-India trade, and conſequently being more concerned than we in the ſuppreſſion of the Oſtend company, they ought, at leaſt, to bear an equal ſhare with us in the expences of this war, and guarantee to us the poſſeſſion of Gibraltar, in the ſame manner, as Great-Britain guaranteed to them their barrier. That, after all, he did not ſee any juſt reaſon for a rupture with Spain. That indeed the duke de Ripperda might have dropped ſome indecent and indiſcreet expreſſions; but he was known to be a hot-headed man; and princes have a right to diſavow the indiſcretions of their miniſters, which the king of Spain had done in a moſt ſolemn manner, with relation to Ripperda. That it was well known, that violent miniſters do many unaccountable things. And, if their idle talk and fooliſh expreſſions were a juſt foundation for war, nations would ever be at daggers drawing. That, for ſome time paſt, the emperor had been treated here very cavalierly by ſome perſons; and that, in the memorial the marquis de Pozzobuono left behind him, at his departure, it was ſuggeſted, That the violent ſtate, to which affairs are now reduced, is owing to the miniſters of England. That, in the ſame memorial, mention is made of a Poſitive Promiſe made by the king of Great-Britain for the reſtitution of Gibraltar;

fair; which could not be ſuppoſed to be ſaid without any Geo. I.
foundation; and therefore it would be highly neceſſary to in- 1726-27.
quire, whether, in reality, ſuch a promiſe was ever made;
and whether any thing like it was mentioned in the treaty
concluded at Madrid? That, let that matter ſtand how it would,
all poſſible methods of an amicable accommodation ought, in
his opinion, to be tried before they engaged in a war, which,
in our preſent circumſtances, might be attended with very
dangerous conſequences. That the nation is loaded with a
debt of above fifty millions. But, though they are told of a
ſinking fund applied to the gradual diſcharge of that heavy
burden, yet it was more to be wiſhed than expected, that the
operation of that wiſe contrivance ſhould ſuffer no interrup-
tion by the exigences inſeparable from a war. That one of
our beſt mathematicians has foretold, that, if ever England
raiſes above five millions in a year, it will infallibly be ex-
hauſted and ruined in a few years. Now if, at this juncture,
we ſhould enter upon a war, and not meddle with the ſinking
fund, according to the ſcheme of thoſe in the adminiſtration,
they muſt be obliged to raiſe, at leaſt, ſeven millions a year
upon the people of England; the conſequence of which was
obvious and glaring to any one, who admitted the principle
of that great mathematician. That, in ſome of the papers
laid before the houſe, mention was made of great ſums of
money diſtributed in divers places, to bring ſome meaſures to
bear: That, for his own part, he had touched neither Spa-
niſh nor Engliſh gold. He was neither a Spaniard nor a
Frenchman, but a true Engliſhman, and, as long as he had
the honour to ſit in that houſe, he would ſpeak and act for the
good of his country. That therefore he would ſum up all
he had ſaid, with earneſtly deſiring their lordſhips ſeriouſly
to conſider the matter before them, which was of the laſt con-
ſequence and importance to the whole nation. What (ſaid
he) can we get by a war, if it be a ſucceſsful one? I will
ſay it in one word, Nothing. What can we loſe, if it be
unproſperous? I will ſay it in one word, in a ſyllable, All.

This ſpeech was anſwered by the lord Townſhend, who
ſaid, That the treaty of Hanover, being purely defenſive,
had made no alteration in the treaties ſubſiſting before, either
between the contracting powers, or other princes and ſtates.
That the true aim and intention of this alliance was a recip-
rocal guaranty for the protecting and maintaining the domi-
nions and countries, both in and out of Europe, whereof
each of the allies was actually poſſeſſed at the time of the
ſigning this alliance. So that, by acceding thereto, the

crowns

Geo. I. crowns of Great-Britain and France became guarantees of
1726-27. the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of Munſter, by which the Dutch are entitled to excluſive rights and privileges of trade in the Eaſt-Indies. But that this guaranty was reciprocal between Great-Britain and the States-General, ſince by the treaty of 1667, Spain had granted to England the ſame rights and privileges, which the Dutch enjoyed by the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of Weſtphalia. That therefore the ſuppreſſing of the Oſtend company, which manifeſtly invaded thoſe excluſive rights and privileges, was become a common cauſe between us and the Dutch. That our concern therein is almoſt equal to theirs; ſince our Eaſt-India trade brings about 300,000 l. a year into the cuſtoms; which being part of the general mortgage, if ſo conſiderable a branch of trade ſhould be loſt, that yearly ſum would be taken from the ſinking fund. That by former treaties Great-Britain was guarantee to the Dutch for their barrier in the Netherlands, as reciprocally, by the ſame treaties, they were guarantees to Great-Britain for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. So that, in thoſe reſpects, we ſtood no more engaged to them, than they to us. That, indeed, by their act of acceſſion to the Hanover alliance, the States-General exempt themſelves from the general guaranty of the treaties of Weſtphalia and Oliva, to which they never ſtood engaged; but, nevertheleſs, by the ſame act, they engage themſelves to employ, jointly with Great-Britain and France, their friendly offices for obtaining a reaſonable ſatisfaction and reparation, as to 'the infractions, which might have been made in the treaty 'of Oliva;' which is as much as the contracting powers have engaged themſelves to by the firſt ſecret article of the treaty of Hanover, and is indeed as little, as the Proteſtant potentates could do, in commiſeration of the ſeverities lately exerciſed againſt the Proteſtants of Thorn. That as to the idle talk and indecent expreſſions of the duke de Ripperda, they were not alledged as a juſt foundation for a rupture with Spain, but only as pregnant and corroborating indications of an offenſive alliance between that prince and the emperor, of which there were ſuch convincing proofs, as left no room to doubt it. That, as to the ſecret article of that alliance in favour of the Pretender, his majeſty had received from ſeveral parts ſuch poſitive and concurring informations, that if the ſafety of the ſtate permitted to lay thoſe advices before the houſe, they would no more queſtion the certainty of ſuch an article, than if they had been preſent at the ſigning of it. But he hoped that illuſtrious aſſembly would not think any

of

of his majeſty's ſervants, who had the honour to ſit amongſt them, ſo audacious, as to tell them downright untruths, or to preſume to impoſe upon their lordſhips, by alledging facts of ſo great importance, without ſufficient vouchers? That, as to the other articles of the ſecret offenſive alliance, relating to the ſupporting of the Oſtend company, and the reſtitution of Gibraltar, the king of Spain and his miniſters were ſo far from denying them, that, on the contrary, they did not ſcruple publickly to avow and juſtify them. That therefore his majeſty could not, in prudence, but take early and proper meaſures to oppoſe an alliance, ſo directly levelled againſt his crown and dignity, and inva ſive of the moſt valuable rights and privileges acquired to his ſubjects by the moſt ſolemn treaties. That, at the ſame time, notwithſtanding theſe high provocations, his majeſty ſhewed his inclination and diſpoſition to an amicable accommodation; and, with this view, it was intimated to the courts of Vienna and Madrid, that, if the emperor would remove the Oſtend company to Trieſte, or any other place in his dominions, which did not heretofore belong to the Spaniſh monarchy, Great-Britain would quietly acquieſce. But inſtead of accepting this propoſal, thoſe two courts not only ſeemed reſolved to ſupport the Oſtend trade, but Spain, in the memorial lately preſented by the marquis de Pozzobueno, inſiſted on the ſpeedy reſtitution of Gibraltar, by virtue of a pretended poſitive promiſe, that exiſts no where; which put his majeſty and the whole nation under the neceſſity of a vigorous ſelf-defence.

Geo. I. 1726-27.

After theſe and ſeveral other ſpeeches, particularly by the lord Bingley, who was anſwered by the lord Carteret, it was reſolved (by 98 againſt 25) That it fully appears to this committee, upon conſideration of his majeſty's ſpeech, and the letters and memorials laid before the houſe, by his majeſty's order, That the meaſures, his majeſty has thought fit to take, were honourable, juſt, and neceſſary for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements, entered into in favour of the pretender; for preſerving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great-Britain, by ſolemn treaties, and particularly thoſe of Gibraltar, and the iſland of Minorca; and for maintaining to his people their moſt valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe.

Againſt this reſolution, a proteſt was entered by ſeventeen lords; and the lord Lechmere moved for an addreſs to the king, to make new and preſſing inſtances with his Pruſſian majeſty,

Geo. I. 1726-27.

majesty, and his other allies, in such manner as the present critical and dangerous juncture requires.' But this motion was rejected, which occasioned another protest.

Proceedings of the commons.

Mean time the commons addressed the king for the accession of the States to the treaty of Hanover, and for copies of the memorials, letters, and answers, between the British ministers and the courts of Vienna and Madrid. Some pushed matters farther, and moved for a copy of the memorial presented by Mr. Pointz to the king of Sweden, the 4th of June, 1726, and also for the secret offensive article between the emperor and the king of Spain, but both these motions were rejected. As the court of Spain had persisted in the restitution of Gibraltar, pursuant to a promise made to that purpose, it was moved for an address for the declaration, letters, or engagements, which, in the marquis de Pozzobueno's letter to the duke of Newcastle, of the 21st of December last, is asserted to be a Positive Promise (b). This motion was supported by Mr. Pultency, and opposed by Sir Robert Walpole, who did not disown, 'That such a promise might indeed have been made in a former administration: But this he was sure of, that, if there was such a promise, it was upon certain conditions, which not having been performed within the limited time, it was thereby become invalid: And, as for the declaration, or letter, the commu-

(b) The paragraph in the letter relating to Gibraltar, was as follows:

'But as to what was then declared to Mr. Stanhope by word of mouth, and in writing, that the good correspondence and friendship with England depended absolutely on the speedy restitution of Gibraltar; I cannot avoid confirming it anew to your excellency, by order from the king my master, as a declaration most justly founded, insisting on that restitution, after the king of Great Britain had on this point given, as he did give, a positive promise; besides that, on the other hand, the cession, which his majesty made precedently of that place, is become null, because of the infractions made in the conditions on which it was permitted that the English garrison should remain in possession of Gibraltar; seeing that, contrary to all the protestations made, they have not only extended their fortifications, by exceeding the limits prescribed and stipulated, but what is more, contrary to the express and literal tenor of the treaties, they receive and admit the Jews and Moors, in the same manner as the Spaniards, and other nations confounded and mixed, contrary to our holy religion; not to mention the frauds and continual contrabands which are carried on there, to the prejudices of his majesty's revenues,

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nication of which was inſiſted on, the ſame was altogether impracticable and unprecedented, the private letters of princes being almoſt as ſacred as their very perſons.' After a debate, this motion was alſo rejected by a majority of 264 againſt 97. After this, the lord Morpeth moved 'for an addreſs for copies of all ſuch memorials or repreſentations to his majeſty from the crowns of Sweden and Denmark, as did induce him to ſend the ſquadron the laſt year into the Baltic.' This motion was oppoſed by Mr. Horace Walpole, who, in a long ſpeech, juſtified all the ſteps that had been taken by Great-Britain, ſince his majeſty's acceſſion, (particularly from the opening of the congreſs at Cambray) to preſerve the balance of power, the peace of Europe, and the tranquillity of the North; and with this laſt view to prevent the czarina's deſigns againſt Sweden and Denmark, in favour of the duke of Holſtein. Mr. William Pultney anſwered this ſpeech; but, the queſtion being put upon the lord Morpeth's motion, it paſſed in the negative by a majority of 196 voices againſt 79. Geo. I. 1726-27.

In the account how the money given for the ſervice of the laſt year was diſpoſed of, there was an article of the ſum of 125,000l. charged in general terms, as iſſued out for other engagements and expences, over and above ſuch as were therein ſpecified. Upon this it was reſolved to addreſs the king for an account of the diſpoſition of that money; in anſwer to which the houſe was told, 'That the ſum mentioned in the addreſs was iſſued and diſburſed, purſuant to the power given to his majeſty by parliament, for neceſſary ſervices and engagements, of the utmoſt importance to the trade and navigation of this kingdom, and the tranquillity of Europe; and which require the greateſt ſecreſy; and therefore a particular account of the diſtribution of it cannot poſſibly be given, without a manifeſt prejudice to the public.'

Mr. Pulteney, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, ſaid, 'That, when the commons, in the laſt ſeſſion, reſolved to make good all ſuch expences, as ſhould be for the ſecurity of trade and navigation, and for the preſervation of the peace of Europe, they did not diveſt themſelves of their undoubted right of being acquainted with the diſpoſition of public money: That, if they gave up ſo eſſential a right, that houſe would become altogether uſeleſs, or ſerve only blindly to approve of, and regiſter the acts and deeds of the miniſters: That he did not, in the leaſt, doubt the diſburſement of the 125,000l. for neceſſary ſervices: But that, if they were ſatisfied with

ſuch

Geo. I. 1726-27. such a general account, the ſame might, in future reigns, prove a very dangerous precedent, and ſerve to cover embezzlements of the public treaſure.' Then he moved for a further addreſs for an account of that ſum. But the queſtion was carried againſt addreſſing, by 235 againſt 110; and, inſtead of it, it was reſolved, without a diviſion, 'That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to return his majeſty the thanks of this houſe, for his great care and wiſdom, in taking ſuch ſteps, and entering into ſuch engagements, as his majeſty thought would beſt conduce to the ſecuring of the trade and navigation of this kingdom; and to the preſervation of the peace of Europe; and to aſſure his majeſty, that this houſe, placing an entire confidence in his majeſty's goodneſs and regard for the true intereſt of his people, will ſtand by and ſupport his majeſty in all ſuch further meaſures, as his majeſty ſhall find neceſſary and expedient for preventing a rupture, for the honour and advantage of theſe kingdoms.'

Palm's memorial. The king's ſpeech was examined in other places as well as in the parliament. The court of Vienna took great offence and paſſed ſevere cenſures upon it. The imperial reſident at London was ordered to preſent a bold memorial to the king, and afterwards to publiſh it to the whole nation, as an appeal to the people againſt their ſovereign. With it was publiſhed count Zinzendorff's letter to Palms, which was ſtill more injurious than the memorial (c).

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(c) The memorial was as follows:

'Moſt ſerene and potent king,

As ſoon as the ſpeech, made by your majeſty to the parliament of Great-Britain now aſſembled, came to the knowledge of his imperial and catholic majeſty, my moſt gracious maſter, he was ſtruck with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, that your majeſty could ſuffer yourſelf to be prevailed upon to declare from the royal throne, to that moſt renowned nation, in a manner hitherto unheard of, as certain and undoubted facts, ſeveral things, ſome of which are ſtrained, in that ſpeech to a wrong ſenſe, ſome are intirely diſtant from the intentions of his imperial and catholic majeſty; and laſtly, (which affect much more ſenſibly than all the reſt) ſome things abſolutely void of all foundation.

For as to what regards the peace, concluded at Vienna, with the moſt ſerene king of Spain, who can forbear being aſtoniſhed, that this very peace, which is built on the quadruple alliance, ſigned at London, and other treaties contracted with your majeſty, as its ſolid and ſole foundation; and, for the obtaining of which peace, your ma-

The king had the ſatisfaction to ſee this memorial highly reſented by the parliament. Both houſes joined in an addreſs cenſured in parliament. Geo. I. 1726-27.

majeſty, together with your allies, waged ſo bloody, ſo long and ſo glorious a war, and took yourſelf ſo much pains to procure, ſhould now be alledged by your majeſty as a juſt ground of complaint, and ſhould be made uſe of as a pretence for theſe things, which hitherto your miniſters have been doing in all parts, to the great detriment of the emperor and the empire, and the public tranquillity, and ſhould be repreſented by your majeſty to the Britiſh nation, with ſo much animoſity againſt the emperor and king of Spain, as a violation of treaties.

After complaining of the peace made at Vienna, complaint is likewiſe made of the treaty of commerce entered into with Spain, which is calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of the ſubjects of both parties, which is agreeable to the law of nations, and to the cuſtoms of all people in amity with each other; which can in no reſpect be of any prejudice to the Britiſh nation, whether we regard the ſituation of the countries, or the particular nature of the trade, and which is not in the leaſt repugnant to the treaties made with Great-Britain. So that, if this treaty be conſidered with a mind free from prejudice, and from all deſign of inflaming the nation, there will remain no pretence to ſay, that this treaty can be grievous or hurtful to a nation for which his imperial majeſty has the greateſt affection and eſteem, and whoſe glorious exploits and important ſuccours no time will efface out of his memory.

The other head of complaint, which contains ſuch things as are void of all foundation, relates principally to that imaginary alliance, which in the ſpeech is called offenſive, and is there ſuppoſed to have been made againſt your majeſty, between the emperor and king of Spain. But it will not only appear how groundleſs and frivolous this ſuppoſition is, from the offer lately made by his imperial and catholic majeſty, of entering into a convention, 'De ſe mutuo non offendendo,' but will be entirely refuted by the conſideration of the tenor of the treaty of alliance and friendſhip itſelf made with the crown of Spain, and communicated in its whole extent to your majeſty when it is proper; from the words of which, whether the leaſt ſhadow or appearance of an offenſive alliance can be drawn, is ſubmitted to the judgment of the whole world.

Another part of the complaint relates to the ſecret articles made in favour of the pretender, whereof your majeſty aſſerts that you have certain and undoubted informations, by which articles it ſhould have been agreed to ſet the pretender on the throne of Great-Britain. With what view, on what motive, and to what purpoſe, theſe informations, founded on the falſeſt reports, were repreſented to the peo-

Geo. I. 1725-26. dreſs, expreſſing their indignation at the affront offered to his majeſty, by the memorial of Mr. Palms, and at his inſolence in diſperſing the ſame throughout the kingdom: Aſſuring, that this audacious manner of appealing to the people, and

people of Great-Britain, is not only eaſy to be underſtood, by his imperial and catholic majeſty, but is obvious to the meaneſt capacity. But ſince the inviolable dignity and honour of ſuch great princes cannot ſuffer, that aſſertions of this nature, intirely unſupported by truth, ſhould be advanced from the royal throne to the whole nation, and to all mankind; his ſacred imperial and catholic majeſty has expreſsly commanded me, that I ſhould declare to your majeſty, and to the whole kingdom of Great-Britain, how highly he thinks himſelf affronted thereby, ſolemnly affirming, upon his imperial word, that there exiſts no ſecret article nor convention whatſoever, which contains, or can tend to prove the leaſt tittle of what has been alledged. But that the ſecret deſigns, which lie concealed under a conduct till this time unheard of, may more manifeſtly appear, it muſt be obſerved, that the time is purpoſely taken for doing this, when a negotiation is on foot at Paris, for compoſing the differences which have ariſen without any fault of his imperial and catholic majeſty; which negotiation ſufficiently ſhews how much his imperial and catholic majeſty is at all times inclined to peace, and to the religious obſervation of his treaties.

As to what is ſaid of Gibraltar, and concerning the ſiege thereof, under which in the ſpeech it is inſinuated, as if ſome other deſign was concealed; the hoſtilities notoriouſly committed in the Indies, and elſewhere, againſt the king of Spain, in violation of treaties, ſeem to have given a very juſt occaſion to the king of Spain, for attempting that ſiege. But, as to the intentions and engagements of the emperor upon that article, it is eaſy to ſee what they are, by the treaty abovementioned, which has been communicated.

As to what is ſaid in the laſt place, concerning the Oſtend trade, which the goodneſs of the Catholic king induced him to favour (being bound by no treaty) after he had been apprized of the juſt reaſons for the eſtabliſhment of it, various expedients for a compoſition have been propoſed, not only at the Hague, but even lately at Paris, leſt this harmleſs method of providing for the ſecurity of the barrier ſhould prove an obſtacle to the common friendſhip of neighbouring powers.

Which things being thus, the injury offered to truth, the honour and dignity of his ſacred imperial and catholic majeſty require, that they ſhould be expoſed to your majeſty, to the kingdom of Great-Britain, and to the whole world. And his ſacred imperial majeſty demands that reparation which is due to him by all manner of right, for the great injuries which have been done him by theſe many imputations.

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turning a memorial into a ſeditious libel, was a proceeding that created in them the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation. Geo. I. 1726-27.

The endeavouring (ſays the addreſs) to inſtil into the minds of any of your faithful ſubjects the leaſt diſtruſt or diffidence in your majeſty's ſacred royal word, or to make a diſtinction between your majeſty and your people, is an attempt as vain as preſumptuous. If time has not effaced the memory of the glorious exploits, and important ſuccours (confeſſed to have been received from Great-Britain) gratitude, affection and eſteem for this nation, will be beſt manifeſted, by doing honour to the king, whom the people honour, and juſtice to the people, whoſe rights and privileges the beſt of kings is now defending, againſt the invaſions and incroachments made upon them. Beſides this addreſs, the lord Townſhend ſent a letter in the king's name to the emperor's reſident, ordering him forthwith to depart the kingdom.

About the ſame time, monſieur de Chavigny, the French miniſter at the general diet of Ratiſbon, preſented a declaration to the diet, affirming, that the preparations which were making in France, were only for the preſervation of peace: That the guarantee of the treaty of Munſter, in favour of the States, did not any way concern the Germanic body: That, far from deſigning to invade the territories of Germany, the king of France, on the contrary, would exert himſelf to preſerve their rights and privileges: That the report, as if his ambaſſador at the Porte had ſollicited the Turks to come to reſolutions againſt the peace of the empire, was a calumny: That he would faithfully obſerve the treaty of Weſtphalia: And hoped for a ſuitable return by the like ſentiments and diſpoſitions.

The imperial commiſſioners at the diet were highly offended at this declaration, which was not regiſtered according to cuſtom, and they publiſhed, a few days after, an imperial decree, full of invectives againſt the ſteps taken by the courts of Great-Britain and France, particularly againſt his Britannic majeſty's ſpeech to his parliament. Mr. Le Heup, the Britiſh miniſter at Ratiſbon, delivered the next day to the diet a declaration of the ſame import with Chavigny's, which raiſed a great ferment among the imperialiſts, who loudly complained, That this ſecond declaration was manifeſtly intended as a perſonal inſult to his imperial majeſty, ſince it was preſented in open defiance of his decree againſt the firſt. But to this it was anſwered, in behalf of the Britiſh miniſter, That he was not to take any public notice of his imperial ma-

Geo. I. 1726-27. majeſty's decree; and that ſuch decrees, in what form or ſtile ſoever, cannot divert or interrupt foreign miniſters in the exerciſe of their functions, directed to the ſtates of the empire, and not to the emperor; nor in the execution of the orders they may, at any time, receive from their reſpective maſters. The imperial miniſters at Ratiſbon made alſo a terrible outcry againſt an expreſſion in the Engliſh and French envoys memorials, wherein they call the charge againſt the kings their maſters, as if they had endeavoured to excite the Ottoman port againſt the emperor, by no ſofter a name than that of Calumny; which was ſo warmly reſented, that the imperialiſts gave out, There could be no reconciliation between the emperor and the king of Great-Britain, till ſatisfaction was made for that affront.

Sweden accedes to the treaty of Hanover.

The king at this time had the ſatisfaction of hearing the king of Sweden's acceſſion to the treaty of Hanover. This acceſſion was ſigned the 14th of March at Stockholm. The king of Sweden was to furniſh, when the caſe of the alliance ſhould happen, three thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe: His guarantee was not to reach beyond the limits of Europe: The ſtipulated troops were not to be employed in Italy or Spain: His engagement was only with Great-Britain and France. The main point was the ſecret article, by virtue of which the two kings, to ſhew their friendſhip to his Swediſh majeſty, were to pay at Hamburgh, Amſterdam, or London, as Sweden ſhould direct, the ſum of 50,000l. ſterling for three years, or the value thereof, according to the exchange, in half-yearly payments. In return for this mark of their friendſhip, the king of Sweden was to hold in readineſs another body of 7,000 foot, and 3,000 horſe, to be employed where the caſes of the alliance ſhould render it neceſſary. Provided however, that, when their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties ſhould require the ſervice of theſe 10,000 men, they ſhould be in their pay, and liable to be recalled when Sweden ſhould be in any real or imminent danger.

Treaty with Denmark.

The king of Denmark did not accede in form to the treaty of Hanover, but ſigned an alliance the 16th of April. The king of Denmark promiſed to keep on foot 24,000 men, ready to march upon the firſt advice of the motion of the Muſcovites, or of any other troops that ſhould come to attack Sleſwick, and diſturb the peace of Lower-Saxony: The French king promiſed to pay to his Daniſh majeſty 350,000 ſix-dollars for four years, payable quarterly at Hamburgh. As ſoon as the Daniſh army ſhould march, the king

of

of France was to take 12,000 men into his pay: His Britannic majeſty was to hold in readineſs 12,000 men to join the 24,000 Danes, when they began to march, and to ſend a ſquadron of ſhips to cover the Daniſh coaſts upon the firſt advice of the motions of the Muſcovite fleet. The French king was to hold in readineſs at leaſt 30,000 men to march or make diverſions where it ſhould be needful, and his Britannic majeſty engaged to have likewiſe in readineſs another body of 12,000 men for the ſame purpoſes. If the king of Pruſſia ſhould be attacked for refuſing paſſage to the Muſcovites, the contracting kings were to join their armies in his defence. By the ſecret articles, the king of Denmark was not to diſpoſe of any troops contrary to the intereſt of the two kings. If the French king ſhould deſire to employ the 12,000 men in his pay, for affairs not relating to Denmark, but only to his own ſervice, or that of the treaty of Hanover, in ſuch caſes they ſhould be allowed for the ſervice of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. As the Muſcovites, in order to trouble the peace of the empire, muſt penetrate through Poland, his Poliſh majeſty was to be acquainted with the meaſures taken to hinder their coming into the empire, and invited to ſtop the paſſes the Muſcovites would take in his territories. Geo. I. 1727.

A convention had likewiſe been made the laſt year with the prince of Heſſe, by which he was to hold in readineſs, for the ſervice of Great-Britain, eight thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. He was to maintain theſe troops at his own charge for two years. As the landgrave had not ſo many troops on foot, and was to be at a great expence in levying what was wanted, as well as in remounting the cavalry, the king promiſed to pay him 75,000 l. ſterling after the ratification of the convention, and 50,000 l. in the February following, or before, in caſe the troops ſhould be required. For the ſubſidies, pay, and ſubſiſtance of theſe forces when they ſhould ſerve, they were to be ſettled according to the treaty made at London in 1722. France came not into this treaty, ſo the whole expence fell upon England. Convention with Heſſe-Caſſel.

As theſe treaties were very expenſive, an opportunity was taken, when the commons were debating on the malt-bill, to have it moved by Mr. Scroope, ſecretary of the treaſury, That a clauſe of appropriation ſhould be received, impowering the king to apply ſuch ſums as ſhould be neceſſary for defraying the expences and engagements as had been, or ſhould be made before the 25th of December next, in concerting ſuch meaſures as he ſhould think moſt conducive to Motion for a clauſe in the malt-tax.

Geo. I. 1727. the ſecurity of trade and navigation, and reſtoring the peace of Europe.' Upon this aroſe a very long and warm debate. It was ſaid, in ſupport of the motion, 'That his majeſty was ſo unwilling to put his ſubjects to any extraordinary expences, that he had demanded no more ſupplies this ſeſſion, than what he thought abſolutely neceſſary for the ſervice of the year: But, in the preſent poſture of affairs, ſome unforeſeen accidents might require a further expence, for which no eſtimate could now be made, becauſe ſome treaties, his majeſty thought fit to enter into, were not yet finiſhed. Therefore they ought to enable him to anſwer ſuch contingencies. That the houſe had ſeveral times repoſed the ſame confidence in him, which he had never abuſed: And what was now aſked was only for a ſhort time.' On the other hand it was urged, 'That the aſking and granting ſupplies without an eſtimate was unparliamentary: That the clauſe moved for was inconſiſtent with that part of the bill, which forbids the iſſuing of the ſupplies thereby granted, to any other purpoſes than thoſe ſpecified, and rendered ineffectual that appropriation of the public money, which the wiſdom of all parliaments had thought a neceſſary ſecurity againſt the miſapplication of it: Which was the more to be feared, becauſe no proviſion was made to oblige any perſon to account for any money, that ſhall be diſpoſed of, by virtue of the power in this clauſe. That vaſt ſums had already been granted, which appeared ſufficient to anſwer any occaſions, as far as their preſent views could reach; and, if any unexpected emergency ſhould demand a further ſupply, that might be provided for in the uſual manner, when neceſſity required. That this might be done with leſs inconvenience, and with leſs danger of miſapplication, than by ſuch a delegation of almoſt a dictatorial authority to the miniſters. That this parliament had already given ſo many inſtances of their zeal and affection for his majeſty, that there could be no room to doubt of their readineſs to make good whatever he ſhould expend in concerting ſuch meaſures, as he ſhould think moſt conducive to the advantage and intereſt of his people. That ſuch an unlimited and abſolute power ought never to be given in a free government, but upon occaſions of evident neceſſity, when the very being of the government is in imminent danger. That the repoſing a confidence in the crown in the diſpoſition of ſuch immenſe ſums of money, as by the advice of unthriſty miniſters may be expended, might be attended with great prejudice to the properties of the ſubjects, and great danger to our excellent conſtitution, which can-

cannot be preſerved but by a ſtrict adherence to thoſe eſſential parliamentary forms of granting ſupplies only upon eſtimates, and of appropriating the ſame to ſervices and occaſions publickly avowed and judged neceſſary. That the departing from theſe excellent methods would by degrees render parliaments altogether uſeleſs. That the precedents alledged to juſtify this clauſe were far from being full to the point, and ſatisfactory; and, if they were, ought not to be followed, leſt clauſes of the ſame nature might become ſo frequent, as in time to lodge in the crown, and in the miniſters, an abſolute and uncontroulable power of raiſing money upon the people, which by our wiſe conſtitution is, and with ſafety can be, lodged in the whole legiſlature.' The debate being ended, Mr. Scroope's motion was carried by a majority of 225 againſt 109; and the clauſe was added to the malt-bill; which, being ſent up to the lords, occaſioned the like debate there as in the houſe of commons, but was at laſt carried by a majority of 76 againſt 20 (a). Geo. I. 1727.

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(a) It may here be obſerved, that theſe clauſes of appropriation have been by ſome late writers confounded with votes of credit, which are of a very different nature. Votes of credit were frequent in king William's firſt war, and when, at the beginning of a ſeſſion, money was wanting, for providing for the ſervices of the next year, before the ſupplies were granted, or any money-bills could paſs, the commons came to votes that gave the crown a power to borrow money to a certain ſum, and at a certain rate, to be repaid out of the firſt ſupplies to be granted that ſeſſion: Theſe were properly votes of credit, upon which money was advanced before the ſupplies were granted or raiſed by act of parliament.

But a clauſe of approbation is not a power given to borrow or raiſe money by a vote of the houſe of commons, but a power given, by authority of the legiſlature, and by act of parliament, to apply or diſpoſe of ſome part of the ſupplies (raiſed by law) to particular uſes or ſervices, not ſpecified in the eſtimates or reſolutions of ſupplies at the diſcretion of the crown, upon future emergencies, or ſuch ſervices, as, by the nature of them, cannot properly, or without danger of rendering them ineffectual, be explained or laid before a houſe of commons.

There are many inſtances of this method of granting money, particularly in the year 1706, a latitude is given in the clauſe of appropriation of the ſupplies of that year, 'to pay ſums due upon treaties made or to be made, and other charges of the war, for any time before, or till the 25th of December 1706, which method was continued ſeveral years ſucceſſively.

This is a method, no doubt, that ought not to be wantonly

Geo. I. 1727.

Two days after it was moved by Sir William Yonge, 'That, towards the ſupply granted to the king, the ſum of 370,000 l. ſhould be raiſed by loans on Exchequer bills, to be charged on the ſurplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reſerved for the diſpoſition of the parliament.' This motion was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, and particularly by Mr. Pulteney and Sir Joſeph Jekyll. They objected, 'That, by ſeveral votes and acts of parliament, all the exceedings or ſurpluſes of public funds were to be applied towards leſſening of the public debts, or to the increaſe of the ſinking fund. That this diſpoſition could not be altered without wounding public credit, which was already extreme low, ſince the taking off part of the mortgage could not but leſſen the ſecurity of the debt. That it was ſomewhat ſtrange, ſuch a motion ſhould be made by thoſe very perſons, who had the honour of being in the adminiſtration, who could not have forgot, what his majeſty had ſo ſtrongly recommended from the throne, at the opening of this ſeſſion, 'That the produce of the ſinking fund might be immediately applied to the uſes, for which it was ſo wiſely contrived, and to which it now ſtands appropriated.' And that this motion was ſtill the more ſurpriſing, after the large vote of credit, the houſe had ſo lately come to.' To all this it was anſwered, That the ſurpluſes in coals could not be deemed a part of the ſinking fund, ſince they had never been appropriated, but were reſerved for the diſpoſition of parliament. Upon which the motion was carried by a majority of 209 againſt 82 (b). On

Motion for raiſing part of the ſupply in the coal-tax.

or frequently practiſed. The grounds and foundation, upon which ſuch a confidence ſhould be allowed, ought to ariſe from a ſuppoſition, that ſervices may occur that are unforeſeen, and therefore could not be provided for; that opportunities may offer which may be unexpected and ſudden, but very eſſential and deciſive; that there are ſervices, which, by the nature of them, muſt be kept ſecret, becauſe, by being divulged, they would be diſappointed; and that there are ſervices which equally require the greateſt ſecrecy, from the circumſtances and ſituation of the perſons with whom you tranſact, and this ſecrecy muſt equally extend to future times, as well as preceding times. There are, for inſtance, princes, whoſe ſituation will not permit them to enter at once into offenſive engagements, till a ſafe opportunity ſhall preſent, who will, in the mean time, be induced to accept private ſubſidies and ſupplies, to put themſelves in a condition to declare, when called upon.

(b) As the affair of the coal-tax has been miſunderſtood and miſrepreſented, it may not be improper to put it in a clear light. In order to this it muſt be obſerved, that the ſinking fund

On the 15th of May, the king put an end to the ſeſſion, with this his laſt ſpeech to both houſes: Geo. I. 1720.

"My

fund conſiſts of the ſurpluſes of the aggregate fund, the South-Sea fund, and the general fund, and of theſe only *. In the act of 1 Geo. I. which eſtabliſhes the aggregate fund, it is enacted, 'That all other public monies which after Michaelmas, 1715, ſhall come into the Exchequer, not being appropriated or appointed to any uſe by any act of parliament made, or to be made, ſhall be ſet apart and applied to, and for the uſes by the preſent act declared, as likewiſe the overplus monies of the yearly ſum of 700,000 l. per ann. eſtabliſhed for the king's civil liſt. By virtue of theſe clauſes, the ſurplus of the civil liſt revenues, and all public monies remaining in the Exchequer, not appropriated by any act made, or to be made, were part of the aggragate fund; but, as they were left to be appropriated by any acts to be made, as well as made, and any ſurplus, at that time ariſing from the aggregate fund, was made diſpoſeable for the public debts and revenues which were not in themſelves part of any of the three capital funds, the ſurpluſes whereof conſtitute the ſinking fund, as they might be, carried to the ſinking fund, as long as they remained unappropriated, ſo they might be diſpoſed of to any other uſe or ſervice by authority of parliament. Now it will appear, upon examination, that the coal-duty made no part of the ſinking fund. By the 9th of queen Anne, the coal-duty was granted from Sept. 28, 1716, to Sept. 28, 1724, and made a fund for building fifty new churches, &c. By 1 George I. the duty is continued for another year, to provide for the miniſters of the fifty new churches. By 5 George I. the duty is farther continued, and a fund of 21,000 l. is granted for thirty-two years, for raiſing 360,000 l. for building churches, &c. with an intereſt of 4 l. per cent; and another fund of 30,559 l. was created, for raiſing 500,000 l. by a lottery; and the further ſum of 21,325 l. was applied, for compleating the ſupplies granted that ſeſſion. It is there enacted, 'That all the ſurplus-money of the coal-duty, which ſhould, at the end of any quarter, remain, during the ſaid thirty-two years, after the aforeſaid ſum ſhould be diſcharged, 'ſhould be reſerved for the diſpoſition of parliament, and ſhould not be diſpoſed of to any uſe, but by authority of parliament, and according to ſuch future acts, as ſhould be paſſed for that purpoſe.' This then was the ſtate of the coal-duty in the year 1719: It was charged with two funds of 21,000 l. per annum, and 30,559 l. 14 s. per annum, when the produce of it was eſtimated at 70,000 l. per annum, which made a proviſion for the diſpoſing the ſurplus neceſſary. This tranſaction was in 1719: The ſinking fund was eſtabliſhed in 1716; but, if it had been the ſenſe of the parliament,

* See p. 535, 536.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I Acquainted you, at the opening of this ſeſſion, with "the dangers which threatened this kingdom, and the "peace and liberties of Europe, I am now to return you "my thanks for the zeal and diſpatch, with which you have "proceeded upon the ſeveral points I then recommended to "your care; for the confidence you have repoſed in me; "and for the aſſurances you have given me of your ſupport "and aſſiſtance, in vindication of my honour, and in the "maintenance and defence of the undoubted rights and pri-"vileges of this nation, ſo openly and notoriouſly invaded "and attacked.

"The ſiege of Gibraltar proves, beyond all diſpute, the "end and deſign of the engagements entered into by the "emperor and the king of Spain; but the preparations I had "made for the defence of that place, and the bravery of my "troops, will, I doubt not, convince them of the raſhneſs "and folly of that undertaking. However, the love of "peace has hitherto prevailed upon me, even under this "high provocation, to ſuſpend, in ſome meaſure, my re-"ſentments; and, inſtead of having immediate recourſe to "arms, and demanding of my allies that aſſiſtance, which "they are engaged and ready to give me, I have concurred "with the moſt Chriſtian king and the States-General, in "making ſuch overtures of accommodation, as muſt con-

liament, that the coal-duty, or any ſurplus of it, had belonged to the ſinking fund, the proviſion for the diſpoſition of the ſurplus had been unneceſſary; or the direction, that is given by the act of parliament, had been an invaſion of the ſinking fund; but we ſee in 1710 (in the infancy of the ſinking fund, when it wanted aſſiſtance) 521,325 l. taken out of the coal-duty for the ſervice of the year, and the ſurplus reſerved for the future diſpoſition of parliament, which is an expreſs exception of this ſurplus out of the ſinking fund, becauſe, by the act eſtabliſhing the aggregate fund, this ſurplus might have been carried to that fund, and conſequently into the ſinking fund, which it is plain this reſtriction was purpoſely inſerted to prevent, and to leave it to the diſcretion of future parliaments, to make ſuch uſe of this ſurplus, as they ſhould from time to time think moſt conducive to the public good. Thus Mr. Pulteney and Sir Joſeph Jekyll's objections, founded on the coal-duty's being part of the ſinking fund, and thoſe of others ſince, are entirely groundleſs.

"vince

" vince all the world of the uprightneſs of our intentions, and Geo. I.
" of our ſincere diſpoſition to peace, and demonſtrate to 1727.
" whoſe ambition and thirſt of power the calamities of a
" war are to be imputed, if theſe juſt and reaſonable propo-
" ſitions are rejected. In the mean time, I have the plea-
" ſure to acquaint you, that the crown of Sweden has ac-
" ceded to the treaty of Hanover, and the convention be-
" tween me, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and the king of
" Denmark, is actually ſigned.

" Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

" The vigour and chearfulneſs you have ſhewn in raiſing
" ſo effectually, and upon ſuch eaſy terms, the neceſſary
" ſupplies for the ſervice of the current year, are not only
" inſtances of your zeal and affection to me, but demon-
" ſtrate the eſtabliſhed credit, power and ſtrength of this
" kingdom.

" My lords and gentlemen,

" It would have been a great ſatisfaction to me, if, before
" your ſeparation, I had been able to ſpeak to you more
" poſitively, and with greater certainty, upon the preſent
" poſture of affairs. But, as you have now diſpatched the
" public buſineſs, and as the ſeaſon of the year requires your
" going into your reſpective countries, I chuſe rather to put
" an end to this ſeſſion, than to keep you any longer toge-
" ther unneceſſarily. The proviſions you have made, and
" the perfect union and harmony between me and my al-
" lies, will, I hope, enable me, by the divine aſſiſtance,
" either to withſtand and defeat the deſigns of our enemies,
" if their conduct ſhall bring upon us the neceſſity of a war;
" or to improve the bleſſings of peace, if peace can, with
" juſtice, honour, and ſecurity be obtained."

By this ſpeech it appears that, notwithſtanding the prepa-
rations for war, as well by the allies of Hanover, as by thoſe
of Vienna, overtures of accommodation had been made. All
had declared, that the preſervation of the tranquillity of Eu-
rope was the end of their armaments. This the court of
Spain did, at the ſame time that the ſiege of Gibralter was Gibraltar beſieged.
ordered. The Condé de las Torres, captain-general of the
king of Spain's forces in Andaluſia, opened the trenches be-
fore Gibraltar the 11th of February. He had an army of
about

Geo. I. 1727. about twenty thouſand men, and was well provided with artillery of all ſorts, with ammunition, and warlike ſtores, proportioned to the ſtrength of the place, and the bravery of the garriſon, which the Spaniards expected would lengthen the ſiege. Colonel Clayton, lieutenant-governor of the place, had troops and neceſſaries ſufficient for defence, till ſupplies could come from England, for which due preparations had been made. Upon the repeated advices, that the Spaniards were preparing for the ſiege of Gibraltar, ſix men of war, the Kent, Lenox, Berwick, Royal Oak, Portland, and Tyger, were fitted out with all expedition. With theſe ſhips, and three regiments, Newton's, Diſney's, and Anſtruther's, Sir Charles Wager ſailed in January. When the ſiege was begun, colonel Stanhope, the Britiſh ambaſſador in Spain, having received the paſſports, he had demanded of king Philip, ſet out from Madrid for Boyonne, in his way to England, having given the Britiſh merchants in that kingdom ſuch timely notice to take neceſſary precautions for ſecuring their effects, that, when orders came to the Spaniſh governors to ſeize them, theſe merchants ſuffered no conſiderable loſs by that ſeizure. In the beginning of March, colonel Hayes's and colonel Middleton's regiments of foot were put on board the tranſports at Portſmouth, and ſailed for Gibraltar, under convoy of the Torbay, Captain Haddock, and the Poole fire-ſhip. Colonel Clayton's regiment was about the ſame time, ordered to imbark in the river of Thames, and a draught of ten companies out of the firſt regiment of foot-guards was made by lot (c).

The earl of Portmore, governor of Gibraltar, notwithſtanding his advanced age, having been a colonel near forty years, reſolved to repair to his government, and embarked at Portſmouth, on board the prince Frederick, appointed with the Yarmouth (two ſeventy gun ſhips) to convoy the

(c) The lots fell on thoſe of

Colonel Price,
Colonel Haſtings,
Colonel Pearſon,
Colonel Meyrick,
Colonel Duncombe,
Colonel Inwood,
Colonel Treby,
Colonel Brown,
Colonel Oughton,
Colonel Williamſon,

The whole detachment to be under the command of colonel Guiſe, major in the ſaid regiment.

Of theſe, colonel Treby reſigned his commiſſion, and was ſucceeded by colonel Onſlow; captain Stanhope, of the ſaid regiment, alſo laid down his commiſſion, and was ſucceeded in it by Mr. Parker.

tranſ-

transports, on which the detachment of the guards and Clayton's regiment were embarked. All these forces arrived at Gibraltar the beginning of April, as did likewise five hundred men from Minorca, who with the garrison formed a body of six thousand men, the greatest part of whom incamped on the south point without the town, while the rest did duty within, and were relieved from the camp. The besiegers threw a great quantity of bombs into the place, which did the less damage, as most of the houses were empty by the desertion of the old inhabitants. The garrison had store of salt provisions from England and Ireland, and of fresh from Barbary; for which purpose a frigate was ordered to be continually going to and from Tetuan and Tangier. Sir Charles Wager, having caused the ammunition and warlike stores, with twenty-four pieces of cannon, to be put on shore, sailed from Gibraltar to cruize with the Torbay, Sterling-Castle, Burford, Kent, Royal Oak, Canterbury, York, and Poole fireship, leaving there the Tyger, Wincheſter, Lyme, Solebay bombship, Thunder bombship, Cruzier and Hawk sloops; which were joined by the Portland and Dursley galley; the Colchester and Swallow being ordered to Port-Mahon to be cleaned. In this disposition of defence the siege of Gibraltar gave little pain to the English, either at home or abroad; while the Spaniards, in the prosecution of it, for four months lost above half their army by slaughter, sickness, and desertion. Geo. I. 1727.

About the same time the court of Vienna having shewn a disposition to begin the war in the Netherlands, by attacking the Dutch barrier, the king ordered an augmentation of thirty companies of foot, and that the ten thousand auxiliaries, which England was obliged by treaty to send to the assistance of the States, should hold themselves in readiness for embarkation (d). Preparations against the Emperor.

(d) Of this number were colonel Campbell's, major general Gore's, brigadier Churchill's, and major-general Honeywood's dragoons; and two battalions of guards, commanded by colonel Robinson, and colonel Robinson's, colonel Kirke's, colonel Harrison's, earl of Deloraine's, Sir James Wood's, lord Tyrawley's, colonel Pocock's, colonel Murray's, and colonel Grove's regiments of foot. This body of forces were to be commanded by the earl of Orkney, commander in chief, the duke of Argyle, general of the foot, the lord Cobham and the earl of Stair, lieutenants-general. The earl of Deloraine and Philip Honeywood, major-generals; Sir James Wood, colonel Pocock, colonel Kirke, colonel Kerr, and the earl of Scarborough, brigadiers-general.

As

Geo. I. 1727. As the king of Sweden had acceded to the treaty of Hanover, Sir John Norris was ſent with a conſiderable fleet to the Baltic, to ſupport him in this new alliance, ſo diſagreeable to the courts of Vienna and Ruſſia. The Engliſh being joined by a Daniſh ſquadron, the Ruſſian court thought fit to put a ſtop to the equipment of their fleet, which was no more talked of after the death of the Czarina, on the 17th of May, about the time of Sir John Norris's arrival in the Baltic.

A fleet to the Baltic.

The court of France, being equally concerned with England to prevent a war, augmented their troops, and formed incampments for the exerciſe of their militia. But, as the Hanover alliance was only defenſive, it did not exclude France from a mediation, which tended to adjuſt all the differences of the ſeveral parties. Accordingly, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty undertook that office, which was conducted by the duke of Richlieu, his ambaſſador at Vienna. The duke, in concert with the Britiſh and Dutch miniſters, drew up a project of accommodation, which was ſent to the emperor and the king of Spain. This ſcheme conſiſted of eight articles, which were to ſerve as preliminaries for a general congreſs. The emperor did not think proper to reject it, but formed a counter-project, which he ſent to the allies at Hanover. The allies, judging it not ſatisfactory, formed their laſt reſolution, in which they declared, they could make no alteration. The emperor, preſſed by the duke of Richelieu, accepted at laſt of the ſcheme, conſiſting of the twelve following articles:

I. His imperial and Catholic majeſty having no other view, than to contribute to the public tranquillity of Europe, and obſerving, that the commerce of Oſtend has given birth to jealouſy and uneaſineſs, conſents, that there ſhall be a ſuſpenſion of the charter of the Oſtend company, and of all traffic between the Auſtrian Netherlands and the Indies, during the term of ſeven years.

II. All rights or poſſeſſions ſhall remain intire to ſuch of the contracting powers, as enjoyed them by virtue of the treaties of Utrecht, Baden, and the Quadruple Alliance, or the treaties and conventions made before the year 1725, which regard neither the emperor nor the States-General. But if any change has been made with relation to the ſaid poſſeſſions; or if, in conſequence of thoſe conventions, ſomewhat has not been executed, the change, that has happened,

or

or the points, which have not been executed, ſhall be diſcuſſed and decided in the future congreſs, according to the tenor of the treaties and conventions. Geo. I. 1727.

III. Conſequently all the privileges of commerce in Europe, Spain, and the Indies, grounded upon treaties, and formerly enjoyed by the Engliſh and French nations, and by the ſubjects of the States-General, ſhall be reſtored upon the ſame foot, and ſettled in the ſame manner they were, particularly by the treaties preceding the year 1725.

IV. The powers of the north ſhall be invited and deſired by their reſpective allies, not to have recourſe to hoſtilities; but, on the contrary, to embrace all reaſonable methods of accommodation; and that, until the opening of the congreſs hereafter mentioned, wherein all the reſpective differences ſhall be diſcuſſed, the contracting powers ſhall not contribute to any hoſtilities directly or indirectly, under any colour or pretence whatever, which may diſturb the preſent ſtate of affairs in the North; but, on the contrary, they ſhall engage to act in concert, to put an end to hoſtilities, if any ſhould be commenced.

V. All hoſtilities whatſoever, if any ſhould happen, ſhall inſtantly ceaſe after the ſigning of the preſent articles; and with reſpect to Spain, eight days after his Catholic majeſty ſhall have received the articles ſigned. The ſhips, which ſailed from Oſtend to the Indies before this convention, the names whereof ſhall be given in a liſt on the part of his imperial majeſty, may return freely and ſafely from the Indies to Oſtend; and if any of theſe ſhips be detained or taken, they ſhall be reſtored, bona fide, with their cargoes. The galleons alſo ſhall be permitted to return to Spain unmoleſted, in firm confidence, that his Catholic majeſty will, with regard to the effects on board the galleons and the flotilla, deal in the ſame manner as uſual in all times of liberty. In conſequence of this, the Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by admiral Hoſier, ſhall depart as ſoon as poſſible from Porto-Bello, and all other ports of America belonging to the king of Spain: He ſhall even return with his ſquadron into Europe, that the ſubjects of his Catholic majeſty in the Indies may be free from all further apprehenſions and uneaſineſs. The commerce of the Engliſh in America ſhall be carried on as formerly, according to the treaties. Moreover, the Engliſh, French, and Dutch ſquadrons, which may appear upon the coaſts

Geo. I. 1727. coaſts of Spain, or on thoſe of the ſtates of his imperial majeſty, at the time when this preſent ceſſation of hoſtilities commence, ſhall depart thence as ſoon as poſſible, that the inhabitants of thoſe coaſts may henceforth be rid of all diſturbance and fear. Neither ſhall thoſe ſhips be permitted to undertake any thing directly or indirectly againſt the ſaid port.

VI. This ceſſation of hoſtilities ſhall continue as long as the ſuſpenſion of the charter granted to the Oſtend company, viz. ſeven years, that the jarring intereſts may be reconciled in that time, and peace ſettled on a more ſolid foundation.

VII. If, after the ſigning of theſe preliminaries, any troubles or hoſtilities ſhould happen between the ſubjects of the contracting powers, whether in Europe or the Indies, under what pretence ſoever it may be, they ſhall join together to get reparation of the damage or prejudice their reſpective ſubjects have ſuſtained.

VIII. If theſe articles are accepted and ſigned, a congreſs ſhall be opened in four months, reckoning from the day of ſigning at Aix la Chapelle, wherein the reſpective rights of all the contracting powers, and thoſe invited to it, ſhall be examined, diſcuſſed, and ſettled.

IX. The plenipotentiaries, that ſhall be named, ſhall have in their retinue no more than two gentlemen, two pages, and ſix footmen, that they may be ſooner ready for their journey, and to avoid pomp and expence.

X. The plenipotentiaries ſhall inſiſt on no ceremonial, but follow the regulations ſettled at the congreſs of Cambray, to obviate all diſputes relating to rank: However, each ſhall have liberty left to proteſt.

XI. The ſeveral powers ſhall earneſtly recommend to their reſpective plenipotentiaries, to avoid any thing trifling, that may in any wiſe retard the congreſs.

XII. The ratification of theſe preliminary articles ſhall be exchanged in the ſpace of two months, or ſooner, if poſſible, reckoning from the day of ſigning.

Theſe

These articles were first signed at Paris, the 20th of May, by the ministers of the Hanover alliance, and afterwards at Vienna, by the ministers of the emperor and the king of Spain. Geo. I. 1727.

The emperor punctually executed the first of these articles, and ratified the preliminaries within the time agreed on. Though Aix la Chapelle was appointed for the place of congress, it was afterwards transferred to Cambray for the conveniency of the minister of France, whose presence was necessary at that court. The king of Spain also executed in part what concerned him; he gave orders for suspending all further attacks against Gibraltar, and all hostilities against the English elsewhere. This was an honourable way of abandoning a siege, which lasted four months without success; nor had it done much execution among the English, for they lost in all but three hundred and seventy-three men. The suspension of arms was signed the 23d of June, N. S. But, when the siege was on the point of being entirely raised, and the preliminaries to be ratified in form, Spain started new difficulties, and urged new pretensions. The Spaniards insisted, that a temporary suspension of arms did not imply an actual raising of the siege of Gibraltar; and that the restitution of the prince Frederick, the South-Sea ship (taken at la Vera Cruz, before Spain was in war with England) was not mentioned or included in the articles, whereas the English demanded both, by virtue of the preliminaries. Upon this hostilities began again between the ships of the two nations, and Sir Charles Wager continued to cruize on the coasts of Spain, after the cessation of arms at Gibraltar. And what was very remarkable, whilst he was looking out with seven ships for the Spanish galleons (which were said to be coming home) thirteen French men of war (six from Brest, and seven from Toulon) suddenly came and anchored before Cadiz, of which squadron Wager had received no intelligence either from London or Madrid. As therefore he had no notice of their coming, all communication with the French fleet was forbid. However, after many cavils and delays, the preliminary articles were at last signed at Madrid, on the 24th of February, above eight months after the death of king George I, by the ministers of the emperor, England, France, Spain, and the States, which opened the way to the congress (e).

Cessation of arms at Gibraltar and elsewhere.

King

(e) To bring down these matters to the present time, it may be observed, that means were found to detach Spain from

Geo. I. 1727. King George had not visited his German dominions these two years, and therefore, soon after the breaking up of the par-

Death of King George I.

from the emperor, and a treaty was concluded at Seville, November 9, N. S. 1729, between Great-Britain, France, and Spain. By this treaty commissaries were to be appointed to examine at the court of Spain, and decide about the captures on both sides, among which were reckoned the ships taken by the English fleet in 1718. That instead of neutral garrisons (as agreed to in the Quadruple Alliance) Spanish garrisons should be introduced into Leghorn, &c. for preserving the succession of don Carlos. This it was that induced the queen of Spain to come into a treaty, which gave great offence to the emperor, as it put an end to his subsidy from Spain, of about a million sterling a year. He thundered out complaints against it at all the courts of Europe, and particularly by a commissorial decree, directed to the diet of Ratisbon. But it was to no purpose, for the treaty of Seville, with regard to the emperor, and all other states, and the balance of power, varied in nothing from the Quadruple Alliance, but in substituting six thousand Spanish instead of so many neutral troops, for asserting the eventual succession of the infant of Spain to the grand duke's dominions, to which the emperor had agreed. However, the British court offering to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, or the emperor's settlement of his hereditary dominions, on his eldest daughter, on the failure of issue male (which was thought necessary to preserve the balance of power) the emperor was at last pacified. This produced the second treaty of Vienna, March 16, 1731, between the emperor and Great-Britain, in which the States were included. By it the order of the succession settled by the emperor was guaranteed by Great-Britain and the States; the commerce and navigation to the East-Indies were to cease in the Netherlands, except two ships for once from Ostend: A tariff or new treaty concerning trade, and the rule of imposts relating to the Austrian Netherlands, was to be settled by commissaries at Antwerp: The introduction of Spanish garrisons into Leghorn, &c. was agreed to by the emperor. Thus the queen of Spain was pacified by the variation of neutral troops, and the emperor was contented, by guarantying his succession. The conclusion of these treaties gave hopes of a lasting tranquillity: But the death of the king of Poland soon put an end to these hopes. The emperor, in conjunction with Russia, espoused the quarrel of the elector of Saxony, and supported an unfair election of a king forced upon a free nation. This being opposed by France, a war broke out between their imperial and most Christian majesties, in which Great-Britain and the States stood neuter, as they did also in the differences which arose be-

parliament, he prepared for his journey to Hanover, where he thought to enjoy the fruit of his labours in peace, or continue his endeavours for the good of the common cauſe. Having appointed the lords juſtices for the adminiſtration of the government, he embarked at Greenwich, on board the Carolina yatcht, the 3d of June, attended by the earl of Ilay and the lord Townſhend. The king landed, on the 7th, at Vaert in Holland, where he lay that night. The next day he proceeded on his journey to Hanover; and, on the 9th of June, between ten and eleven at night, arrived at Delden, in all appearance of perfect health. He ſupped there very heartily, and eat an Orange, but no melon, as was reported; and, having reſted well that night, ſet out from Delden about four the next morning. Between eight and nine he ordered the coach to ſtop, in order to make water, and perceiving, that one of his hands hung motionleſs, ſaid, 'I cannot move this hand.' Monſieur Fabrice rubbed it with both his, but to no effect; upon which he called the ſurgeon (who followed on horſeback) who rubbed it alſo with ſpirits. In this interval the king's eyes and mouth began to move ſtrangely, and his tongue to ſwell, ſo that he could not ſpeak. The ſurgeon, taking it for an apoplectic fit, opened a vein, and the king recovered his ſpeech, ſo as to ſay, 'Haſten to Oſnabrug;' but immediately fell into a ſlumber in Fabrice's arms. As the violent motion of the coach could not keep the king awake, Facrice aſked the ſurgeon, What he thought of him? who anſwered, he deſpaired of his life. Fabrice ordered him to take care of him, and rid poſt himſelf from the laſt ſtage to Oſnabrug, to prepare the duke of York, the king's brother, for ſuch unexpected news. The king being arrived there about ten, was immediately carried to bed, where he continued ſpeechleſs and in agonies till two

Geo. I. 1727.

Motraye's Travels, vol. III.

between Spain and Portugal. But, though Great-Britain and the States were not engaged in theſe diſputes, they were both obliged to guard againſt events, which had a good effect. Our naval armaments ſtruck terror into France and Spain, alternately. The French durſt not venture to the Baltic to relieve Dantzick, whilſt our navy rid in the Downs, nor the Spaniards to inſult, much leſs attack Portugal, whilſt our fleet lay in the Tagus. At laſt, in order to adjuſt all differences between Great-Britain and Spain, the famous Convention was tranſacted by Sir Robert Walpole, but, meeting with oppoſition, was laid aſide, and a war with Spain enſued, which brought on a war alſo with France, as will be ſeen in the annals of the next reign.

Geo. I. 1727. o'clock in the morning, on Sunday the 11th of June, when he expired in the 68th year of his age, and 13th of his reign, and was interred at Hanover, among his anceſtors (a).

His circumſtances and character.

Thus died George the Firſt, who may truly be conſidered as more fortunate in more important circumſtances of his life and affairs, than any prince of the laſt or preſent century. This good fortune, which is often the reward of virtue, and as often the effect of prudence, attended him as well before as after his acceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain. The eſtabliſhment of the electoral dignity in his family, was a work which, though begun by his father, was reſerved for him finally to accompliſh. A large acceſſion of dominion fell to him by his ſucceeding to the dukedom of Zell, whereby he became one of the greateſt princes of Germany, and by far the moſt powerful perſon that ever ſtood next heir to the Britiſh throne. The duchy of Bremen, and the biſhopric of Oſnabrug, conſiderably ſtrengthened his intereſts in the empire, and gave an additional weight to the Proteſtant cauſe.

But his good fortune appeared in nothing ſo remarkable as in the removal of thoſe ſeemingly invincible obſtacles to his ſucceſſion to the crown of theſe kingdoms. Queen Anne had high notions of hereditary right; and, in the latter part of her reign, ſlaviſh doctrines in ſupport of the indefeaſibleneſs of that right, were avowed in numerous addreſſes. Preparations were made for the execution of purpoſes well underſtood, though not expreſsly avowed. The miniſters, and all, who had been the ſure ſupports of the Hanover ſucceſſion, had been diſgraced. Many favourable conceſſions were made to our often defeated enemies, who, both by intereſt and inclination, were the protectors and friends of the pretender. The adminiſtration of affairs was committed to the moſt daring and determined, and the nation deluded into madneſs for deſtruction. But, amidſt theſe apprehenſions and dangers, the queen's ſudden and unexpected death gave the fortunate elector of Hanover an eaſy and unmoleſted acceſſion to the throne.

King George did not labour under king William's firſt diſadvantages. His and their countries enemies were well

(a) His wife, the princeſs Sophia Dorothy, died November 2, 1726, at the caſtle of Ahlen, in the electorate of Brunſwick, where ſhe had been confined many years. She was daughter and heireſs of the duke of Zell, born in 1666, and married in 1682.

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known, and could with no colour of right demand confidence and power. After ſtrong profeſſions of ſubmiſſion and loyalty, many actually entered into rebellion; and greater numbers wiſhed it ſucceſs. The murmurings and complaints, which were occaſioned by the diſgrace of the general and miniſtry, who had raiſed the credit and glory of the nation to an height before unknown, had been reſented as unpardonable affronts to the royal prerogative: And yet, when the ſucceſſor removed thoſe, from whom he had received many indignities, and of whoſe meaſures and deſigns to defeat him of his royal dignity, he had many and undoubted proofs, this was repreſented as extreme partiality and injuſtice; and in public, and on the moſt ſolemn occaſions, it was pleaded as a juſt provocation to rebellion, and all puniſhments of the authors of ſo much miſchief and miſery were oppoſed under the pretence of being acts of inhumanity and cruelty. Geo. I. 1727.

There are many circumſtances not publickly known, which, if brought to the light, would demonſtrate the king's extraordinary good fortune in defeating the rebellion. Beſides what broke out in the North, the aſſociations and preparations in the South and the Weſt were great and numerous. Caution, fearfulneſs, and delay, prevented the execution of meaſures, which could hardly have failed of proving fatal to the government. Such a multitude of enemies in ſo many places would have divided the troops, and have rendered the army inſignificant in the defence of the whole. The march of part of the rebels into England, their trifling at Preſton, and their ſpeedy defeat, were of unſpeakable advantage, by effectually diſcouraging inſurrections in many other places; whereas a few days march further would have very much ſwelled their numbers, and given them a dangerous ſtrength.

But nothing could be more fortunate to the king than the death of Lewis XIV, of France. From him the rebels would have received all ſorts of ſuccours and ſupplies. Bigotry and revenge animated the whole French Nation with unanimous zeal for the ſucceſs of the pretender. And even a minority, a conteſted regency, and the probable need, which the regent might have of our ſupport, did not prevent all aſſiſtance. However, thoſe circumſtances proved a powerful reſtraint; and the ſituation of the neighbouring nations was an eminent ſecurity to this reign. The utmoſt degree of averſion and jealouſy ſubſiſted between the regent of France and the court of Madrid; which was properly improved by deſtroying the growing naval power of Spain; and our ſur-

Geo. I. 1727. prizing and complete advantage in this affair utterly diſappointed the vaſt deſigns of an able and enterprizing miniſter.

The invaſion and rebellion, in 1719, are the leſs remembered, becauſe not one perſon ſuffered death on that account. The Spaniſh fleet with five thouſand ſoldiers ſuffered ſo much in a ſtorm, as to be obliged to return home; but about four hundred of them landed in Scotland, where they were joined by a conſiderable body of Highlanders, but were ſoon defeated, by an inferior number of the king's forces.

The king of Sweden's death was far from being the leaſt conſiderable of many favourable events; for, had that implacable monarch lived, his deſigns againſt Denmark would probably have ſucceeded; and then he would have had full leiſure and opportunity for tranſporting his hardy troops into Scotland.

But, on the other hand, how great and uncommon ſoever the king's good fortune was in removing all obſtructions, and firmly eſtabliſhing himſelf in the throne, it was not without ſome allay. Had his ſucceſſion taken place before the change of the miniſtry, and the diſgrace of the general, it would have been infinitely more happy, not only for the nation but for the laſting tranquillity and liberties of Europe. France would then have been compelled to give up the Spaniſh Monarchy. By advantages in trading to the dominions of Spain, in Europe and America, and by ſeveral conceſſions, we ſhould have had ample means of repairing the loſſes ſuſtained in a long and expenſive war. The houſe of Bourbon had been reduced within their proper bounds, and ceaſed to have been the terror and ſcourge of their neighbours.

To this may be added, that king George came to a people, who had been corrupted both in their political and religious notions, and had been taught an averſion to our natural allies, and to all foreign Proteſtants, while an eſteem and affection for France, and a tenderneſs for many doctrines of Popery had been infuſed into them with great ſucceſs; and theſe prejudices had indiſpoſed the nation to ſubmit to a Proteſtant prince, while the dangers from a Popiſh one were not attended to. The advantages likewiſe of a proſperous war, and many valuable branches of commerce had been given up or neglected; and the revenue was loaded with a very heavy debt. The authors of theſe calamities had the art and aſſurance to impute the conſequences of them to the king and his miniſters; and their peace-making had left Europe in ſuch a ſtate, and their principles infected the nation to ſuch a degree, that a good body of regular troops was abſolutely neceſſary to

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the safety of the nation; and yet this was exclaimed against as inſlaving it. Geo. I. 1727.

The moderate and ſure methods of diſcharging the public debts which had been offered, having been neglected, the South-Sea ſcheme took place, to the great misfortune and diſgrace of this reign, as well as of the nation in general; and though men of all parties and degrees upon this occaſion equally renounced common ſenſe and honeſtly, yet they transferred the whole blame from themſelves to the government. But whatever miſtakes or misfortunes happened, they cannot juſtly be imputed to the king, whoſe integrity and good deſigns were eminent and undoubted, and his reſolution to govern agreeable to our laws and conſtitution ſteady and unalterable; though the beſt underſtanding, and the beſt diſpoſition are not always ſecure from the arts of bold and ambitious men.

With regard to the management of affairs abroad, a due attention was paid to the feeble and corrupt ſtate of our allies; and the eager and haſty diſpoſition of the people for war, their perpetual complaints of the wiſeſt conduct, cavilling at the moſt affecting ſucceſſes, ſoon growing weary of the expence, and longing for peace on any terms, were well conſidered; but at the ſame time the dignity and honour of the nation were maintained in our methods of compoſing the diſorders and diſturbances; which was performed with as little expence and hazard as poſſible; and preventative and defenſive meaſures were the wiſe and ſafe politics, the happineſs and glory of his reign.

As king James, inſtead of giving the laws their proper courſe, aſſumed a power to diſpenſe with them: And as queen Anne was flattered into a perſuaſion that the legal authority was unlimited: King George, on the contrary, deſired no power but what enabled him to promote the welfare of his ſubjects, and was too wiſe to deem thoſe his friends who would have made their court to him by the profeſſion of an obedience which they never practiſed, and which has always proved fatal to thoſe princes who have put it to the trial. He had given a proof of his ſovereign virtues before he exerciſed them in this nation. His natural inclination to juſtice led him to rule his German ſubjects in the ſame manner that our conſtitution directed him to govern the Engliſh. He regarded civil liberties as the natural rights of mankind, and therefore indulged them to a people who pleaded no other claim to them than his own goodneſs. The conſiſtency of his behaviour was ſuch that he inflexibly purſued thoſe mea-

Geo. I. 1727. meaſures which appeared the moſt juſt and equitable. As he was moſt prudent in laying proper ſchemes, he was no leſs remarkable for his ſteadineſs in accompliſhing what he had once concerted. To this uniformity and firmneſs of mind which appeared in all his proceedings, the ſucceſſes that attended him were chiefly owing. His martial virtues were no leſs conſpicuous than his civil, though for the good of his ſubjects he ſtudied to decline all occaſions of military glory. He had acquired great reputation in his younger days, in Hungary and the Morea, when he fought againſt the Turks, as well as in Germany and Flanders, where he commanded againſt the diſturber of the peace of Europe. And, as if perſonal courage was an hereditary virtue of his family, three of his brothers fell glorioufly in the field, fighting againſt the enemies of their country, and his ſon (his preſent majeſty king George II.) fought with the bravery of his father at the battle of Audenarde, when the ſons of France and the pretender fled before him.

As to his more private virtues, He was of a grave, eaſy, and calm temper, and generous upon all occaſions; and the ſerenity and benignity of his mind diſcovered themſelves in his countenance, and captivated the love and veneration of all, who approached him.

END of VOL. XIX.

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